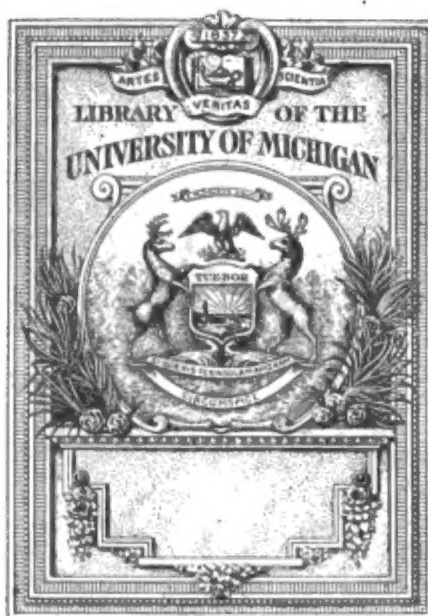


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# ASIA

**The Best Case in Medicine**  
**The Worst Medicine**  
**The Success of the New Year**  
**Why the Economy is Down**





## Special Staff Correspondent to the Near East

ASIA has commissioned Jackson Fleming as its special staff correspondent to go to the Near East to make a study of its reconstruction problems in line with the principles of world organization and cooperation. He will inquire into the interrelationship of the races in this triangle of three continents, their territorial and governmental administration, economic, social and religious development, and the harmonizing of conflicting interests. The part that America is to play in these problems will be a special object of research. The future of Turkey, the development of Palestine and Syria, the retransformation of Mesopotamia into the garden spot of the world, the future of Arabia, Armenia, the Caucasus, the economic and political safeguarding of Persia, are elements of these problems. He may also visit India to make a first hand study of the working out of the new policies of Great Britain.

### Contributors and Contributions

DR. JOHN HUSTON FINLEY, Commissioner of Education for New York State, went to Palestine as head of the Red Cross mission for investigating and alleviating conditions. He returned to this country for a few weeks, but is again on his way back to Palestine to complete his organization work.

ELIZABETH J. COATSWORTH, a young American writer, is already known to readers of ASIA through her poems on Eastern themes.

HENRY MAYERS HYNDMAN is a prominent Socialist leader in England. He has traveled widely around the world as a journalist and investigator of international affairs, and has advocated reform particularly in India.

JOHN VAN ESS is a missionary of the Reformed Church of America at Basrah, Mesopotamia, with a large experience and acquaintanceship with the native and foreign residents in this part of the world.

R. M. RIEFSTAHL is a lecturer, writer and expert on Oriental art.

PHILIP H. CHADBOURN was special assistant to the American Ambassador to Russia at Petrograd, 1916 to 1917, and has traveled extensively in Russia and the Caucasus. He is now a lieutenant in aviation.

EDWARD BOREIN is an American artist with a picturesque background of western cowboy life.

SILAS BENT is assistant Sunday editor of the *New York Times* and a contributor to a number of periodicals.

ELSIE F. WEIL, a member of the editorial staff of ASIA, has spent some time in the Far East, contributing articles on Chinese and Japanese subjects to various magazines.

TYLER DENNETT is lay secretary to the Methodist Episcopal Centenary Commission. He has just left this country to travel through Europe, the Balkans and North Africa.

JOHAN W. PRINS is a Hollander who was asked to represent the Y. M. C. A. in Siberia when the work was turned over to neutrals. Mr. Prins is at present acting as Educational Director at the Hog Island Shipyards, Pennsylvania.

LEWIS S. PALEN is a Cornell graduate who went to the Far East in the Chinese Customs and American consular service, and is now conducting a large farm in Manchuria on a scientific scale as the basis for an important development of Manchurian agricultural resources.

# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

VOLUME XIX

NUMBER 1

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# THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

THE PURPOSE of The American Asiatic Association is—

"To contribute to a satisfactory adjustment of the relations between Asiatic countries and the rest of the world by the removal of sources of misunderstanding and the dissipation of ignorant prejudices; and to co-operate with all other agencies, religious, educational and philanthropic, designed to remove existing obstacles to the peaceful progress and well being of the peoples of these countries."—Section 5, Article II, of the Constitution.

In publishing ASIA it will be the policy of the editors to regard with sympathy the attitude and activities of all Eastern countries. Nevertheless, the independent privilege of criticism will be steadfastly retained. No hampering restrictions will be placed on contributions on important subjects, regardless of the source from which they may come, Asiatic or American; and articles considered able and having value, whether they tend to inspire controversy or not, will be considered as beneficial to the promotion of knowledge and the removal of misunderstandings, and will be published in spite of the fact that the editors may not agree entirely with the opinions expressed.

ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP in The American Asiatic Association is open as provided in Section 1, Article III, of the Constitution, which states that —

"Any person of full age who is in sympathy with the foregoing objects and purposes (quoted above) shall be eligible to membership in the Association."

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I desire to become an Associate Member of the American Asiatic Association and to subscribe for ASIA—*Journal of the American Asiatic Association*, for one year, for which \$2.75 of the annual membership dues of \$3.00 is payment.

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M-12

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GENERAL ALLENBY (CENTER) WITH DR. JOHN FINLEY, HEAD OF AMERICAN RED CROSS IN PALESTINE, AND RUSTI PASHA, PRIME MINISTER TO THE SULTAN OF EGYPT

The British authorities co-operated whole-heartedly with the American Red Cross Mission recently sent to Palestine. So thoroughly did General Allenby appreciate the work of rehabilitation organized by the Red Cross that he has urged America to send more helpers for the reconstruction program now necessary in Palestine and Syria. Dr. Finley, who came back from Palestine enthusiastic for the future of the country, was equally impressed with General Sir Edmund Allenby, the victor of the greatest campaign ever waged in Asia Minor for the freedom of oppressed peoples. As he says, "Imagine a commander of a great army spending a whole night with an American visitor poring over the Bible and a standard historical work on the Holy Land. That is what General Allenby did. We spent a memorable night in discussion of the landmarks of the Bible, outlining pilgrimages which I might make." Dr. Finley found that General Allenby was remarkably equipped, not only for winning a great military victory, but also for understanding the ideals and hopes of the various races composing Mesopotamia.



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DR. C. T. WANG, ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE SOUTH CHINA PARTY

Dr. Wang is in this country on a special mission representing the party of South China political leaders who are in revolution against the Government of the North, to obtain a hearing for the claims of the South at the Peace Conference. The South desires to present a bill of complaint against the Northern leaders as being illegally in authority, and as incapable both in character and ability to administer the Government for the benefit of the people. Dr. Wang feels that it would be fatal for the future of China if the Northern Government should be listened to at the Peace Conference as representative of Chinese public opinion regarding the needs of the country in its regeneration and development. Dr. Wang is one of the most aggressive western educated young Chinese, with a western point of view on public affairs. He was graduated from the University of Michigan in 1908, from Yale in law in 1911. He was active in the Y. M. C. A. in Shanghai and became later the vice-speaker of the Senate of the first Parliament of the Republic. He was also vice-minister of commerce and industry in the first Republican Cabinet.



LU CHENG-HSIANG, SENIOR MEMBER OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION  
TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

Lu Cheng-hsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, will bring to the Peace Conference a long experience in the technique of diplomacy and the viewpoint of the Northern Chinese leaders. He began his diplomatic career as interpreter for the Chinese Legation at Petrograd in 1890, and since then he has filled the most trusted and important posts for his country. Minister to Holland, Minister to Russia, Chinese Delegate to the Hague Conference in 1899 and 1907, the representative of his government in the negotiations with Russia for the revision of the Treaty of 1881, he returned to his country with a broad knowledge of the statecraft and affairs of the West. He was elected member of Foreign Affairs in the first Republican cabinet. When Tang Shao-yi resigned as Premier, Lu Cheng-hsiang became Premier and also retained the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs during practically the whole regime of Yuan Shih-kai and of his successors. The future of China is one of the most important problems of the Peace Conference. The friends of China are agreed that the territorial integrity of China must be guaranteed and that provisions must be made for an economic independence that will make it unnecessary for the Chinese Government to borrow funds with embarrassing terms from any country.



*Press Illustrations Service*

**PRINCE YORIHITO HIGASHI-FUSHIMI, A DISTINGUISHED JAPANESE  
VISITOR RECENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES**

Prince Higashi-Fushimi, member of the Japanese Imperial Family and Vice-Admiral in the Japanese Navy, has been spending a short time in the United States on his return from England, where he reciprocated the courtesy of the visit of Prince Arthur of Connaught to Japan and presented the sword and insignia of a Field Marshal of Japan to King George. He was conveyed to this country on a British battleship and entertained during his brief official visit in Washington by Vice-President Marshall and members of the State Department. The Sailor Prince of the Japanese Royal House received his early naval training in France and England, winning naval honors during the Russo-Japanese war as second in command of the cruiser "Chitose," which sank a Russian battleship. The Prince, who is the head of the Higashi-Fushimi branch of the reigning dynasty, is one of the most prominent naval and official figures in Japan.

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MAJOR WILLARD STRAIGHT

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# MAJOR WILLARD STRAIGHT

1880-1918

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DIED IN THE SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY IN PARIS NOVEMBER 30, 1918

On behalf of the members of the American Asiatic Association the Executive Committee have to record their sense of the irreparable loss the Association has sustained by the untimely death of its former President and member of the Committee, Major Willard Straight. Stricken in the midst of exacting duties performed in the service of his country, Major Straight died as he had lived, an earnest, devoted and self-sacrificing patriot. His associates on this Committee who have had ample occasion to appraise his value as a fellow-worker in the task of broadening the relations and deepening the sympathy between the United States and the peoples of Eastern Asia, can testify to the fact that in this field of effort Willard Straight had no peer. His preparation for the task, leading up through experience in the consular and diplomatic service to responsible initiative in financial negotiations and constructive enterprises of far-reaching import, was unique, equally in kind and degree. It is the simple truth that no man can fill the place in the work of Asiatic development and reconciliation which his death leaves vacant. Even in times like these, there is an exceptionally tragic pathos about the interruption of a career the brilliancy of whose past achievements was merely the earnest of services still more valuable to the immediate future of Asia and to the world at large. His associates have lost a resolute leader, a wise counselor and a well-beloved friend. His country has lost a distinguished representative of the best type of Americanism, and an authoritative exponent of her obligations and her true policy toward Asiatic millions with whom her destiny is indissolubly bound. Those who knew him most intimately have lost the companionship of a man of rare personal charm, large minded toleration and warm hearted impulses whose generous expression was the characteristic note of a nature of exceptional fineness of temper.

JOHN FOORD,  
*Secretary.*

EUGENE P. THOMAS,  
*Acting President.*

## MAJOR WILLARD STRAIGHT: AN APPRECIATION

**I**N all the tributes that have been paid to the memory of Willard Straight, there is a remarkable unanimity in the testimony they bear to the union in his character of lofty idealism and practical sense. Major Straight was an artist by temperament, and barely missed being one by profession, but his artistic vision served him not alone as a stimulus for practical achievement but as a revealing consciousness of the possibility of duplicating in the future the triumphs of the spirit of adventure that had served our country so well in the past. Symbols counted much for him, but it was for the soul of things embodied in the symbol that his quest was diligent and earnest. It was part of his native inheritance to be keenly intent on the realities of life rather than on its conventional forms; to follow the spiritual rather than the material sense of proportion. It belonged to the discipline that an unusually varied experience had brought him, that the breadth of his toleration should have been equalled only by that of his sympathy. Added to this, the perfect openness and sincerity to his character combined to produce in him a rare and compelling personal charm.

There was an entire absence of pettiness in Willard Straight's qualities of head and heart. As one commentator on his career has said: "The quality about Major Straight that appeals to the imagination and carries inspiration is that he thought in terms of continents." Early in his career in the Far East, he came in contact with a man—E. H. Harriman—who also thought in terms of continents. Mr. Harriman's direct business relations with the Far East began in the year 1905 when Mr. Straight was still Vice-Consul at Seoul. Mr. Harriman had conceived, before his visit to Japan in that year, a plan for a round-the-world transportation line, under unified American control by way of Japan, Manchuria, Siberia, European Russia and the Atlantic Ocean. He succeeded in having the Japanese Government agree to a stipulation that the portion of the Chinese Eastern Railroad which had been acquired by Japan from Russia under the provisions of the Treaty of Portsmouth, should be financed by an American loan and operated under joint American and Japanese direction. The project was never realized, but Mr. Harriman did not give up his idea. Agents of the Russian Government had proposed after the war with Japan that American bankers should purchase from Russia that portion of the Chinese Eastern railway which remained in Russian hands at the end of the war, but the efforts to carry this through also met with failure.

By 1906, Mr. Straight was back in the Far East,

after a brief illness, this time as Consul-General at Mukden, and was in close correspondence with Mr. Harriman in regard to railroad affairs in Siberia and Manchuria. The repurchase on China's behalf of the South Manchurian line was urged as the first step in a process of railroad neutralization in Asia which was rightly believed to be essential to the preservation of the world's peace. The impetus to that movement was largely supplied by Willard Straight, although its tangible results were known to the world chiefly as moves in the diplomacy of Secretary Root and President Taft. In the summer of 1908, at the instance of Mr. Harriman, Secretary Root recalled Consul-General Straight in order that American capitalists might discuss with him the expediency of making a loan to China for agricultural development and railroad construction in Manchuria. Mr. Straight brought with him a signed memorandum of agreement with Tang Shao-yi, then Chinese Governor of Mukden, which was to form the basis of negotiations for a loan of \$20,000,000 whose proceeds were to be used for certain defined purposes of Manchurian development.

From that time on, Mr. Straight's connection with the larger financial enterprises having for their object the rehabilitation of China, industrially, administratively and fiscally, has been of the most intimate character. But back of all the negotiations to which most of the later years of his life have been devoted, was the idea which dominated his whole career—the formation of bonds of friendship and mutual trust between the United States and the peoples of Central Asia. From his first connection with the American Asiatic Association, in 1908, Mr. Straight was profoundly impressed with the possibility of extending its influence so as on the one hand to enlist a larger amount of interest on the part of the American people in its work and on the other to make the fact plain to the peoples of Eastern Asia that the United States had more than commercial and financial ambitions in trying to cultivate their good will.

It was very much in the line of Mr. Straight's ideas that the Executive Committee of the Association reached the conclusion that the time was ripe for a considerable enlargement of the objects and purposes of the Association. The material interest of the United States in the development of China had been re-enforced by a moral interest in the successful working out of the experiment of a republican form of government. It was felt that the intelligent pursuit of the one demanded a sympathetic and helpful attitude toward the other. It was at least certain that the moral influence of this



country could nowhere be exerted with a more assured probability of quick and generous appreciation. It was already beginning to be apparent that the twentieth century held for the world no more difficult problem than the problem of Asia, and it was only too plain that an enfranchised and regenerated China brought that fact before the world with a fresh emphasis. With a new sense of national dignity and a new faith in their own future, it needed no prophet to declare that one-fourth of the human family would not be content meekly to continue to occupy the place that had been forcibly assigned them.

It needed but little argument to show that to no people were the Chinese more likely to turn for counsel and guidance in the conduct of their free institutions than to our own. They took this Republic as the model for their new commonwealth, and they felt assured in advance of the prompt recognition that was forthcoming from our Government. Very early in his life, the conviction had taken a deep hold on the mind of Mr. Straight that nowhere could the function of interpretation and conciliation be undertaken more appropriately than here. His Asiatic experience and his acquired knowledge of the defects of American policy in dealing with the questions of the Far East, confirmed his belief that no better instrument could be devised for the great task of popular education and sound criticism of official policy than the American Asiatic Association.

It was in furtherance of these ideas that Mr. Straight proposed to the Executive Committee of the Association the enlargement of their Journal into the ample proportions which it assumed a year ago last March. The illustrated magazine which has become known to the great American reading public under the name of ASIA was a singularly appropriate outcome of the desire which Mr. Straight had sedulously nursed from his youth upward. For the financing of the very bold enterprise which the founding of ASIA represented, Mr. Straight assumed the entire responsibility. But it was eminently characteristic of him that the conduct of the magazine was at his express desire entrusted to a committee on publication over whose policy he declined to exercise any control. At the meeting of the Committee at which the preliminaries relating to the business management of ASIA were agreed to, Mr. Straight said that, as the members generally knew, he was connected with and interested in a number of enterprises in the Far East. But it was his desire and determination that in the conduct of the new Journal such interests should be treated on a footing of simple equality with those of any other enterprise, and strictly on their individual merits. The editorial policy of ASIA was to be directed impartially, as that of the

original Journal of the Association had been during the previous eighteen years, toward the bringing into more sympathetic relations the peoples of Eastern Asia and the people of the United States.

That Mr. Straight should have volunteered to serve his country in military capacity was entirely in the line of his life's work on behalf of the regeneration of Asia, since, as he clearly perceived, there could be no new birth for the Asiatic nations if those of the Old World were to be brought under the heel of German despotism. Early in the war he threw himself with his characteristic vigor into the work of preparation for national defense, and he was made Chairman of the Committee organized by Mayor Mitchel for that purpose. He had previously been an enthusiastic promoter of the school of military training improvised at Plattsburg. It has been said by one of those who knew him best that "a soldierly directness marked his mental habits and business methods, long before his brief military career began."

Briefly to summarize that career: He was sent to France a year ago in order to organize for the American Expeditionary Force the work of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, having previously made preparations for the efficient conduct of that work on this side. Completing this task quickly and satisfactorily, he entered the Staff College from which he graduated among the first of his class. He was then appointed on the staff of the Third Army Corps, and later received the rank of a Major of infantry, in which capacity he attained his chief desire of being with combat troops at the front. During the few weeks preceding the armistice, he was designated as one of the American officers at the headquarters of Marshal Foch. After the signature of the armistice he was detailed as a member of the mission of Colonel House in Paris, and it was while performing the work incidental to that assignment that he was stricken with an attack of influenza which quickly developed into pneumonia, with fatal results. There can be no question that the intensity of Major Straight's devotion to his duties in France had weakened his constitutional power of resistance to the malady of which he died.

When the story can be fully told, his service with the armies of this country will certainly not be the least brilliant chapter in his career. Its tragic ending will take a place among the saddest of the sacrifices of brilliant young Americans which have been deliberately made to insure the foundations of democracy. Among these heroes of the great conflict, and martyrs to the principles for which the United States went to war, there is none from whose career future generations of the youth of our land can derive more wholesome inspiration than from that of Major Willard Straight.

JOHN FOORD.

# THE RED CROSS IN PALESTINE

By JOHN FINLEY

## "QUELLE CROIX?"

I WAS aroused by a clamor of bells, just outside my window it seemed. Where I was I could not for the moment determine—in Princeton, in New York City, across the street from St. Luke's, or in Albany on my sleeping-porch beneath the State Street Church bell. But this bell or group of bells was different in voice. I found myself in the Patriarch's cot, on the Mount of Olives, and, leaping to the window, I saw it was a priest in the tower among the cypresses summoning to the early mass. His rather primitive chime tune had its climax in a wonderfully beautiful and rich tone (like that of one of the Russian singers in the New York church in Ninety-seventh Street), which I found afterward had come from the bell of the Russian church, the Church of the Ascension, near by.

I dressed hastily and hurried to the chapel across the court, where two priests were already intoning an antiphonal service. Soon Russian sisters, pilgrims, detained in Jerusalem by the war, began to slip quietly, almost stealthily, in, with their white kerchiefs caught tightly under their chins—the meekest, most docile, but determined bodies I have ever seen. They not only crossed themselves assiduously, but bowed repeatedly, touching the stone floor with their foreheads. Later (for the service lasted two hours), refugee women from the city of Salt beyond the Jordan—large, handsome women of finely, strongly moulded faces and of regal bearing—came striding in, unabashed that they were, or some of them, in their bare feet. One carried a child astride her shoulder with as great grace as a Madonna. There was more bowing to the floor. Then came the Salt men, of the strongest faces and sturdiest bodies seen in

Palestine, their white head-dress crowned with a black aureole. They stalked with their heavy shoes to the very front of the altar and bowed before the priests or made their circuit of the sacred emblems with as little self-consciousness as if they were in their black tents just outside the convent walls, or out in their Moab hills.

A sacristan, seeing that I was a stranger, brought me a little square of carpet on which to stand or kneel, and then a chair, which I could not take, according to our western standards, while the women stood. About twenty of the Russian women gathered in a group in front of the altar and sang most impressively their simple recitatives and choruses. Among them were women of astounding voices.

I said that the Russian women were all meek in appearance. There was one exception. A woman of sharp, eager face, as of a zealot, with a gray shawl over her head, seeing me standing near the door, approached me and said in rather sharp voice, speaking in French, "*Quelle Croix?*" (What

cross?) I did not at first understand the import of her inquiry, though I realized that she was putting to me an all-important question. "*Quelle Croix? Grecque ou Latine?*" (What cross do you make, that of the Greek Church or of the Latin Church? That is, from left to right or from right to left.) My answer was "*La Croix Rouge*," the Red Cross. And that is the answer which the *Croix Rouge*, the Red Cross, is to make to people of every race and sect. It is the sign of mercy universal, the sign not of Christian faith, but of human brotherhood. America has given the Red Cross its widest scope and meaning and illustration. And here in Palestine, of all lands in the world, where religious partisanship is most bitter, where



Photograph by Dr. Finley

## A RUSSIAN PRIEST OF JERUSALEM

Here, Where Religious Feeling is Intensified, It Is a Matter of Deep Concern Whether One Makes the Sign of the Greek Catholic or Latin Cross



Photograph by Mr. Finley

#### THE PRIEST IN THE TOWER AMONG THE CYPRESSES SUMMONING TO EARLY MASS

His Rather Primitive Chime Tone Had Its Climax in a  
from the Bell Tower of the Russian Church of the Ascension Near by

the world's alms have been asked for the sake of Christ, Mohammed and Abraham—here above all places is the Red Cross needed to help unite all and to illustrate the best methods of this universal mercy.

#### HALHUL

I have visited today a village that is four thousand years old but that is without certain facilities which the newest town in Oklahoma would insist upon having in as many hours as this village has known years. It stands, or rather sits, upon a hill almost bare of trees and looks at the left between the mountains to the Mediterranean Ocean, and at the right across the Dead Sea to the mountains which give their background of mystery to so many places in Palestine. In front it could have seen Bethlehem, except for the hills; but it might have seen the star if it had been awake on the holy night. And if it had risen and moved itself to the other edge of the hill it might have looked down upon the oaks of Mamre, by which Abraham had dwelt. This village was doubtless sitting in the same place when Abraham left Lot and journeyed from the plains of the Jordan down into Hebron, which is only four miles away. It was certainly sitting there when Joshua conquered Canaan, for it is mentioned as one of the cities which Joshua gave as an inheritance to Judah. David often passed by it when he was fleeing into the wilderness from Saul or during his seven and a half years' reign in Hebron. The Greeks left their memorials at the foot of the hill. And on the south slope of a nearby hill one

could find illustrations for some of the lines of Omar Khayyam, for in a cave now exposed to the sun are innumerable niches, row on row, which were once filled with cinerary urns holding Roman ashes, but which now hold only the shadow of sun and moon in their empty sepulchres, except where the fronds of maiden-hair ferns cling like weeping memories over them. Farther down the hill are the tombs of Christians and Jews, but gray lizards and black serpents keep these dark and narrow courts of the dead. Near their portals lie the bones of camels weary of their travels. A little way off soldiers of the new Crusades are encamped in a fold of the hills and in the valley of Caleb's lower springs, close by one of the springs, new refugees from the plain of Jordan are pitching their black tents. Meanwhile, the ancient village sat dreaming, dozing in the sun, indifferent to the changing empire coursing through the valleys below. Even the Ford car, which had made the new conquest possible, could not climb to its rocky seat, and so it was that we approached on foot, leaving the Ford to cool its boiling blood at the side of the main highway in the shade of an ancient tree guarded by a young man from an Iowa farm.

This village, Halhul, is more like one of our Indian adobe towns than any other communities in the States, except that the huts are of stone. There are no streets, only winding, labyrinthian paths round and about, up and down, sometimes over the roofs of the huts—paths made by the feet of men, women, children and donkeys through the centuries. There are no vehicles, wagons, motors, street



Photograph by Dr. Fettes

#### HALHUL, A PALESTINE VILLAGE BETWEEN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE DEAD SEA

There Are No Streets, Running Water, Schools, Newspapers or Stores in This Village Over Four Thousand Years Old, and Few of the Inhabitants Have Journeyed Beyond Hebron to the South or Jerusalem to the North

cars. There is no post-office, for never a letter comes to the village, I suppose. There are no newspapers, no schools, no places of amusement (there is one man, at least, who plays a primitive pipe), no running water, no signs, no stores, so far as I could see, no libraries nor books, no woman's clubs, no telephones—there was nothing to give the inhabitants communication with the world beyond the sight of their eyes or the reach of their feet. And few, I suppose, had journeyed beyond Hebron to the south, or Jerusalem at the north.

Women and children fled as birds or prairie dogs into their burrows at our approach. They had remembered reason to fear the stranger, especially the stranger in uniform, the Turkish officer, and they hid as by instinct without waiting to discover what sort of uniform it was. At last, in one corner of the labyrinth, we found the older men of the village gathered under a great tree just outside the "guest house," a dark, windowless, single-roomed hut, with a platform running along three sides. The interpreter, with much salaaming, told of America (a land of which, I suppose, they had no knowledge, for I think no one had gone from that village to the far-away country), and expressed our special interest in the children of Palestine. There was most polite response in true Oriental fashion, tempered, however, by a reticence of fear lest the children might be made the basis for a new tax. Gradually this suspicion was dissipated and the children came out of their hiding, pale, miserably clad. Perhaps the sturdier ones were out in the vineyards, for this village is near to the valley of

Eschol, in which Caleb and his companions found the marvelous clusters of grapes, and the fruit was ripening. The Muktar himself was in his vineyard or field a mile away.

Halhul! What a new life would come into your old stone body if the children of a typical American village could come to sing and play with your children. Halhul! How many summers will you sleep in the sun, how many winters will you shiver in your windowless huts, before the civilization which has come up to your gates, across the seas and up from the ports of Egypt, shall not only pass like the automobile at your feet or fly like the aeroplane over your head, but will enter your heart with its joys, its higher joys and its deeper sorrows. Halhul! Will not the new Joshua give you an inheritance not merely to some particular tribe or nation, but to the world, that it may add its cosmic gifts in this Tele-Victorian age to those which you have gathered out of your long past with its narrow horizon—a horizon whose edge is not cut by the skyscrapers of your coast, dear America!

Halhul! I should like to come to you in the year of our Lord 2000!

#### HEALING THE SICK IN THE HOLY LAND

On my arrival in Jerusalem I found the entire company of the Red Cross housed in buildings of the Russian Compound, living as real "pilgrims" of days before the war. They were occupying temporarily as living quarters buildings that would ultimately be used by the Red Cross as hospital, laboratory and administration buildings, awaiting the



SOME OF THE RUSSIAN WOMAN PILGRIMS STRANDED IN JERUSALEM BY THE WAR

*Photograph by Dr. Finley*

The Red Cross Has Brought Them Together in Groups in the Convents in Which They Had Been Living and Organized Workrooms Where They Can Practise the Needle Arts and Other Peasant Handicraft Industries

renovation of the Hospice itself, where most of the company were to be permanently lodged.

During the days and weeks of renovation and preparation the members of the unit all but literally "camped out," using the great central corridor of the hospital as a mess hall, and the wards and even the roofs as sleeping quarters. The military authorities forwarded with great promptness the shipments of equipment and supplies, even to their own inconvenience; and every member of the company not in actual service as doctor or nurse gave willing and helpful hand in installing the supplies and superintending the renovation. Those who knew Arabic were especially helpful in directing the native laborers, who carried loads that made one give new credence to the stories of Samson.

In the early days of August our living quarters were transferred to the old Russian Hospice, which has become for a time an American Hospice in Jerusalem, its rooms bright with Oriental colors, but brighter with pictures and other mementos of scenes and persons dearest in America. The chapel in the midst of this two-story quadrangular building has been closed, since there are no longer Russian pilgrims to worship there, but the long and wide nave, by permission of the Greek Church, has been temporarily shut away by a wall and made into a dining room or refectory, while the transepts have, by like permission, been put to other beneficent use. The Commissioner and three Deputy Commissioners have quarters in the American School of Archaeology not far away, and a few other members have rooms elsewhere in the city, but all

come together at least once a day in the "commons," where a great United States flag hangs amidst figures of saints on the walls and of angels on the ceiling.

The Administration Building, known as the "Lord Bute House," was the first to be put in order, and was formally opened on July Fourth. The hospital, formerly used for Russian pilgrims, accommodates fifty patients. The laboratory, a long, low building at the side of the hospital, was thoroughly renovated and already doing excellent work, especially in blood examinations for malaria and relapsing fever.

The first ministry was that of giving medical attention to the refugees from the zone of the active fighting, who had been gathered in various buildings and vacant spaces in and about Jerusalem. The British medical officer, who had come to Jerusalem two or three days after its occupation, warmly welcomed all the aid the Commission could give. The Military Governor, who is taking the most intelligent and effective interest in the care of the refugees, has authorized the Red Cross to undertake social and educational work in these centers and to send nurses, sanitary experts and social workers to assist the doctors in making the lives of these people more comfortable and healthful during their exile. There are ten such centers in and about Jerusalem, two of them on the Mount of Olives. In anticipation of the opening of the central American Red Cross Hospital in Jerusalem, a dispensary has been opened primarily for children. Clinics for children will also be established,



*Photograph by Dr. Finley*

#### MORNING CALL OF THE SANITARY DIVISION OF THE RED CROSS IN JERUSALEM

*No Part of the Red Cross Program in Palestine Has Been More Fertile in Promise Than the Sanitary Work*

and hospital facilities provided for a few. Medical service has also been organized in four centers outside of Jerusalem.

But the most extensive outside work has been at Wadi Surar, in Western Palestine, where two thousand or more refugees are gathered out on the plain and are being cared for until it is possible for them to return to their homes—a camp which is also a half-way station for the Armenians, who are en route in their pilgrimage of suffering to their permanent camp at Port Said. A sanitary engineer and three social workers are stationed at Wadi

Surar, where a school of six or seven hundred native children has been efficiently organized.

At Port Said, where over 500 Armenians are gathered, the Commission, at the request of General Allenby, has assumed the direction of industrial work and vocational training. It is to take charge of the distribution of clothing and provide a diet supplementary to the basic rations furnished by the Government. The Armenian society is providing the elementary education and contributing toward the charity fund with the Syrian and Palestine Relief Fund and the Red Cross. Two hundred



*Photograph by Dr. Finley*

#### THE SYRIAN ORPHANAGE FOR BOYS CONDUCTED BEFORE THE WAR BY GERMANS

*The Red Cross, at the Request of the British Authorities, Has Recently Assumed Control of the Orphanage*

Armenian orphans have gone to this camp from the temporary orphanage in Jerusalem. The Commission has taken special interest in these children, who are under the care of Madame Archerouni, a very capable woman of Armenian origin.

But the scope of the activities of the Commission extends beyond the medical, social and industrial service among the sick within reach of the Jerusalem Hospital and dispensaries, and of the mobile medical units among the refugees. The next appeal has been that of the orphans (for the term "orphans" is rather an elastic one in the East). The first undertaking in the field is perhaps the most important piece of orphanage work in Palestine. The Government asked the Red Cross to assume control and support, under a general board in which the Red Cross is represented, of what was known as the "Syrian Orphanage for Boys," conducted before the war by the Germans. The orphanage has a large, well-constructed main building, with several smaller buildings, a school for the blind and considerable industrial equipment. A large farm with an orange grove of 30,000 trees belongs to the school. The Red Cross has been asked to conduct another orphanage for boys formerly under English Protestant direction, but supported largely by American funds, and plans have been laid for establishing later an orphanage for girls. With these three orphanages, co-operating with the excellent English Orphanage for Girls, it is hoped that there will be great progress in the training of the poorer children of Jerusalem and Palestine without interfering with the religious prejudices of those committed to the care of the Red Cross.

The Commission has also branched out into the development of industrial service, by which, as far as possible, relief is given in return for labor. A bureau of investigation has been opened to which all persons seeking work may apply, and hundreds of requests have been received—many more applying than could be employed. Already two large work rooms have been opened. One is a Greek Hospice, known as the St. John's Hotel, in the inner city, where employment for nearly 400 in machine sewing, hand sewing, making of garments and mattresses, knitting, lace-making, embroidery and weaving is carried on under skilled direction. The other is a room where work has been conducted until recently by the Syrian and Palestine Relief Fund to give employment approximately to 500 women. This particular work is capable of indefinite extension and is limited now only by the lack of adequate room and by the lack of skilled persons to direct the operations. The Director has just returned from Egypt, where he has purchased large quantities of material, some of it in the form of raw cotton, for winter garments to be made up in the

work rooms. The Military Governor has just asked the Red Cross to undertake weaving on an extended scale, and arrangements have been made for the purchase of a large quantity of wool in Southern Palestine. Even this provision will not reach a very considerable class of unskilled laborers, for whom satisfactory employment must somehow be found. Scores and sometimes hundreds of women may be seen applying for work at the doors of the American Red Cross rooms.

The war found a large number of Russian woman pilgrims stranded in Jerusalem. Until the present time these women have been maintained chiefly by means of money grants. It is our plan to bring them together in groups in the convents in which they have lived, and there organize work rooms where they can practise the needle arts and carry on other hand industries with which they are familiar. Similarly, in the Jerusalem zone, there are several villages with distinctive village industries, which it is our intention to place upon an organized basis and develop. Already two large groups have been organized.

Frequent conferences are held with the Military authorities, the Zionist Commission and the Syrian and Palestine Relief Fund. The Zionist Commission works for Jews only. Its work rooms, however, are not large enough to accommodate all the Jewish women applying to them or to the Red Cross, and under an agreement with the Commission the Red Cross employs a Jewish investigator, who refers all cases requiring material relief to the Jewish organization, while those needing work, if not already being helped by the Commission, are held for reference to the Red Cross rooms. The Syrian and Palestine Relief organization has been assisted largely by funds which have come from America through the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee. At its request, much of the work has been taken over by the Red Cross on a strictly non-sectarian basis.

The work of the Red Cross unit in Palestine has been made possible by the high and benevolent attitude taken by the British authorities in their government of the occupied enemy territory. It is a cause for real satisfaction to all civilization that three such men as the Commander-in-Chief, General Allenby; the Administrator of Occupied Enemy Territory, General Money; and the military Governor of Jerusalem, Colonel Storrs, are in the chief positions of command and reconstruction. These officers, together with all the district military governors and officers with whom we have come into official relations, have shown a cordiality of welcome towards the American Red Cross and a confidence in us and the work which we are undertaking, which will require the most efficient service on our part to retain.

# THROUGH THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS OF KOREA WITH THE ANCIENTS

By ELIZABETH J. COATSWORTH

THERE were twelve of the Ancients altogether, ten to take turns carrying the three chairs, packing the army cots and mattresses; and two so-called jiggy men to carry the heavy boxes of canned goods and utensils for the cook. We saw them first in the dusk as we went down to the Gensan docks and piled into the clumsy over-crowded barges that were to take us out to our steamer. Our first impression was of many old men with very scant whiskers and straggling beards bowing low to us. They were dressed in full white pantaloons looped over their belts in a great fold, short white coats tied with a single bow, and high horse-hair hats shaped like diminutive stove-pipes, tied under the chin. This is really not so much a hat as a protection for the top-knot, that mark of the married man, a source of pride and danger. For the *tagabbies*, or evil spirits, take a delight in seizing any unprotected top-knot after dusk and cutting it off, and well may a man be ashamed to appear without his hair!

The little steamer left at midnight, and our last glimpse before going below showed the coolies lying out on the deck, or squatting by the rail solemnly staring at the water. The interpreter, a boy of twenty-three, disappeared into a subterranean berth, of which he complained bitterly later. He had the red cheeks that one so frequently meets in the yellow Orient, and bright black eyes, while a cap over a close-cut head proclaimed him advanced in his views, though as yet he had expressed few of them in his clear, but often astonishing English. We went to sleep almost unable to believe that we were really started for the Diamond Mountains, the sacred place of Buddhism, which at the height of its powers and magnificence used to attract thousands of visitors, even from China. And through the ten days that followed we never lost that sense of having come upon a forgotten world, of moving among mountains reared by magic whimsy, of talking to men that were enchanted priests.

The boat reached harbor at six and we came up on deck to find the Ancients all at the rail gazing at a wall of granite mountain rising almost sheer up into the sky, wooded where one would never dream a tree could find foothold, with here and there great buttresses of black stone, and a skyline of inconceivable needles and pyramids. After interminable waiting the two native chairs and my mother's wicker chair, lashed on shafts, were ready.

Our chairs, carried by two men, were nothing but wooden boxes in which old comforters were laid upon which we had to sit cross-legged. At first they were extremely uncomfortable, but in time we grew to like them and remained uncramped and relaxed in them for hours at a time. We were to have breakfast at a tiny Japanese hotel where we were to stay before starting for the mountains themselves the next day. But soon we discovered that all was not going smoothly. We would advance a hundred yards along the road, and then the chairs would be set down, the Ancients draw forth diminutive pipes with long stems, smoke a few puffs, and quarrel interminably as to who should take the front and more difficult position. The stops grew more and more frequent. It was after ten and we had had no breakfast. We despised the bowed backs ahead of us and the wagging sparse beards behind. Here we had only five miles on the level to cover. What would happen when we had a full day's trip? I felt something like despair, as we sat like Buddhas in our boxes, while the sun beat down heavily upon us.

But the next morning when we started off a little after dawn for the twenty-two mile trip to Uten-ji, the largest but most inaccessible of the monasteries, our men took on the strength of eagles. The first twelve miles were through the fields and little hamlets, skirting the range itself. We went on footpaths among the grass, and threaded our way up one valley and down another. The oxen were plowing in the fields and the women stood at the doors of their dirty huts dressed always in their full skirts and short jackets of soiled white.

At eleven we came to a town where we were to have lunch and pitched camp in a small pine woods beyond the village. All the children came to stare like so many fawns among the trees, but being a polite and timid people, they did not come near us. There, as in many places during the trip, we were the first white women that most of the people had seen. For the first time we noticed Cook over his tiny charcoal fire. He had a face like a Pekingese spaniel, very flat, with a heavy mustache strange among the Koreans. He usually wore a paper hat made in Japan, shaped like a Panama, but much smaller. His face looked troubled, as though he were trying to remember something, until spoken to. Then it split open in a most engaging smile. He took a benign pleasure in bestowing gifts of



empty tins on the wide-eyed children of the place, but he was a dragon for our protection, the first to unfold the cots at night, the first to drive off the over-curious. Incidentally he cooked very acceptably, and we were too hungry to be critical.

In the afternoon we were to climb the pass called "Sleeping Dog" because, Suh told us—he had all his information from the country people, never

strung out in a long laboring line. One of the jiggy men, the smallest of them all, and the only clean one in the group, was far behind. Suh explained that he was feeble and a Christian, as though the two went together. Below us were the red foothills, a white bleached river bottom, and the sea, with its horizon lost in the mist. The mountain slopes near us were precipitous and covered with



THE FRESCO IN THE CHAPEL DEDICATED TO KWANZEAN POSAL, AT UTEN-JI

The Korean Kwanzean Posal, Deity of Mercy, Frequently Represented as Carrying the Jar of the Water of Life to Pour on the Souls of Men, is identical with the Chinese Kwan-yin and the Japanese Kannon

having been here before—even dogs went to sleep before starting to climb it. We were to understand why. According to tradition we were now on the track which the fifty-three Buddhas from India followed in the year 5 A.D. when they were led by a dog, a deer and a crow. The monastery where we were to stay had been founded by them to mark their triumph over the dragons of a stream which ran by it. It seems that the Buddhas came, as evening was falling, to a birch tree, and having no place to rest, sat in its branches. The dragons of the stream feared their power, and after some words, magicked the tree away, only to find that the Buddhas were still sitting placidly in the air just where the branches had been.

I can only pity the Buddhas for the walk preceding their miracle. The trail grew steeper and steeper. It seemed an interminable time before we reached the pass. We were walking and were

a bleak black pine. The paths were bordered by wild white roses and violets and a strange black flower, shaped like a trillium, found I believe only in the Diamond Mountains. It was very hot; step by step we panted towards the top for two hours. In a clearing in the pines we suddenly came upon a group of a dozen or more stone monuments, round, square, or cylindrical, capped with moss grown stones. Later Suh told us the tale of the priests—that under each rock was a box with a bead in it, some red and some blue, that had been found unhurt in the body of a holy man when he died. Suh was a Confucianist and had never been in a Buddhist community before, so he was as much interested in the stories as we were. But he believed them all, being tolerant to all magic, and the superstitions of his people.

Across the river the monastery appeared in sight—a group of weather-beaten buildings roofed with

gray tiles instead of the picturesque yellow of China. The outside of almost all the buildings had been painted with scenes from the Buddhist classics. There was some work being done to the buildings; for since the Japanese took over the country they have encouraged the Buddhists, who for centuries had been oppressed by the Korean emperors, until even in the Diamond Mountains, the Holy of Holies, the number of their monasteries, shorn of their former splendors, had dwindled from a hundred and eight to less than half that number. We were taken to a tiny room about eight feet square, its floor covered, as is usual in the better rooms of the monasteries, with yellow oiled paper laid in patterns. There was a golden screen with five huge awkward cranes upon it, and sliding doors of paper—which the Koreans are careful to tell you were borrowed from them by the Japanese. These led into another small room where our cots were wedged side by side. Cook took up his position on the verandah directly outside the door and was soon passing our food to us across the threshold, not daring to enter with his shoes on, as no Korean wears his sandals on an oiled-paper floor. But we had soft felt soles, and went in and out freely.

The abbot, whom Suh would call the "Number One Man," came to call, a little wrinkled old man. He wore a horse-hair hat with round edges, marking his position, and a long coarse gray robe fastening over his right side with a bow. At his wrist hung a rosary of large black seeds.

There ensued many bows and smiles. He was ashamed to offer, we were proud to accept, he thought the place unworthy, we considered it beau-

tiful, he grieved that we had come many thousands of li, we declared that it was well worth it, there was nothing to show, on the contrary there was much to see, and finally he rejoiced at seeing us, and we rejoiced at seeing him. Suh sprawled carelessly upon the step and translated for us all, while we stood bowing to one another like Chinese mandarins. We were then given the run of the place and went to bed eagerly, for the day's trip had been twenty-two miles.

After breakfast the next morning we were led by the younger priests to the different small temples of the monastery: the bell-room where hangs the great bell of bronze with a handle of struggling dragons and four figures of Kwanzean Posal, the same deity as the Japanese Kwannon. She is often recognizable by the jar of the water of life, which she carries to pour upon the souls of men. She is very beautifully pictured, often with a child at her feet, lilies about her, and a dove flying towards her with a rosary. At Uten-ji in a small chapel dedicated to Kwanzean Posal is a fresco representing her seated upon an island, being carried over the sea by demons, while her dove sports in the gold-spumed waves. There is a shrine to the mountain spirit at almost all the temples, a nice old gentleman beneath a pine tree with a table holding his books, paper, ink and brushes on one side, a huge yellow-eyed tiger on the other, and near by a little neophyte about to serve him with tea and wild fruit. In the east, even the saints must have some one to serve them.

The main buildings include the temple of the judges of hell—also to be found at each monastery.

An oblong room with a roof much beamed and highly colored, a golden Buddha with a disciple on either hand, and down the sides of the wall the judges, ten of them, with their servants, smiling despite the horrible scenes of the ten hells painted on the wall behind each judge. The Ancients, who always came to see everything, adored the torture pictures. We could hear them cackling over some particularly gruesome sight or nudging each other to call attention to some unusually grotesque demon. Even the Buddhist priests seemed to take a childlike pride in them. But the Buddha in the center is quite a different thing alto-



THE ANCIENTS AND THE AUTHOR, IN THE PORTICO OF A TEMPLE INN  
The Ancients Always Trooped Along and Took Solemn Notes on the Wild  
Legends Relating to the Waterfalls and Mountain Shrines



SEIYO-JI. A SMALL KOREAN MONASTERY IN THE HEART OF THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS

Once a Great Establishment with a Thousand Priests. Now Ruled by an Old Abbot Who Has Spent Fifty Years in the Mountains, Living Alone with One Boy and a Servant

gether. It is Chichang Posal, Buddha of hell, but most compassionate. In some of the statues there are tears on his cheeks.

The main temple is dedicated to the fifty-three Buddhas who brought the religion to Korea. In the middle of the room was a mass of roots from a single tree reaching from the floor almost to the ceiling. They were painted red, green, blue, yellow and pink in radiating designs. Among them were fifty-three tiny patchwork quilts, and on most of these stood gilt figures of varying sizes, with dragons writhing below in blue painted waves. The story of the foundation of the monastery! But, alas, seventeen of the Buddhas were gone, little statues which the priests believe to have come down from the first century A.D. Last year two Korean men had come as pilgrims. During prayers, while the priests had their eyes closed, they hid behind the roots, taking their sandals from the door. The priests, finding them and the sandals gone, believed that they had left, and locked the doors with the thieves inside. They opened the doors from the inside, bore away all that they could carry, and were never caught. The old abbot was bowed down by grief. They thought he would die, for he did not eat or sleep for ten days. Now there is a wire about the roots and the Buddhas continue in safety their triumph over the dragons.

After lunch we stayed on our own little stoop while the young boys of the monastery gathered around us. I was printing out our names to be carved in wood as a sort of ex-voto offering according to Chinese custom, and the children were so

fascinated that we taught them how to write and say our alphabet. At first copying, they wrote the letters sideways or upside down, but within half an hour the cleverest could spell such simple words as cat and dog and nose, and could give any letter out of its order if I called for it.

The education of the monks is rigid. There are whole sacred books to be learned by heart. Sŭh translated for us some of the simpler commands from the two hundred and fifty "thou-shalt-nots" of the Buddhists: "must not keel anything," (they even brush the mosquitoes from the room) "must not steal anything," "must not look at another man's pleasure or anything like that," "must not be mean to anything." No wonder the early Catholic missionaries frequently thought that the land was bewitched by imitative devils!

It takes at least ten years of study to be a learned monk, and each monastery has its place set aside from the rest of the buildings where the monks study, never speaking to one another during their hours of work. Sŭh seemed to have some doubts, and had an elfish desire to test them by asking questions to see if he could get an answer. We climbed the steep steps to the Uten-ji study-house and found it on a ridge overlooking the valley and the rest of the monastery, very neat, with a large bare room, where the monks knelt at their little tables. From before a painting of three yellow-skinned Holy Ones a small gold Buddha looked down on a blatant linoleum floor.

We took our guide back with us to have tea. It is a rule that the priests must touch no animal food, not

even milk, but when the priest saw our Carnation Cream he emptied almost the entire can into his tea before our horrified eyes, and then drank it with relish. The abbot came to dinner, which was a most solemn affair. We had peas, succotash and rice (in case he grew hungry for food he was accustomed to) olives, blanc-mange, apricots and candy. Süh was there in the tiny room to interpret. There was much ceremony. We ate with large spoons out of appreciation of the abbot's difficulties, and even then the chase of the peas was sometimes most difficult.

"He must eat what you give him, but you can discover what he likes," said Süh. The first olive disappeared heroically.

"Does he wish more?" we asked.

The abbot said he would take more. He ate, I thought, hastily, as one who wished to be through with a stint, but of course the speed might be due

translated them for us, complete Chinese poems: "Seeing the evergreen pines, I wish that I might share in their fidelity," or, "having dreamed of the Buddhas in the night time let me remember them by day." It seemed impossible that we were really sitting at an Alice-in-Wonderland-dinner with a real abbot of bonzes among the sacred mountains!

"How many women were there here last year?" we asked.

"Three," said the abbot.

"And before that?"

He thought. "There has only been one other. That was five years ago. They said she was the Queen of England, but I do not know."

"But the Queen of England is like the Queen of Korea, she never travels outside her own country. Certainly not as far as this."

"They said she was. I do not know, myself," said the abbot patiently.



THE TWO ABBOTS AND THE PRIEST WHO GAVE THE AUTHOR'S PARTY  
AN ALICE IN WONDERLAND DINNER

Standing Before the Fourteen Piece Screen Painted in Gorgeous Colors, Which Was Brought from the Monastery to Decorate the Rooms of the Guests

to his extreme liking for them. Not to offer more might savor of neglect—for him to take more, might be martyrdom. At last we offered, but filled with concern for us, he begged that we should not put ourselves to the trouble of extracting another from the bottle! The rest of the food was soon gone except for the candy, which he begged to be allowed to take to his neophyte.

The room was very small. Behind the simple old abbot stood the gold screen with the cranes upon it. The light came from candles set in tins. Outside in the early moonlight shone the long strips of paper on either side of the doorway. Süh had

Next morning at eight o'clock, followed by the abbot to the monastery bounds, we took our departure amid a flow of compliments. The Ancients started off bravely with only ten miles before them, to Choun-ji, the largest of the monasteries in inner Kongo. When we finally reached Choun-ji, we were very tired and sat down to tea in front of our rooms almost too listless to be hungry. We had learned that day the Korean method of measuring distance. On a thirty *li* (roughly ten mile) road, after going twenty *li* we would ask how far we still had to go. "Twenty *li*," would answer the countryman. "But it can't be more than ten *li*," we would protest, horribly discouraged. "Ah, but it is a hard ten *li*, therefore it is twenty *li*," the man would answer. We were now able, however, to forget *li* for a while. For the next four or five days we should stay in the neighborhood, spending the nights at near-by monasteries. The view over the monastery roofs was beautiful. There were cliffs rounding up sheerly, miraculously tapestried with trees, like the mountains among which the sages in Chinese paintings sit. An old woman came in, admired our clothes and skins, nearly expired over our shoes, inquired our ages, was grieved to discover that we had no sons, and that two of us in fact had even failed to

acquire husbands, and finally left, clucking admiration like a hen. Suh was not present—such conversations we learned to carry on entirely by sign language. It is not in the least difficult, as they always wish to know exactly the same things, and we in turn learned to ask all the same questions of them. We went early to bed after a dinner ruined as usual by the necessity of first eating pine-nut cakes and drinking honey wine, presented by the priests. This we did at every monastery at least twice in a day. They are delicious at first, but as time goes on one grows to hate the sight of them. In the middle of the night the four monastery bells began to intone, striking faster and faster until they clanged and rumbled like a mad witches' Sabbath; and then, bit by bit, the sounds slowly died away into an echoing silence. We could hear the priests chanting to the Buddha and then in a moment or two we were fast asleep again.

In the early morning light we took our way up a narrow gorge, opening upon a high ravine with the outlines of a little temple's eaves among the pines, or rounding suddenly upon a pool. The peaks were so pointed that we could not tell the needles of rock from the pine tips. In the fresh colorlessness both rocks and misty trees were gray as though they were pictures washed in with Chinese ink upon parchment or silk.

The real gateway to Hyokun-ji is a pair of great rocks, carved long ago into archaic Buddhas raising their hands in blessing. It is a large monastery, the dwelling of about forty monks and their dependents, where we had lunch after the usual gift of honey wine and cakes. We were so tired from the day before that we would gladly have napped the afternoon away, but instead we followed the fat little priest, Han, to a waterfall. The Ancients trooped along with us, and when we were settled on steamer rugs in full sight of the falls, they perched about on the rocks, smoking their long pipes, with their high black hats tilted on one side, for all the world like Korean Rip Van Winkles. Some of them climbed cliffs like so many rusty schoolboys to cut bark from which to make their sandals. Some drew forth tiny note books and to our intense surprise began to take solemn Chi-

nese notes on the wild legends the priest was telling them. Once in a while they quarrelled playfully, and waved their long sticks at one another. Han was always ready with a story. He talked as though he were addressing a huge audience and the coolies listened spellbound, while Suh from time to time broke out into his laugh. Every priest has his special work to do. Han was secretary and virtual head of the monastery, though the withered old square-faced abbot was nominally its master. He had only been in the mountains for six years, so felt himself quite a novice in learning. He was at that time reading the Diamond Sutra, after which the mountains are named, though it is really only their spring name. In summer they are called the "Green Mountains," in the autumn, the "Red Maple," and in the winter time, "The Skeleton Mountains." Han spent his days between the monastery accounts and pondering on the



THE ROUND FACED NUNS WITH SHAVEN HEADS WHO DWELL IN THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS

They Came Down to Hyokun-ji for the Memorial Service Given by One of Their Members for Her Dead Parents

source of being—a fruitful eastern meditation.

That evening we came back to Hyokun-ji to find the place in a turmoil. Our room was beside the kitchen, so we heard the excitement and came in. Boys were feeding the fire in the great adobe stove that was built across one side of the room. The fir branches smelled sweetly in the evening air. Other boys were running around the top of the stove, peering into the rice kettles. A slatternly little woman was making thin pancakes over a small fire on the earthen floor. Boys were hurrying to the main temple with bunches of artificial flowers in their hands, and stringing lanterns across the doors. A



HAN, SECRETARY OF HYOKUN-JI MONASTERY  
He Spent His Days Between the Monastery Accounts  
and Pondering on the Source of Being

little round-faced nun from the nunnery up the mountain-side above the monastery was giving a commemorative service for her dead parents. She had been fasting and praying six hours a day for fifty days and now the service itself was to be held that their spirits might the more quickly leave hell. We went into the temple about eight o'clock. It was almost dark inside. The one large standing Buddha was dimly lit by four tapers set in high stands. Before him on the altar stood thirteen copper plates piled high with different kinds of breads and above these were heaped cakes and fruit between the artificial flowers. At the side altars were copper bowls heaped with rice. The priests were ranged about the room with their backs to the wall, the abbot facing the Buddha directly. To one side were the nuns from the near-by nunnery with shaven heads, and baggy white trousers and long gray robes exactly like the priests. The faces were indistinct in the dimness. Above, there was a glint of color from the elaborately painted ceiling. We could see the two carved dragons coiling among the beams. Hour after hour we sat cross-legged on mats with the

Ancients crowded behind us or staring in from the open door. They never missed anything, and this was as new to most of them as it was to us. All around us was the sound of intoning "Kwanzean Posal, Kwanzean Posal, Kwanzean Posal, Kwanzean Posal," with slow genuflections till the head touched the floor, slow risings, then genuflections, endlessly repeated. The abbot struck on a wooden gong, faster and faster came the calls to Kwanzean Posal; the incense from the censer filled the room. The reiteration of the liturgy grew almost hypnotizing—then suddenly when I felt that I could bear it no longer, the neophytes carried in numbers of little tables, one for each priest, lighted a candle on each, spread out one of the holy books and retired silently. The candles brought the faces into sudden relief against the darkness. At a signal, the bonzes opened their books, but instead of reading together, each chose whatever passage he wished and began intoning, his voice rising and falling in waves, each voice at a different key and rhythm and words, yet all blending together into a twisted strand of sound. And over the genuflecting monks and the funny wrinkled round-faced nuns stood the one dim golden Buddha with folded hands.

At two o'clock in the morning beneath a westerling moon, the priests, led by the abbot, filed out, and performed what looked for all the world like a solemn snake dance in the middle of the court. The older priests went first, followed by the sleepy little boys carrying the flowers, all twining gravely in and out of squares and circles. We were each presented with a large pink lotus, and then all marched to a lower terrace, where in the shadow of the gateway, they read for a last time the names of the dead, and then consigned the heaps of flowers to the fire, that writhed like a tortured dragon spitting out sparks of burning petals high in the air.

Late on our last afternoon I sat in the chief temple alone before three Buddhas on many silken mats. In front of them two circles of colored strips of cloth hung from the ceiling, rather like the ribbons of a Maypole. Suh happened to stroll in and stretch himself in the sleepy and not over-respectful attitude he had in temples. He had been so long with the European managers at the mines that he had lost all oriental formality, though he was eager-ness itself to fulfil our slightest wish.

"The strips are prayers for children Korean ladies put up. Then when a child is born they give Buddha a mat," he told me.

"There are many more strips than mats," I was sceptical, but his faith was not to be shaken.

Friday morning we were forced to begin the home trip, which was to take two days, to the Japanese hotel near the sea. We passed many shrines near the poverty-stricken villages.

"Why do the men spit when they pass by the

shrines?" I asked. The custom seemed to me strange.

"They are devil houses," he explained. "When the *tagabbies* make noises in the village, and will not let people sleep, and take the shoes from a man's door and hang them high in the trees, and lead men astray at night, the village builds these houses and the devils all go and live in them. If you are going to be married, or go away on a merchant trip, you bring a present to the house, but if not, you spit to show you think it is nasty."

When Koreans see a corpse they spit, too. Now a corpse is always unlucky and contaminating in the minds of primitive peoples, and spitting is the simplest way of ridding oneself of the contamination. I wondered how Süh would explain this reversion to primitive customs, in a land where the dead are worshipped as gods.

"A dead person does not smell nice," was the only explanation he had of it.

It grew terribly hot. Summer had burst upon us in the last two days. We were glad when we came to the village where we were to eat, and could leave the chairs for the very inadequate shade of a hedge. The afternoon dragged out. The Ancients were tired and began to rest for fifteen minutes at a time, while we sat in the sun under our umbrellas waiting to be picked up again. About five o'clock, as we were again approaching the mountains, we saw the lonely inn by the side of the road, two small buildings at right angles to each other forming a court filled with a score or more squatting figures impassively watching our unloading. Korean inns have a terrible reputation for dirtiness, but our two little rooms were fortunately in a separate building.

When we were once off in the morning we found that the pass was comparatively easy to ascend and that we were able to stay in our chairs. We passed the tungsten mines, and met a stream of men and little boys, hurrying past with great sacks of ore on their backs, like gnomes in *Curdie and the Goblins*. But the other side of the pass was a steep drop over rough gravel. For more than an hour we panted down the side of the mountain and then found ourselves on the side trail that leads to the Bambutsudo, or Myriad Aspects of Things, where the rocks assume fantastic shapes.

Six miles below us the beautiful gorge opened to the Kongo San Hotel and comparative civilization. Tomorrow in that hazy sea the little steamer would again appear and we would once more crowd ourselves and our possessions in a scow and mount her wobbly companionway. The real trip was over, though it would be several days before we should be back in Seoul. We looked at the Ancients' backs and they were more endeared to us than they ever had been before. Their staves were already fast-



A COLOSSAL KOREAN BUDDHA

There Are Many of These Images of the Buddha  
Carved in Bas Relief On the Natural Rock Faces

ened to the sides of the chairs, the notebooks had disappeared into inner recesses forever. Never again should we all meet before the Buddhas until, like the Seraphs in Chiu Chu Chi's poem, we should gather on gorgeous clouds

*In the blissful atmosphere of paradise;  
Where great dragons and fierce tigers lie down to-  
gether in peace.  
Where suns and moons come and go.  
Where great dragons play together.  
Where birds of paradise fit happily about.  
And black monkeys and rare white deer are found.  
Their beautiful flowers of all seasons.  
Ripe fruit of all kinds abound.  
Tall pines and lovely bamboos.  
Flowers of all odors  
Immortal peaches all ripe.*

And there the Ancients will sit perched about on rocks beside a stream, with their tall black hats cocked a little on one side, always finding innumerable things to say to one another, while little attendants bring them fruit and steaming tea and the gold-skinned Holy Ones smile down upon them.

# JAPAN: IMPERIAL AND CAPITALISTIC

By H. M. HYNDMAN

FROM the earliest days when Japan began to reorganize the superstructure of her society so that she might hold her own against western dictation on land and sea, she set to work also to reconstitute the whole industry of the country on similar lines so far as they were suited to Asiatic customs and laws. The progress of Japan has been from military and naval development to the improvements in agriculture and manufacture necessary to maintain great fighting forces. Japan to-day has an army and a navy at least twice as strong as they were at the close of the Russo-Japanese War. The general opinion of those best qualified to judge is that she will not be content until they are at least twice their present strength.

Japan is still a poor country compared with such nations as the United Kingdom, France, Germany, or the United States. Even Russia is considerably richer than Japan. How then is the Island Empire, with its present population of some 70,000,000 including Korea, Formosa and the Liaotung Peninsula, to pay interest on its large foreign loans and bear at the same time the weight of these heavy armaments? This question was faced by Japanese statesmen at a very early period in the record of the new development. They saw at once that it was useless to enter upon such an ambitious policy as that which opened out before them, especially after their successful war with China, unless they adopted every possible modern improvement in agriculture, manufacture, transport, railways, shipping, finance and mining. The education of the people must also accompany this activity. Thus alone could Japan hope to continue on the upward path which her leaders had traced for her. Nothing was omitted which could lead to the attainment of her object. Mistakes were made in some directions, of course; but never in any western country, not even in Germany, was the complete programme of the industrial and social transformation of a nation carried out so systematically as in Japan. Here, as in the army and navy, European ideas were used and adapted, but European influence was never at any moment allowed to dominate.

There were those who hoped, the writer among them, that the Japanese, who had examined and criticized the advantages and defects of modern western society, would avoid the terrible mischief caused to any working population by the introduction of unrestrained capitalism, the great factory industries and the consequent bitter competition for a mere subsistence wage by men, women and

children. Little or no attempt has been made in this direction. The results, as will be seen later, are deplorable. Japanese industrial imperialism has been a curse to the people. But the economic change from national poverty to comparative national affluence is being brought about none the less. The natural skill of the people, their power of adaptation and their personal industry, when combined with the most improved machinery and a low rate of wages, are rendering them very formidable competitors in the world market, while there has been none of that fatal neglect of agriculture whose full effect England is now experiencing. Agriculture is and always has been by far the most important industry of Japan, and the growth of manufactures and commerce has not induced the Government to neglect this, the foundation of all sound national prosperity. The small cultivators, whose average holdings are not more than those of the Chinese peasantry, constitute the healthiest and most vigorous class in the empire,—the men who did the best of the fighting against China and Russia and the backbone of the Japanese armies to-day. The land itself is not fertile, and the climate is not specially favorable to tillage. Consequently, rural life is hard and the standard of existence low. Home industry of all kinds is brought in to increase the product of the family and relieve them from actual hardship. The more fortunate who are engaged in the silk and weaving industries, owning at the same time their plots of land, are the best off and stand in much the same position as the cultivators and weavers of the eighteenth century in the north of England or the small *vignerons* of southern France. Those of the agricultural population who have to pay rent to landlords or till the land for large proprietors are much worse off. The tendency also of the rural population to drift into the cities in search of high wages and relief from excessive and ungrateful toil is growing in Japan as elsewhere. Including the output of all departments of home industry of every kind, the total annual value of the products of agriculture is put at an average of \$780,000,000 a year from a population of upward of 30,000,000 engaged in work upon the soil, or about \$25 per head gross, exclusive of taxation or cost of manures. These make a deduction from this total of nearly \$3.75 per head. Reckoned in money, therefore, the total income of a family of five persons of the agricultural class dependent upon the soil does not greatly exceed \$100 a year, in return for the exhausting labor of



man, woman and children. This is large, no doubt in comparison with the return obtained by the pauper ryots of British India, but it is a poor remuneration, even when compared with the ill paid and badly housed agricultural laborers of southern England. Only 17 per cent of the area of Japan is cultivated, and such is the character of the remainder that there is little probability of any great extension. As the population is increasing so fast that it can scarcely be absorbed in the cities, the question of emigration will probably grow more pressing as years go on. The emigration question must be considered in all discussion of Japan's foreign policy and its solution will become more important, if Japan should combine with China in a demand for a free outlet for their surplus laborers to unoccupied or sparsely peopled territories.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the Japanese Government and the intelligence and industry of the people, accompanied by a reduction of agricultural taxation, are producing remarkable results. The most recent statistics available show that although the extent of cultivated land has not very greatly increased, the average yield per acre has improved steadily in the past twenty years. There is every reason to believe that this upward tendency will still continue, though not at the same rate. What may be achieved by direct and capable State intervention is shown in the case of tobacco, where, by careful attention and selection, a smaller cultivated area and lessened production brings in a higher return owing to improved quality.

But important as agriculture is and must ever remain for Japan—if her statesmen retain their capacity of correctly judging the national interests—she relies upon her advance in the great modern industries for the means to hold permanently the position which she has gained by her wars and her diplomacy. She has not, however, advanced in this respect as much as she required or as her leaders hoped. It is easy to understand the enormous difficulty of introducing into an agricultural country almost at a blow, as it were, and without any thorough preparation or training, the complete paraphernalia of modern industry and manufacture. The wonder is, not that Japan has failed in the course of a generation to rival fully the great industrial countries which had so long a start of her on the markets of the world, but that she has been able to achieve so much within so short a period. Had she not assumed the necessity for a policy of aggression and expansion on the mainland and the constant endeavor to secure a dominant position in China, Japan would already have established her domestic concerns and foreign trade upon a thoroughly sound basis. In less than thirty years her exports and imports have increased more than fifteen fold; she has freed her hands from the

trammels of commercial conventions with foreign nations and can impose such protective duties as she pleases; she has ceased to be dependent upon external sources for warships and munitions; she has built up and is extending an important mercantile marine; and just at the time when her financial circumstances had become rather strained, the great world war,—which means something not far short of financial ruin to some of her Allies,—enabled Japan, after the fall of Tsingtao, to lay up great wealth.

Japanese impatience at the rate of progress seems due rather to the excitability of a new born nation than to that cool, unbiased judgment of events to which we have been accustomed in Japan's foreign and colonial policy. As a matter of fact, agriculture, mining, manufacture, advancing; commerce steadily growing to such an extent that in 1915 Japan became the creditor of foreign nations for about \$120,000,000; population increasing,—apart from the 17,000,000 added in 1910, by the annexation of Korea,—and now the economic advantage due to the great war: altogether give Japan the position at home which enables her to take a bold line abroad.

Nor can we fail to see that the Government is pursuing—with the 53,000,000 of Japanese and 17,000,000 of Koreans—a home policy which from the capitalist point of view is calculated to strengthen her still further. It is lamentable, for instance, to compare what Japan is doing in the matter of education and scientific training of her children and young people with what the English are doing in India. In Great Britain itself, English school training is in many respects behind Japanese. There are no fewer than 7,000,000 children in the elementary schools of Japan and 500,000 youths in the special and technical schools. The helping hand of the Government is extended throughout, and students are encouraged and aided in their endeavor to improve their efficiency by foreign travel and investigation. So excellent are the Japanese educational establishments and universities that thousands of Chinese go to Japan in order to acquire that modern knowledge from the West which the Chinese themselves recognize as indispensable to the development of their country, but which they are not able to furnish at home. Japan is providing not merely military and naval but intellectual leadership for the hundreds of millions of the vast empire by whose inhabitants she is nevertheless disliked and despised.

When we speak of Japan mainly as an agricultural country, this gives an inadequate conception of the great strength of the urban population which is increasing in Japan as in other civilized countries. Apart from Tokyo with its 2,000,000 inhabitants, and Osaka, with 1,400,000, there are five

other cities which have together a population of 2,000,000, and there are in all sixty-six towns with a population of over 30,000 each. Moreover the greater part of the larger cities and towns are collected close together in comparison with the total area of the Japanese islands. Railways now connect the main industrial and agricultural centers, supplementing the admirable water communications by sea and canal. This concentration of industrialism and improvement in transport combine to give Japan a focus of material influence which can scarcely fail to increase her pressure upon China in time to come. A glance at the map shows how this long procession of islands from Saghalien to Formosa, lying like a series of wharves along the coast of eastern Asia, with its outposts and inlets at Korea, on the Liaotung Peninsula, at Kiao-Chaou and now at Fukien, gives Japan an enormous commercial as well as a strategical advantage in the competitive war of the near future, as compared with her rivals in Europe or in America. Never in history was so remarkably favorable a geographical situation in the hands of one nation, controlled by men capable of taking full advantage of it and looking to the future of Asia as in some sort the heritage of the Japanese race.

When we consider the question of labor, of wages, of the domination of capital, of physical endurance under the new industrial conditions, the outlook for Japan is not so favorable for permanent success. Unless, in this department as in others, the Japanese are ready to deal with and remedy the defects of a ruthless system of material and personal exploitation, they may find the ground break under them later. The old Japan is being destroyed by capitalism and it is still doubtful whether Japanese laborers and artisans are so well suited to face the pressure of the intermediate period as the more physically powerful as well as more stolid Chinese. The extremely pacific, long-suffering and persistent nature of the Chinese tells in their favor. As competitors in agriculture on the mainland, and in hard manual work of all kinds, it is said that the Japanese have already proved unable to hold their own against Chinese or even Koreans. So, likewise, in factories. Employers can get more effective and more continuous work out of Chinese than out of Japanese. Since women almost entirely take the place of men in Japanese textile industries, Japan may have the advantage for the time being, but in the long run such toil as is now enforced upon Japanese women must certainly deteriorate their progeny.

But when we read of factories buzzing night and day; thousands of young girls still contracting to live for three years in a "compound" like so many peas in a pod, and to work in the mills for twelve hours per day one week and twelve hours per night

the next; when we bear in mind that these female wage-slaves coming mostly from the country districts, the daughters of small agriculturists, receive as wages from 10 to 20 cents a day for twelve hours of exhausting toil; when we further consider that in all trades, though wages are rising, the cost of mere subsistence is increasing still more—when we sum all this up we can see that Japan, by plunging headlong into unrestrained competitive capitalism, is running social risks against which the sad experience of our own and other countries might well have warned her.

The old personal and kindly relations between masters and workers, which formed a portion of the ancient days of Japan and lasted up to the great change, are disappearing. It is as if the feudalism and guild system of our own Middle Age, with all their restrictions and castes and regulations and grades, had been plunged at a stroke into the purely competitive, *laissez-faire*, pecuniary capitalism of the nineteenth century. Even in the West we have not yet understood that children are the most important portion of any community, though savage tribes know and act upon this truth. In Japan the vitality of the industrial class is sapped, their intelligence stunted, and their morality imperiled by endless factory work. The lessons of Europe have not been learned. There is reason, however, to hope that much more vigorous steps will be taken as the sane and sensible part of the nation wakes up to the truth and the workers gain influence as a class.

In the meantime, Japan may be said to form the classical example of fulfillment of the prediction that wherever capitalism—with its attendant competition, great factory industry, production for profit and wage-slavery—gains ground, there socialism will assuredly follow. There are countries such as Finland, France and Italy, where, although the great industries have not by any means reached their full development, yet socialism, owing to various causes, has made rapid progress. This is especially the case in Finland. In Japan the rise of capitalism has been accompanied at once by a development of socialism. Of course, therefore, we find the Japanese capitalists, with their attendant professors, hard at work to prove that there is not any antagonism between capital and labor.

The workers of Japan seem to have unconsciously revolted against this new religion of the slave-drivers modernized before socialism gained any hold. Huge masses of men, scarcely even organized in their trades, recognized indistinctly that their interests were one as against their masters'. So formidable did the expression of this general opinion, in the form of public meetings and demonstrations, threaten to be that at the very commencement they were suppressed by the police. Socialism gave a scientific, historic basis to the working class un-

rest. But this advance did not come at once. The efforts of Tokichi Tani and Shimosu Inagaki in the early eighties failed to obtain any support, although trade unionism had already made considerable progress, notably among the railway servants. Whatever work may have been done privately, there was no definite association until The Society for the Study of Socialism was formed in 1889 for the express purpose of investigating Social Democratic teaching. The names of the principal founders were the two Socialists given above, with Isoh Abé, Sen Katayama, Sakuma, and Miyake.

"At their regular meetings they gave in turn lectures on such eminent Socialists as St. Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, Marx, &c., and on the principles laid down by them. This association lasted for two years, and during that time some of the members advocated socialism and others were opposed to it. But at the end of 1900 the association decided to take up active work and it was deemed essential that it should consist of socialist members only. The non-socialist members thereupon withdrew, and the title was changed to The Socialist Society."

Early in 1901 the Japanese Social-Democratic Party was formed. It was immediately dissolved by the Government. Here is the programme issued by the leaders:—

1. To extend the principle of Universal Brotherhood.
2. To enforce the disarmament for the sake of Universal Peace.
3. To abolish the existing system of class distinctions.
4. To establish public ownership in land and capital.
5. To establish public ownership in means of communication, such as railways and ships.
6. To equalize distribution of wealth.
7. To equalize the distribution of political rights.
8. To make the State bear the expense of free education for the people.

This is manifestly as complete a revolutionary series of proposals as has ever been set forth in any civilized country. In some respects it is simpler and more intelligible than most of the programmes of the same kind that I have seen in any language. No wonder that the Japanese Government, at that time wholly devoted to capitalism and its concomitant economic and social oppression of the mass of the people, refused the Social Democrats fair play.

Thus deprived of any opportunity for open propaganda, the Social Democrats were compelled to devote themselves to economic education only. Before and during the Russian War the Japanese Social Democrats joined with those whom we may call Socialistic Radicals in an agitation against the whole policy of the Government. Although this meant further persecution, they made considerable progress and by degrees the pretence of fear of a dangerous secret society brought with it the forms of repression to which socialists of all countries are

accustomed. Imprisonment, suppression of newspapers, and then official prosecutions, condemnations and hangings soon followed. Japanese statesmen showed themselves as ruthless against active reformers and revolutionaries at home as they had been by their own admission against the unfortunate Manchurians, Chinese and Koreans abroad. Consequently many Japanese Social Democrats were compelled to flee the country and take refuge in Europe and America. Thus was seen the strange contrast that while Japan was granting asylum to Chinese revolutionary leaders such as Sun Yat-sen, Huang Hsing and their friends, Japanese Social Democrats were executed and imprisoned and others were compelled to fly for their lives. Nevertheless, socialism in Japan is making way steadily. There is already a large literature on the subject.

The controversies which have been carried on so vigorously in Europe and America have been renewed in Japan. There are already two well-defined sections: the State Socialists, who answer to the Fabian Society, with its bureaucratic ideals, and the revolutionary Socialists or Social Democrats, proceeding on the same lines as the French and English parties bearing the same name. By common consent persecution has failed to prevent the propaganda of ideas.

Progress is going on quietly all the time. Though public opinion is not so far developed in Japan as her champions, native and foreign, contend, we cannot doubt that the national intelligence which has so rapidly developed socialists of great capacity and high scientific idealism will, ere long, manifest itself in an endeavor to prepare for the coming forms of social life which must sooner or later displace the mushroom growth of capitalism. The antagonism between this capitalism and the wagedom below is increasing. The opposition of socialized industrialism to aggressive imperialism must likewise gain strength. Those same problems which Europe and America have to face and solve or else go under in the struggle of classes, must likewise be handled in Japan. Capitalists will then be called upon to make sacrifices to enlightened patriotism like those made by the majority of the *daimio* and *samurai* fifty years ago. It may be that they, and with them the nation at large, will rise to this high conception of national progress, national well-being, and national dignity. Having learnt much from Europe, the growing power of Asia may, by her peaceful internal reorganization, teach Europe in turn. But this can scarcely be harmonized with imperialist ambitions and militarist lust of conquest. In short, Japan, as a World Power and as the champion of Asia for the Asiatics, has a glorious future before her, if she refuses to sacrifice the greatness of her people at home to the illusory glory of domination abroad.



# WAR AND PEACE IN MESOPOTAMIA

By JOHN VAN ESS

ONLY after the lapse of years when we are able to see the whole war in perspective, will it appear how much of what transpired in the minor theatres of conflict checkmated Germany into ultimate defeat in the main arena. I wish to sketch some of the events that happened in Mesopotamia and their significance in relation, first, to the destruction of militarism, and, even more important, to the opening up and cultivation of new soil for the propagation of peaceful and humane and constructive ideals. It is a long way from Unter den Linden to the Persian Gulf, but they formed part of the same ground plan; namely, *Mittel Europa*. I have seen a good deal of the litter in the back yard of *Mittel Europa*, and I was present when the plumber in the person of the British Expeditionary Force came along and purified the premises.

If matters in Mesopotamia and Arabia had been allowed to remain *in status quo*, the Russian situation would have been complicated in Mesopotamia by a situation the more menacing, the better organized it was, and the nearer to vital British imperial interests in India and Egypt. As in Europe, so in the East, nobody comprehended at first the implications of the struggle. When Turkey entered the war against Great Britain, Britain might have blockaded Turkey's back door in the Persian Gulf and concentrated her forces elsewhere. That she advanced there at all was due to two considerations, the stabilization of Arab and Indian sentiment and the necessity for protecting the oil refineries at Abadan, forty miles from the Gulf. With a force composed of one white and three Indian regiments and two mountain batteries General Delamain took Fao at the mouth of the river and left there the graves of British soldiers, the first of thousands to pay the price for the redemption of Mesopotamia and its peoples. The next objective was Abadan. In 1901 Persia granted a concession to work petroleum fields to one D'Arcy, a British subject. In 1903 I hired the mules for a lone Englishman who had come to do the prospecting. In 1911 the enterprise had grown into the Anglo-Persian Oil Company with a large refining plant, electric power station, complete equipment and 120 miles of pipe line. In 1914 the British Government held £2,200,000 worth of its shares, in order to secure a base for supplying oil fuel to the British Navy. It was to protect Abadan that the first force moved up the river. After that, the horizon and scope began to widen, compelled by sheer military necessity.

The Turks had mobilized a force of about ten thousand men over half of whom had never held a rifle until two months previously. Two whole regiments consisted of gendarmes, men over forty-five years of age, almost all of whom had left a family of dependents at home. The Turkish Government had guaranteed a separation allowance of one *piastre* (four cents) a day per family. Of these ten thousand men, the main resistance was provided by two regiments composed of Anatolian Turks, real fighting men, strong in physique, fanatical and fatalistic in spirit. In the meantime those of us who were back of the lines in Basrah, shut off from the world, were endeavoring to possess our souls in patience and were living on hope. There was not much else to live on for a time. But the great and really only hardship we suffered in those days was the mental pabulum afforded by the Wolff Bureau dispatches from Berlin. From the wounded who came to the American hospital and from the Arabs we heard how things were going. Even while we could hear the roar of the approaching British guns, the Wolff dispatches chronicled that the British had been driven into the Gulf, that Abadan was in ruins and that all India was aflame with rebellion.

In Basrah River lay the *Ekbatana*, a Hamburg-American freighter, which on the outbreak of the war in Europe had scuttled to Turkish waters for safety. Through August, September and October, I frequently met the officers and they confidently expected to be at sea again and on the way to Hamburg by Christmas time. When Turkey broke with Britain they sank the *Ekbatana* and three steam lighters at the narrowest point of the river to obstruct the fairway. The engineers then joined the Turkish force in the capacity of mine layers.

The British force was reinforced in November by two brigades of infantry together with three mountain batteries and some light cavalry. After brisk engagements at Sahain and at Sahil they fell back on their base, expecting that the main Turkish resistance would be at Biljaniya, where the Turks had made a semblance of a strong position. Taking advantage of the British delay they gathered up their army and withdrew to Gurna, 48 miles up stream, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates. The withdrawal was, however, in many respects a rout for the army, which melted rapidly in the process. Three Turkish soldiers deserted into my house and were a welcome asset with three rifles and 350 cartridges in the two days of chaos and



MOSUL, THE OBJECTIVE OF THE MESOPOTAMIAN CAMPAIGN, FROM THE PONTOON BRIDGE ACROSS THE TIGRIS RIVER

Mosul is the Collecting and Distributing Centre for the North Mesopotamian Desert and Kurdistan, and the Meeting-Point of Roads from Aleppo, Diarbekr, Bitlis, North and West Persia and Bagdad. It Has Given Its Name to a Cloth, *Muslin*, the Manufacture of Which Formerly Represented an Important Industry of Mosul

anarchy that followed. The last thing the Turks did was to open the prison doors and thus contribute to the general confusion. Two days later a British colonel dined at my table.

The British advanced to Gurna and after a temporary set-back occupied the town and captured 1,300 soldiers, among whom was Colonel Subhi Bey, commander of the Turkish troops, who befriended us in many ways during the trying days of mobilization. In the months that followed the capture of Gurna, there was only skirmishing, while the Turks gathered a strong force, supplemented by Arab tribesmen, most of whom had been coerced into fighting. To protect their flank the British had fortified a small oasis called Shaiba, eight miles to the west of Basrah. In the spring of 1915 Suleiman Askeri Bey advanced with 12,000 troops, reinforced by the same number of Arab irregulars, and attacked Shaiba, which was held by 4,500 British. Two days and nights our windows rattled and we could see the shrapnel burst and hear the machine guns bark. Turkish sympathizers in the city had killed sheep and were boiling the rice to regale the victors when they should re-enter. Back in December one of the most powerful of the Arabs together with four others had sent a Christmas telegram to the King expressing in unequivocal language their delight at the change of regime, and thus swung the sentiments of their thousands of followers to the British. When the Turks heard of this, they

court-martialed the five Arabs *in absentia* and sentenced them to be hanged. While the bombardment of Shaiba was proceeding, the leader of these five was sitting in my office. I asked him laughingly whether he was not ready to run. And he answered with deep feeling:

"Sahib, if Allah allows the Turks to retake Basrah, I shall lose faith in his love for the Arabs."

On the second night when Suleiman Askeri Bey saw that there was no possibility of taking Shaiba, he withdrew his forces and began to retreat north. Early on the morning of the third day the British left a small force in the fort and advanced with the remainder to the pursuit. The 2nd Dorsets were leading the charge. Colonel Rosher had been killed. Major Clarkson had been wounded and the command devolved on Captain Aldeman of Company A. With a clip of five cartridges left to each man the situation looked desperate and the orders came to withdraw. What happened to the orders I do not know, but Captain Aldeman ordered his men to fix bayonets and charge. The Turks rose and fled, Suleiman Askeri Bey committed suicide, and the battered British force wended its way back to Shaiba. Thus was fought a battle which among the battles of the war does not seem great, and yet it was the real battle for the back door of Turkey. Had the Turks re-entered Basrah, Britain might have decided to limit further operations to a blockade and *Mittel Europa* would still have been a

reality and, remaining so, would have endangered the peace of the world regardless of results elsewhere. And, further, the Arabs would have been left as they were and never reclaimed for the high endeavor with which they may yet enrich the world.

In the following summer Nasiriyeh and Amara were taken. In the attack on the latter place the German engineers from the *Ekkbatana* were captured. In the course of a conversation I said to Herr Gramberg, the chief engineer:

"Well, after all, you are better off here at the mercy of white men than up with the Turks in filth and squalor and misery."

But his eyes flashed and he said: "I would rather endure the hardships of summer campaigning in the swamps, up to my neck in mud, with the off-scouring of humanity, than to eat one crust of bread from the English, so much I hate them."

Among the prisoners captured at Amara was the *mutessarif*, the sub-governor. The British Intelligence Department was anxious to find out what were the prospects of an exchange of these prisoners for the nine English women who had been detained in Bagdad after their husbands had been deported, and I was asked to sound this particular *mutessarif* on the subject. So the smoking saloon of the prison ship was placed at my disposal; I was given fancy cigarettes and a tea-service with which to play host, and His Excellency was ushered in. In past years I had spent many weary hours on the

edge of a chair in the presence of Turkish officials with hands meekly folded across my stomach, coat buttoned, knees and feet together, and head respectfully inclined forward as etiquette demanded. But now that the tables were turned I honestly did not intend to take advantage of the situation. When he entered I arose and held out my hand and asked him kindly to be seated, gave him a cigarette and poured him some tea. But despite my assurance that I was a neutral and meant only kindness he refused to be put at ease. The perspiration rolled from his forehead, his knees quaked, in his abject terror he could scarcely talk. Finally I confess I obeyed an unworthy impulse. I said in my heart, "For twelve years I have sat with bowed head before your breed. I will call it square for thirty minutes of the process reversed." When the bey finally backed away and out, all rancor against the Turks on that score had left my soul. But I think I would not have done it if this particular bey had not been such a shrimp. In the old days *mutessarifs* were loud mouthed, carried a cudgel, frothed and stormed, but they gave you a chance to stand up to them and they commanded your respect, at least, for their positiveness. This particular individual was a fair sample of the many who followed in the train of Mon Enver. He looked as if he might have poisoned a far worthier Turk than himself, or done some despicable pussy-foot rascality for the Constantinople clique, for which he had been rewarded with his present office in which he rattled around like a dried nut. The English women were eventually released, not as the result of my efforts.

To come back to the march of events. The necessity for taking Nasiriyeh lay in the fact that it controls the lower reaches of the Shatt el Hai, which there joins the Euphrates at the point where the marshes are formed which in flood season afford an approach to Basrah. The necessity for taking Amara was likewise dictated by a larger consideration; namely, to prevent an advance to the Karun River whence the Abadan pipe line could be cut. One thing thus led to another and autumn found the British in possession of Kut el Amara. The strategic importance of Kut lay in the fact that the



West. Stewart

BRITISH MILITARY CONSTRUCTING A RAILWAY NEAR THE TOMB OF EZRA, NOT FAR FROM KURNA, VISIBLE IN THE DISTANCE AMONG THE PALMS OF THE SHATT EL-ARAB

Among the Permanent and Constructive Contributions of the War, Are the Miles of Railway and Water Piping That Have Been Laid in Mesopotamia and Palestine by the British During Their Occupation of Asia Minor



Wien Steiner

#### THE MUD VILLAGE OF KALAT SALEH ON THE TIGRIS BETWEEN KURNA AND AMARA

In the Summer of 1915, British Forces, Under General Townshend, Pushed North from Basrah, Capturing Two Strategic Points, Nasiriyeh and Amara. These Towns Were the Controlling Factors in the Protection of Basrah and the Abadan Oil Pipe Lines

Shatt el Hai branches off from the Tigris through the comparatively well populated and fertile Muntefik region, the recruiting ground for Arab irregulars, and the ever present menace to Basrah. The only claim to distinction which Kut el Amara had before the war was that you could get ripe dates there after they had disappeared from the market elsewhere. If Mesopotamia were to have remained Turkish, Kut might still have been famous only for her dates. But when Kut witnessed the "last full measure of devotion" poured out by Townshend and his immortal Sixth Division, and witnessed the undying heroism of those who gave their lives to save him, a price was paid which cannot be equalized save by the redemption of all the Mesopotamian peoples unto higher and nobler living. Kut el Amara is Britain's pledge that Turkey, and through Turkey, Germany shall never set foot there again.

The great British campaign in Mesopotamia completely blocked Germany in a military sense and knocked the bottom out of the *Mittel Europa* scheme. A barrier entirely Arab has already been erected, from the Red Sea to the Persian frontier. The barrier consists of the potential Arab empire, an empire to consist of four kingdoms: Hejaz, on the Red Sea, with its king already on the throne in his capital at Mecca; Nejd, the whole interior, with its emir, who is virtually a king, and its capi-

tal at Riyadh; Mesopotamia, with its capital at Bagdad and its king not yet proclaimed; Syria, which completes the empire and includes all the Arabs.

With this Arab empire formed as a barrier against any more *Drang nach Osten*, what will guarantee its fidelity to allied plans and ideals? One factor is that the King of Hejaz, who is under deep obligation to Britain for his present position and absolutely dependent upon her for maintaining it, is also recognized caliph of the great majority of the Moslem world. Another factor, and I think the strongest factor which will ensure their loyalty, is just this, that the Arabs have worthy aspirations, have the qualities to attain them, and know that Britain has demonstrated that she does and will foster such legitimate aspirations. And here I think the second great condition will be conspicuously met. The Arab race as a whole will be redeemed to take its place in the new world after the war. A beginning has already been made. Amid the business of campaigning, and with that as the first business, the marvel is that so much was already accomplished before the actual signing of the armistice, towards clearing away the underbrush. New roads, clean streets, free hospital clinics, schools, equitable taxation, efficient police, pure water supply and equality before the law—and the law administered by capable men—all testify to Britain's high intention.

# ON PERSIAN MINIATURES: SOME PHANTASIES

By R. M. RIEFSTAHL

## PRELIMINARIES

Western art, based on Greek creation, continued by the Romans of the Empire, nearly perishing in the dark centuries between Attila and Charlemagne and reviving in the many branches of Medieval and later European art, is always founded on the same principle of clear penetration of reality from the standpoint of man: seeing Man as the center of the world, creating gods after the image of Man and becoming interested in nature only as far as it is of interest to Man. It is not narrowly naturalistic: there is space for all the dreams, sufferings, passions and hopes of humanity; for movement, action and conflict within space, time and causality. Western art is a wonderful objectivation of all the doings of humanity within the last three thousand years.

There is something else in Eastern art. Something deeper. The soul of the East has its abode in the region where end and beginning meet, where time, space and causality; passion, joy and suffering, are nothing but warp and weft of the veil which covers eternity. The East has learned to know that personality, form and volume are nothing but illusions. Once they are recognized as such, the philosopher has no need for their materialization in color, line, wood or stone; and the man who has not yet freed himself from the fetters of individuality nevertheless wants from art only a gentle dream or the charm of a fairy tale, which is not disturbed by the intensity of what the Occidentals call reality and what in reality is illusion.

## CHINESE TURKESTAN ANNO DOMINI 100

With ringing bells, camel after camel, the long caravan ambles through the sand of Turkestan. The road is safe. A hundred years ago the Han Emperor Siuan Ti had broken the power of the nomad barbarians and led his armies as far as the Northern, the Caspian, Sea, and just a few years ago the great General Pan Chao saw the city of Kashgar at his mercy and had overcome snow and ice in the mountain passes of the Pamirs. Chinese garrisons lead a dreary life in the forlorn block-houses of the new Western highroad. The smoke signals on the horizon comfort the lonely travelers: there on the horizon watch the guardians of the empire of Han.

There is another kingdom far in the West, they call it Ta Tsin; the Chinese know of it only from

hearsay. The people there are rich, but they have no silk. Their women want silk, and year after year their men pay thousands and thousands of yellow gold coins, struck with the head of the Roman emperor, for the bales of silk, which year after year the caravans carry from the heart of China to the Western frontier.

The Chinese merchants never met the men from Ta Tsin. They saw their gold coins in the hands of the Persian merchants in Khokand, Yarkand and Kashgar, where the silk was sold. They saw strange vases, made by the men of the West, more transparent than jade, sometimes clear like ice, sometimes sparkling in ruby red, blue, green, and yellow like amber. But the power of Han was never strong enough to break the barrier of the Persian soldiers and merchants and permit the Chinese to meet and to trade with the men of the West.

## MANI

Mani was the son of a priest in Ecbatana. He grew up in the teachings of old Chaldaean religion, but he gave a new meaning to the old myths of the struggle of light against darkness, of good against evil. He heard the teachings of the Christ and the Buddha, and their gospels deepened his thoughts.

Mani is a wonderful poet: he teaches the continuous process of purification of the Universe: an immense wheel with twelve barrels, symbolizing the twelve signs of the zodiac, turns eternally and pours a golden stream of light into the holds of two shining vessels, the sun and the moon. And they sail through space and spread the light over the earth, driving away darkness and the spirit of evil.

An old Chaldaean myth in wonderfully rejuvenated form! But the priests hated the newcomer, and when he exposed his doctrine to the new King, Shapur, on the day of the King's coronation, he had to flee. He went to Turkestan, wandered through the neighboring provinces of China and India. The desert, where so many great thinkers have found their inspiration, helped him to give the final shape to his thoughts. Long time he lived in a cavern in the solitude, and gave himself up to deep meditation. And the sacred book which he wrote in a writing of his invention was adorned by the prophet with beautiful illuminations.

An old man, he returned to Persia and brought the work of his life before the new King, Hormazd, but again his adversaries rose against him and





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caused his arrest: like the Christ, he died the death on the cross in 276 A. D.

That is the story of the beginning of Persian miniature painting. Mani's work survived him: when the Persians of our day want to give the highest praise to a painting, they call it a work of Mani.

#### CHINESE TURKESTAN UNDER THE TANG EMPERORS

The Parthian enemy of Romans and Chinese had been superseded by a much more aggressive foe: Mohammadanism conquered in quick succession Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia. The Roman emperors of Byzantium were besieged in their very capital and the Sassanian empire was destroyed. The magi and fire worshippers of Sassanian Persia had to yield to the new God of Islam and to the new law which forbade the representation of any living creature. Arab eloquence and subtleness supplanted the old Chaldaean and Iranian traditions, which found refuge in Turkestan within and beyond the Chinese frontier. Persia, west of the desert of Khorassan, became a secondary province of the Khalifat. Herat, Bokhara and Samarkand became border districts where ambitious governors soon established kingdoms of their own. In the meantime all the religions persecuted by intolerant Mohammadanism had found refuge in Turkestan, where Chinese supremacy, which had been on the wane during the centuries of civil strife, had been reestablished under the powerful dynasty of the Tang. Wonderful Chinese poems tell us the melancholy story of the soldiers exiled to the Western borderland, guarding highways and frontier walls, and still more wonderful are the stories told by the thousands and thousands of manuscripts and monuments which in recent years have been unearthed from the sandy deserts of Khotan, Turfan and other places where life and civilization flourished twelve hundred years ago.

The wall paintings in the temples tell us of the strange agglomeration of men and thoughts: Chinese governors and soldiers, fur traders from the North from Siberia, agile astute Indian merchants from the far South, fire worshippers from Persia, Nestorian Christians from Syria, Jews driven since centuries from Palestine, are all settled peacefully

among the native Turks, who prosper wherever irrigation allows fruits and cereals to grow. Buddhist monks from India have built splendid cave temples with large frescoe paintings on which the men of those days still live: strange appearances with high boots of variegated leather, clad in fur-trimmed kaftans of gold brocaded Chinese silks, their heads covered with high fur bonnets; strange men with curved Persian noses and blue eyes and blond hair. In other temples devoted to the Manichæan faith we see the white garments of the ascetic electi. All these marvelous monuments show a strange mixture of the old Greco-Roman tradition, which since the campaigns of Alexander the Great never died out, with elements imported from India, from Persia and from China.

The earliest remainders of Persian miniature paintings—strangely resembling the miniatures of the Mongolian period—have been discovered in the ruins of these cosmopolitan cities: a few sheets of Manichæan manuscripts, written in the writing invented by Mani and decorated with illuminations of powerful design and rich harmonies of color in which a deep red, which always seems to have been the preferred color of the people of Turkestan, is prevailing. These unique pages show us early Persian or Sassanian art in exile, when painting in Persia had died out under the intolerant rule of the Arabs.

#### MAVARALNAR

The Arabs call Turkestan the country of Mavaralnar, the country beyond the river Oxus. Persia

is divided by the desert of Khorassan into two distinct parts. In the Western part Arab rule was firmly established. In the Eastern part, comprising Herat, Khorassan, Ferghana, Balkh and Turkestan proper, with the cities of Bokhara, Samarkand, Kashgar and Yarkand, Mohammadanism established itself firmly. But when the Khalifs



*Colours Collection*

#### MICE AND PLANTS

A Fourteenth Century Miniature of the Mongolian School, Under Chinese Influence

forgot their great mission over the joys of their harems, the governors in the Eastern border provinces began fraternizing with the Persian and Turkish elements which partly were settled in the country, partly had found refuge in Chinese territory, and came now slowly filtering back to their



SCENE IN A MOSQUE

Miniature by Shirk Zadeh, School of Behzad. Early Sixteenth Century Example

old country. A Mohammadan civilization, based on old Persian tradition, arose now at the courts of the Taherids, the Samanids, and the Shahs of Khiva: the greatest Persian poet, Firdusi, flourished at the court of the Samanids and that of the Ghaznevids. We hear that the early manuscripts of these great poets were adorned with rich illumination, but not a single painting has as yet been discovered. Yet we know exactly what these books must have been: a continuation of the old Persian tradition as revealed in the Manichaean paintings from Turfan, with something freer and richer due to a more intense influence of Chinese art. Something richer than the Arab miniature paintings, of

which a few manuscripts have been preserved from the early thirteenth century.

It is strange to think that of the palaces and mosques, of the brilliant courts and busy bazaars of those days, practically the last trace has been destroyed, and yet by the works of the poets, by the tales of the historians, by a few stones in Ghazni, and by the art of later periods based on the tradition of the early art of Mavara'nar we can clearly see how brilliant and rich life during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries must have been in the provinces, which in later centuries still were the seat of Mohammadan science and wisdom.

#### THE MONGOL FLOOD

Centuries of evolution and dissolution made the Arabs more tolerant towards the decoration of manuscripts with miniature paintings. Their two earliest illustrated manuscripts, both dated A.D. 1222, show a style quite different from that of the manuscripts illuminated in the Persian East. Less color, more line and a slight perfume of Western Byzantine elements. These manuscripts: the *Makamat* of Hariri in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and the *Dioscorides* of 1222, have always been said to represent the beginning of Persian miniature painting. This is entirely wrong. Miniature painting has only been an incident with the Arabs; it was a need and a matter of continuous tradition to the Persians since the days of the Sassanians.

The Turco Persian empires in the lands of Transoxiana and Khorassan seemed to be firmly established against the Khalifat, when suddenly a new enemy arose from the East: the Mongols, a wild desert tribe from the regions of the Kerulon river in the Amur district suddenly sprang up under the leadership of Temudjin, the later Genghis Khan, flooded and subdued Manchuria, China, Eastern and Western Turkestan, Persia, Siberia. Genghis Khan's successors continued the work of devastation as far as European Russia, Poland and Silesia. The Mongols were thoroughly uncultivated, their religion was a base Shamanism, and they had not the least understanding of the higher joys or ideals of life. As always, the conquered became the conquerors. When the question came up of administering the huge countries subdued and of drawing taxes and tributes into the treasure house of the Great Khan at Karakorum, these primitive conquerors had to rely on the help of their new slaves who at least knew how to write and how to keep accounts. We hear soon of Uigur and Per-

sian secretaries in the service of the Mongols, and presently we find that the uncultivated barbarians want to get acquainted with the higher forms of civilization of their new subjects.

It is very strange to see how quickly these wild men of the desert adapt themselves to the needs of the hour. Having formed an empire which stretched from the Yellow Sea to the Black Sea and to the Mediterranean, they inaugurate a world policy more far reaching than the attempts of the Romans, the Byzantines or the Chinese, who wanted to establish a communication between the two great empires of the East and the West.

As long as their world empire with Karakorum as capital held together, they recognized clearly that the Mohammadans were their great enemies. They consequently felt a leaning towards the Western crusaders, who also were interested in the destruction of Islam. Christians were welcome at the court of the Great Khan and there was in the beginning a strange movement inaugurated by Kuyuk Khan (1241-48) in favor of Christianity: after having smashed the Khalifat and having conquered Bagdad in 1259, Hulagu, grandson of Genghis Khan, dreamed of restoring the holy land to the Christians. In the same time the Mongol rulers fashioned their court after the style of the Chinese Sung emperors and became thus the carriers of Chinese customs, Chinese fashions and Chinese art to the West. This is the great importance of the Mongol dynasties for the history of art in general, and specially for that of miniature painting.

After a short existence the Great Mongol empire split up: the dynasty founded by Kublai Khan ruled China, independently from the Great Khan; and the Ilkhans, descendants of Hulagu, held Persia and Turkestan under their sway. Soon their interests became identified with those of their Mohammadan subjects and in 1281 Nikudar Ahmad Khan embraced Islam. Since that time the Mongol Khans of Persia and Transoxiana became the protectors of Mohammadan art, which received fresh blood through the influx of Chinese elements, carried to the West from the Far East under the unifying rule of the Mongol Khans.

#### THE SPIRIT OF CHINESE PAINTING

The Chinese painters of the Tang and Sung periods created a new universe. A universe which is not centered around the individual, as in Greek art and all Western art derived from Greek. Buddhism taught the Chinese the wonderful pantheistic idea of the individual passing during its individual existence through a chain of sufferings within time, space and causality, and finding its salvation only in giving itself up into the mighty stream of the All-god Universe. Buddhism is the



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PORTRAIT, SUPPOSEDLY OF SHAH THAMASP, BY SULTAN MOHAMMAD



*Columbia Collection*

PORTRAIT OF AN EMIR BY SULTAN MOHAMMAD

first wonderful conception of this idea. It wandered with the Chinese pilgrims and Indian apostles to China, and there it caused not only beautiful religious conceptions like that of the sect of Zen, but it also originated the idea that the first step of the individual towards liberation is his entire abandonment to Nature, the nearest manifestation of the Great Universe. The building up of this great philosophy of nature is the contribution of the Chinese poets and painters of the Tang period to the progress of human mind. Our own European art has understood this conception only since about two hundred years. It became the basis of our modern art and we are far from having penetrated all the depth of it. Man is secondary in Chinese landscape painting. The Chinese painters are certainly keen observers of nature, but they do not paint trees, meadows, mountains

or streams, nor clouds, light and shadow and the varying aspects of the atmosphere: they paint the mysterious forces which are behind all that, and which free man from the narrow limitations of his individuality. They paint the great joy of the individual which in the aspect of nature becomes again a part of eternity. They paint sentiments and emotions, not phenomena.

#### CHINESE PAINTINGS AND PERSIAN MINIATURES

The wonderful philosophy, the deep lyricism of the Chinese painters, becomes a charming and delightful fairy tale with the Persian miniature painters. The Mongol rulers were astute politicians and naive children. Their simple minds wanted a charming pastime after the fights and the intrigues of the day.

The Persian painters who amalgamated old Sassanian tradition with the new Chinese concept created indeed a most delightful fairy tale.

Arab miniature painting, which was a short episode from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, never had any share in this conquest of fairy land which traced the definite line of evolution to the Persian painters for the coming centuries.

But the Persian painters were not only good story tellers, they were also decorators of good taste; Chinese paintings always are of a sober and noble composition in line and color, according to their lofty ideals; the Persian painters make us travel through a country as fanciful in color and line as the boldest tales of the Arabian Nights.

Here comes Simurg, the giant bird with pink and turquoise feathers, and carries us far away in the painters' paradise: the sky is all gold, resplendent under the eternal rays of the sun, the hills on the horizon are light blue, rose and purple, dainty trees grow on the green lawns with flowers like peonies or chrysanthemums, yellow, mauve and sapphire, like huge precious stones in a delicate green setting. Blossoms and blossoms all over the meadows. A silvery brook with pebbles like rubies, topazes and almandins, meanders through the foreground. Chinese ducks try to catch the fishes in the water. Tall cypresses stand by the delicate almond trees with thousands and thousands of flowers: and the birds sing their sweetest melodies. Servants spread a wonderful rug in the shadow of the trees and appears the young princess, followed by her attendants, to enjoy flowers and birds and the sunlight. Cushions of rich silk brocade are piled up, folding tables of red lacquer are set up, cups and flasks of fine Chinese porcelain, patterned blue and white, contain



PRINCE UNDER A MAPLE TREE AND SERVANTS PREPARING A TABLE IN THE GARDEN

A Sixteenth Century Miniature by Behzad



refreshments, and her favorite slave offers a platter with delightful fruits.

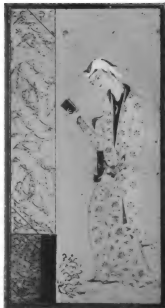
Musicians are ready in the background. Harpes, flutes and drums will accompany the slow graceful movements of the dancers, but the princess forgets to give the sign to her servants, so sweet is the song of the birds in the trees.

#### GAZAN KHAN

Gazan Khan of the Dynasty of the Ilkhans, who reigned from 1290 to 1304, was the first great patron of art and science among the Mongol rulers of Persia. In his youth he had been a Buddhist, but after his ascension to the throne he adopted Islam more or less for political reasons. His capitals were at Rhages, at Tabriz and at Maraga, where Hulagu already had founded a library and an astronomic observatory.

Gazan Khan was not a warrior, he was a friend of sciences and art. He constructed several mosques in the country and a new quarter in his capital Tabriz was called Gazanieh after his name.

He seems to have been very fond of fine manuscripts. Several years ago a fine illuminated book, in which Chinese and Indian elements seemed to be combined with Persian tradition, appeared on the market in Paris. The first page of this book contained a dedication to Gazan Khan. But the greatest work achieved for his library is actually preserved in the Morgan Library in New York: it is a manuscript of the *Manafi al Haiwan* written in Arabic by Abu Said Ubaidallah bin Buktiashu and translated into Persian by Abd el Hadi. This book deals with the medicinal properties of animals and contains about 1000 medical recipes. Its greatest interest consists in eighty-three miniature paintings which are striking illustrations of the influence of Chinese art on the Persian artists of the Mongolian school. Many details are absolutely Chinese, but the general conception of these exquisite miniatures is entirely Persian and shows the exquisite decorative feeling for color and harmonies of lines, combined with the fairy conception of animals and men, which is characteristic of Persian miniature painting. There are the king and his son seated in a garden and listening to the musicians, there are Adam and Eve, there are Cain and Abel. There is an exact drawing of the mountain goat that leaps down from a height of a hundred spears and lands on its horns, and there is also the won-



*Golconda Collection*

#### PORTRAIT OF A LADY READING

Brush Drawing Heightened with Gold. School of Sultan Mohammad

derful bird Simurg in the inaccessible regions where it dwells. The book is a book of science, but science tempered with the charm of lovely fairy tales.

#### MONGOL AND TIMURED PAINTINGS

Quite a number of important manuscripts dating from the Mongol Period have been preserved to our days. The two finest beside the *Manafi* in the Morgan Collection are the *Jami al Tawarikh*, the World Chronicle, by Raschid el Din in the Royal Asiatic Society in London and at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. This wonderful manu-

script, which is dated A. D. 1314, contains a great number of large miniature paintings of somewhat different style than those of the *Manafi*. They are more Chinese, the color is less important, and appears only in light hues adding to the charm of the black and white drawings which depict in a grandiose series the history of the world. We see landscapes like that of the mountains of India, which are a naïve and delightful transposition of Chinese Sung landscapes. The element of fairy tales appears on the pages describing men, women and animals of foreign countries, and some of the historic scenes like that of the Generals of Mohammad, starting for the conquest of the world, are as great in their small size as the great painting by Paolo Uccello in the British Museum.

The other manuscript, a few years ago in the hands of a Paris dealer and now scattered all over the world, was a gorgeous folio, written and illuminated about 1340, of the great Persian epic poem by Firdusi: The *Shahnameh*. The paintings of this wonderful book are a continuation of old

Persian tradition. The gorgeousness of color, the richness of composition, the refinement of drawing, and the creative imagination of these pages remain unsurpassed in Persian art. All these masterpieces give us the impression of condensed frescoes.

The Art of Miniature painting under Timur in the second half of the 14th century and under his successors, the Timurid Sultans of Herat, Bokhara and Samarkand, is nothing but a continuation of the previous Mongol period, but it changes in character. Firdusi's spirit has been replaced by that of Hafiz. Although the painters of this period still try to be heroic in their battle scenes, they excel only in the lyrical scenes of ladies in the palace or in the garden, of gentle lovers under the window of their beloved one. This delightful conventionalism is as attractive as the poetic landscapes and graceful ladies in the Chinese paintings of the early Ming period. The art of the Ming period developed more and more in this way of refined decadence. The great man did not come, who should infuse a new spirit into old forms. It was otherwise in Persia. There we have towards the end of the 15th century, the great painter Behzad, who created a new style in Persian paintings.

#### BEHZAD

Sultan Husein Mirza Baikara (1473-1506) was the last important ruler of the House of Timur. He was a refined dilettante, who reigned over Khorassan and Turkestan, but who was more interested in the fine arts than in the administration of his states. His vizir, Mir Ali Schir Newai, was a poet and patron of arts like the Sultan himself and they both founded in Herat an Academy of Painters and Calligraphers, which created a complete transformation of Persian art. Here again we see western Turkestan and Eastern Persia (Khorassan) as the center of Persian civilization.

What is Behzad's innovation in the Art of Miniature? He certainly did not depart from the delightful fairy character of the art of previous generations, but he added something new. Like the Chinese painters, he tried to penetrate the spirit of nature, and although he never attained the philosophical loftiness of the Chinese artists, he created nevertheless a delicate poem about the beauty of trees, flowers, mountains and meadows in which graceful kings and princesses move around. Never before or after has such refinement without pettiness been attained: his paintings can only be compared with jewelry and gold enamels. The same keenness of observation, combined with extreme refinement, can be seen in his portraits. These subtle drawings are the first realistic portraits in Persian art. They give us not only the features but also the souls of men, and show us in what an

artificial and refined world the last descendants of Timur lived until the day of the terrible end.

Two youthful powers had arisen which pushed from the North and South against the frail state which tried to continue the tradition of Timur's World Empire: Ismail, of the race of Sheik Sefi, who started his campaigns of conquest from Azerbeidjan, defeated the Turkomans in the battle of Shurur, established his capital in Tabriz, defeated the Timurid governors of Persia and struck the final blow against Hosein Baikara by the occupation of Herat and Khorassan. At the same time Mohammad Shaibami, a descendant of Genghis Khan, pushed southward from the North with his Uzbek hordes. The unhappy Sultan in his final defeat cared more for his great artists than for his Empire. When he knew that all was lost his first question was "Is Behzad alive?"

Behzad was alive indeed and a prisoner in the hands of the victorious Shah Ismail and became now the leading artist at the court of the new ruler of united Persia. His genius was the leading spirit in the wonderful renaissance of art at the Court of Shah Thamasp. He must have died about 1520, but his work was continued by a school of painters among which Sultan Mohammad, Sheik Zadeh and Aga Riza are the most brilliant. The first half of the 16th century in Persia is a period of wonderful refinement in all fields of art: the finest manuscripts, the finest rugs, the finest silk weaves were created at that period and the palaces at Ispahan are still melancholy witnesses of this golden age of the fine arts.

#### SHAH ABBAS THE GREAT (1587-1629)

United Persia had prospered under Sefewi rule: it had quickly overcome an unsuccessful war with Turkey and diplomatic relations were kept up with the great Moguls of India, with the Ottoman Sultans of Constantinople, with the rulers of Russia, Poland, Sweden, England and other European powers. The Persian ruler felt himself equal to those European potentates and wanted to outdo them in the splendor of his Court. European elements begin to filter into Persian art, an overrich decorative style supplants the refinement of the previous era. Riza Abassi is the leading artist of this period of decadence, where refined form degenerates into elegant calligraphy. Art is not any more a conviction, it has become a game, and from such a phantomatic life to nothing is but a step.

#### THE BOOK AS A UNIT

We must not consider these works as paintings of small size: the Persian artists never forgot that their paintings have no independent life, that they are only a part of the unit, the book. And the book is considered as a microcosmos, as a little

paradise or a little world in itself. Every single element has to be balanced and must be in perfect harmony with the whole. The miniature paintings are not the most important part of the book: the binding, the painted borders, the ornamented title pages and headings, and above all the calligraphy, are at least as important.

The bindings are of leather, decorated with blind, gold and silver tooling, richly ornamented with cut and stamped leather filigree work underlaid with gold and various silks.

The margins of the manuscripts show sometimes only delicate hues of various colors powdered with dust of gold, sometimes they are painted in gold and silver in rhythmic arabesque interlacings or with scenes of fantastic Chinese animals with lovely groups of flowers, birds and trees.

The title pages and headings in a splendid harmony of blue, red and gold show the astonishing maze of geometrical interlacings or endless arabesques which strike at the entrance of the book the same note as a wonderful rug in the first hall of a royal palace.

But the greatest refinement appears in the various forms of writing: the primitive bold rhythm of Cufic appears only in headings and titles, generally on a background of richly ornamented scroll work. The solemn curves of Neskhî belong to the religious books which, although void of miniatures, constitute perhaps the finest examples of Mohammadan penmanship. The delicate waves of Talik writing are the latest creation of Mohammadan penmanship: this type of writing has slowly been worked out by the great Persian calligraphers of the era of Timur. All these different elements work together and create a symphonic poem inspired by the thoughts and verses of the poet.

#### THE WOMAN IN 16TH CENTURY MINIATURES

She is not any more the primitive creature of Mongolian times, she knows about Chinese fashions and she loves rich brocades and heavy perfumes.

She is not proud of her body like the woman of Greece, she never unveils herself unaware of those who revere beauty eternal. She is subtle, she is not great.

She is the humble slave of kings and heroes. She seems to be obedient to every caprice of the master: she entertains him in the hall of the palace, or on the velvety lawn of the garden under the blossoming almond trees.

Her body is hidden under flowing garments of silk, richly brocaded in Eastern patterns. Her movements are sometimes languid, sometimes rapid and alluring. If she happens to reveal her delicate ankle or her snowy gorge, about which the poets imagined so many charming metaphors, she really seems to do it unconsciously . . . she will always deceive us. Her hands are delicate and soft is their contact. Her hair is bluish black; her eyes, veiled under velvety brows, seem to be of eternal depth and seem to promise the seven paradises . . . her hero can be sure that certainly she will keep another promise than that she gave.

Sometimes there is a gentle touch of perversity in her eyes and she hates the page who accompanies her master on his hunting trip.

#### FLOWERS AND NATURE

The Orient was always fond of flowers. In primitive times the Arabs studied the big Herbals of Byzantine doctors and scientists, and copied flower after flower in their own manner; they loved them, but they were unconscious of their beauty. When they wanted to adorn, they only used the conventionalized form of the lotus and the arabesque flower, consecrated by hundreds of years of tradition.

Later on Chinese Masters taught them the living beauty of flowers. In the Mongol miniatures they study the blossoming almond tree and the iris, but in the 16th century only they begin to love the flower for itself, to study each leaf, each petal, each line, and each hue of color. They show the same intimate love for detail which inspired the landscapes of Behzad.

Their landscapes are always like the poems of Hafiz: sunny, cheerful, and gay. Nothing more charming than these meetings of kings and princesses in the greens under richly embroidered tents with musicians and dancers.

And no difference if the Artist paints one of the cruel bloody scenes of the antique *Shahnameh*: must it not be a wonderful feeling to be executed by the order of the King in his illustrious presence, with retainers and maidens around, the sun shining, a soft wind covering your head and shoulders with the pink petals of the almond tree in flowers? The birds sing sweeter than ever in the trees.

The touch of the cold steel is after all only a passing moment and eternal is the beauty of Sun, Spring and Flowers.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for permission to reproduce the Goloubew Miniatures which are now one of the main treasures of the Museum.



# KURDISTAN, THE GREAT BARRIER LAND

By PHILIP HEMENWAY CHADBOURN

*Illustrations by Edward Borein*



IT WILL be remembered by those who have followed the war closely that Kurdistan used to figure quite often in the communiqués emanating from the Petrograd war office in 1916. They will recall the romantic campaigns of the famous "Wild Division," consisting of irregular Caucasian Cossacks and tribesmen from Daghestan, under the popular leadership of the Grand Duke Nicholas. Perhaps they can reconstruct from the limbo of pre-

revolutionary days the outstanding facts of the Russian advance into Armenia and Kurdistan toward the Turkish city of Mosul on the Tigris. This advance was planned to synchronize with the British advance north from the Persian Gulf to Bagdad.

Just before the war I had the good fortune to make long journeys on horseback through parts of Armenia and Kurdistan, along the routes over which the Russian armies were destined so soon to fight their way. Therefore, when I used to read exuberant dispatches of "swift and silent advances," or "flying columns" enveloping the Sultan's farthest east domains, Armenia and Kurdistan loomed up before me with their tier upon tier of mountain ranges, intersected by deep gorges, bleak valleys and boulder choked ravines. I could see the mountain trails winding ever upward beneath the shadow of Argot Dag, the Mont Blanc of Kurdistan. I recalled the death-like stillness of those eerie fastnesses, void of all life, cloaked in their immaculate shroud of mingled cloud and snow drift, and in the valleys below, tortuous streams which seemed to agonize in a struggle to wrest freedom from out their crooked beds. Pressing on to Mesopotamia, I came to rows of bleak foot-hills with arid valleys between, and at last beheld the Tigris, a silver band across the parched plain; and beyond, the blue mists of El Jezire, the trysting place of heaven and earth, the infinitude of the Mesopotamian desert.

Beneath these mountains have pressed the mounted hosts of Medes and Persians, sweeping

away the outposts of the Assyrian Empire in their conquering advance. In some of the most remote parts of the mountains a few stone columns mark Sennacherib's frontiers and tell in their still legible lines of cuneiform graving the story of unbridled dreams realized by the force of arms. Through these passes have surged the hordes of Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane. The clang of steel, the voice of hate, are no new sounds in this great barrier land. And recently we have seen the motley regiments of Turks and Kurds pressing eastward into Russian Caucasasia and Persia under the eaves of these same mountains, when only a few days' journey to the south the palms of Eden along the banks of the Tigris were throwing their protecting shade over wounded British soldiers.

Old residents of the east have assured me that I am the only white man who has crossed Kurdistan without command of the vernacular, unaccompanied by guards, and carrying no fire-arms. Having finished a voyage across Russia by canoe from Petrograd to the Caspian Sea, I commenced at Tiflis a thousand mile journey across northern Persia, Kurdistan and Mesopotamia to Bagdad.

This narrative begins at the dirty little Kurdish town of Souj Boulak, which was captured a few months ago by the Turks on their way to Tabriz and Urumiah, where the American Consulate, missions and hospitals were recently sacked. The town lies in a cul de sac formed by barren, forbidding hills at the southern end of Lake Urumiah. This district, like the rest of northern Persia, although nominally enjoying the autonomy guaranteed by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, was in reality completely under Russian domination. That agreement stipulated that Russia was to be permitted to maintain stable government in north Persia because of her growing economic interest in that quarter. At the time I passed through this country of perennial political convulsions, there were twenty thousand Russian soldiers quartered in the towns and villages. This "law and order" army included several squadrons of Cossacks, who on occasion, disported themselves among roving bands of Kurdish brigands in the nearby mountains. The Cossacks invariably bore off the laurels from these encounters with the result that they had instilled a wholesome dread of themselves in the darkest reaches of the Kurdish soul.

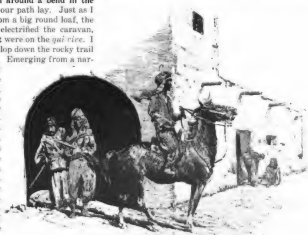
This was the state of affairs which existed when

I started out to travel among the Kurds and these were the conditions which gave me the leading role in a comedy enacted during our first day's march from Persia towards Mosul. Before setting out from Tiflis I bought the costume of the celebrated "Wild Division" of the Cossacks, consisting of a long black goat's wool cape and a tall shaggy hat of like material. The natives took me for a Cossack and even the Cossacks themselves saluted me in passing. Having previously engaged a horse and a pack animal, I joined a little caravan which formed in the muddy square of Souj Boulak before daybreak on the morning of our departure. A few hours of climbing soon brought us well into the mountains. The caravan consisted of forty or fifty animals heavily laden with Persian merchandise. In addition to the muleteers who travelled afoot, there were six Turkish merchants, well mounted and armed to the teeth. With two diagonal cartridge belts, Browning automatics and carbines they presented a formidable and at the same time a dashing appearance with their red fezes and gold embroidered waistcoats. We rode together at the head of the caravan and the process of getting acquainted crowded from my mind all consideration of the dangers of the road.

About noon of the first day's journey I pulled my horse to one side and waited for the little cavalcade to file past. When my pack horse came along I proceeded to get some black rye bread from the saddle bags. By this time the vanguard of armed merchants had disappeared around a bend in the deep ravine through which our path lay. Just as I was slicing off my lunch from a big round loaf, the sharp crackle of rifle fire electrified the caravan, and instantly man and beast were on the *qui vive*. I whipped my horse into a gallop down the rocky trail toward the center of action. Emerging from a narrow canyon with the black wings of my Cossack cape flying spread eagle fashion, I came upon a strange scene. Huddled together and motionless, the redoubtable merchants were gazing up terror-stricken at a company of mounted Kurds who, from the top of a ridge had fired upon them, thus announcing their endorsement of the articles for "visit and search" prescribed by the Hague Conventions. The exercise of this lucrative prerogative has been the king of outdoor sports among the

Kurds from time immemorial. But sharper eyes than mine were students of the situation, eyes that beheld a Cossack officer hot upon the trail of their outlawry. Before I had even grasped the full significance of the situation the band of brigands wheeled and disappeared precipitously down the further side of the ridge. It then dawned upon all of us that my costume had saved the caravan.

I can't say that the saving powers of my Cossack regalia won for me any preferential treatment, for when we arrived in filthy little hamlets to pass the night, I had to jostle and wrangle with the Turks to win a place about the fire on the floor of the headman's hut. For that is what the houses usually were—huts of mud or uncut stone plastered on the outside with manure cakes, which when dried burned like peat. The first village at which we stopped consisted of caves dug into the decaying rock beneath overhanging ledges. When our caravan arrived, usually at late twilight or after dark, the air was rent with the cries and curses of the muleteers unloading the tired beasts and with the barking and snarling of village dogs far into the night. It was a luxury to stretch out on the dirt floor of some hovel, while at the headman's behest a goat was being killed and dismembered before the aperture which served for a door. We all ravenously reached into the iron pot after attentively watching it boil for an hour and made away with a collop of meat which we ate along with sheets of dirty unleavened bread. After several tiny cups



MOUNTED KURDS WHO, FROM THE TOP OF A RIDGE, HAD FIRED ON THEM



of black coffee I would curl up in my cape with my head on my saddle-bags and feet near the coals.

As we progressed further and further into Kurdistan I was carried away by the rare beauties of the ever changing landscape. Kurdistan has no political status; neither do geographers delimit it upon their maps. It may be described roughly as a great oval area, extending from the southeast to the northwest, overlapping the Turco-Persian frontier. About two-thirds of it lies within the Turkish domain, but neither the Turkish nor the Persian government has ever been able to exert much influence over the million or more turbulent Kurds, split up into clans and tribes. Beginning in Persia near the cities of Hamadan and Kermanshah, the Kurds inhabit the highlands which would be roughly bounded by a line running in a northwesterly direction, past the outskirts of Mosul and Diarbekr, then north to Erzerum and east to the point where that grand old monument of antiquity, Mount Ararat, holds down the corners of Russia, Persia and Turkey, like a giant tack.

Although unable to govern Kurdistan, the Turkish government maintained small garrisons at those villages on the Persian frontier which lie along the caravan routes. Here all strangers are intercepted and duties on imports from Persia collected; these are the distant eyes and ears of the Sultan which keep him informed about the strange things transpiring among his most refractory subjects. Riat is the name of the frontier post which commanded our route. I was most eager to arrive at this point, but chagrin was my portion, for no sooner had the dark visaged commandant scanned my papers than I was placed under arrest as a Russian spy. The pompous official nodded gravely as he pretended to read my passport, but I noticed that his eyes travelled over the English script from right to left. True, it was also visé in Persian and Turkish, but no written tongue could my captor read. An anæmic lieutenant who spoke a little French said pityingly: "*Vous êtes un espion Russe, alors, vous êtes maintenant notre prisonnier.*" I wondered if my Cossack costume had saved me one day only to betray me to the miserable fate of a spy the next. With visions of a drum-head court martial, my momentary perturbation was relieved when I heard that I must be conducted under cavalry surveillance to Mosul, the seat of the governor-general of the *vilayet*, a seven or eight days' journey.

After a breakfast of curdled milk, which we dipped up from a common bowl with little scoops of bread, the caravan was off in the first faint flush of a gorgeous dawn. Climbing along the steep sides of deep valleys our tortuous path took us around narrow crumbling ledges. Far below the roar of the brawling torrent mingled with the carillon of distant caravan bells. Two more days of these

mountain gorges brought us to a tributary of the Great Zab, which flows into the Tigris just below Nimrud. Following this stream along the tops of its noble palisades, we came late in the afternoon to a ridge from the crest of which I beheld Rowandiz, the metropolis of Kurdistan, invested by the Russians in May, 1916, but later evacuated. From a distance the city forms the center of an interesting picture. Resembling a grey hornet's nest, the flat-roofed houses clamber up sloping ground from the brink of a sheer precipice beneath which a befouled stream hastens away to hide its shame in a dark gorge beyond. Military headquarters and barracks occupy the highest point within Rowandiz, and some of the bare encircling hills are crowned by obsolete fortresses—dismal reminders of a dismal past. Far away the snowy mountains disdainfully keep their distance from the filthy haunts of man.

Upon our arrival in the city we heard at once that the passes which lay between us and Mosul were so choked with snow that further travel was out of the question. Finding myself now a prisoner of circumstance, as well as of the Sultan, I was permitted by my guard to accept the hospitality of a Kurdish noble, Haji Assis Agah fier Ishmael Agah by name, which is to say: "Lord Assis, son of Lord Ishmael." The word "Haji" is a revered title indicating that its bearer has performed his *haji*—or pilgrimage to sacred Mecca.

My host's house was perched on the brink of a precipitous cliff. My coign of vantage in a tiny window aloft afforded me an intimate view into the crooked byways of this little known city. Following the irregularities of the rugged ground, no two houses were on the same level. In many instances the slope was so steep that the flat roof of one house was the front yard of the one next above. All those domestic functions which make for waste or filth were performed on the roof. When the accumulated débris became a nuisance, it was all swept over the edge onto the roof below. I remember seeing three men sally forth from one house, each dragging a goat by the horns. Near the edge of the roof they straddled their prey and drawing curved daggers deftly slit the bleating throats. After the goats were skinned and cleaned these gentleman butchers tossed handfuls of offal on their neighbor's roof below, where it landed in the midst of a squatting circle of gamblers. They, in turn, with no show of resentment, flung it on into the alley, where scavenger dogs performed their civic duty. One strolls at one's peril in a Kurdish town. After a storm the men of every family appear on their respective roofs and blithely shovel the snow on down the social scale, for, as a rule, the chieftains and plutocrats live in the highest tier. Everything eventuates in the streets or in the river; one



THE CARAVAN WAS OFF IN THE FIRST FAINT FLUSH OF A GORGEOUS DAWN

searches in vain for any trace of social responsibility. One day, in a higher quarter of the city, I saw an old hag washing in the river the corpse of her husband, who had just died of cholera. Downstream, a troop of donkey boys were laving the sore-covered backs of their much abused beasts. Below them a group of women labored with piles of grimy clothes, beating them with wooden cudgels. And further on, the morning procession of the Prophet's daughters filled their oval jars with these "pure waters." For has not Mohammed assured them that running water is pure and who in Rowandiz would gainsay a verse of the Koran?

For three days it rained; then my soldier-guards called for me and I knew that the passes were open. I bade my swarthy host farewell with a genuine feeling of indebtedness, for during my brief sojourn under his roof I had been fêted by several noted chieftains and had seen a great deal of the intimate side of Kurdish "home life." But life in the saddle was good again after sitting cross-legged so long and eating too much. Well do I remember the fifth day out of Rowandiz. There had been long days of grueling climbing over interminable mountains with short hours of sleep robbed of their solace by the ever-present vermin. At last, emerging from the final row of pallid foothills, I was thrilled by the cry which went up from every throat: "Mosul! Mosul!" Far out on the plain lay those great ridges and mounds which cover the crumbled glory of Nineveh. Beyond gleamed the shining Tigris, with the city on its further bank. Even as I looked, a great rift appeared in the leaden sky and the brilliant rays of a westering sun shot through the desert haze, touching the domes and

minarets of Mosul with spears of brilliant gold.

At dusk we stumbled over the rickety pontoon bridge which spans the river and shortly thereafter I found myself in the presence of the Vali, or governor. He had visited Paris once and had stayed there just long enough to acquire a frock coat and a little French. First, after scanning my passport, he heaped vituperative censure upon my poor guards and sent them scurrying from his wrathful visage. Then he humbly apologized for the stupidity of his subordinates, assuring me that he was my servant, that while I remained in his province I had but to command and he would be the ready executor of my least wish.

Mosul is the largest Turkish city yet untouched by western influence. Its geographical remoteness has effectually insulated it from that flood of tawdry machine-made goods which the West has bequeathed to the East. But the old lazy spell will soon be broken; the oriental atmosphere is already making way for the railroad. For Mosul is the keystone in that long rail and caravan route which, running east from the Mediterranean, here turns abruptly south and follows the valley of the Tigris to Bagdad.

The new breath that is in the nostrils of the world, the strong tang of freedom, is causing myriads of faint hearts to pulse with the life of a renewed hope. Even the incorrigible Kurds, those brigands and outlaws so wanting in moral sense, what of them? Who will say that an emancipated public opinion which has cast from its eyes the scales of pre-war days will not be able to lead into the comity of nations this million and more of human waifs?



# THE AMERICAN RED CROSS OVERSEAS

By SILAS BENT

**I**N the American Red Cross, the Fourteenth is the Hands-Across-the-Seas Division. It is not merely a relief organization, it is a clearing house of international activity. And so the general relaxation which accompanied the cessation of hostilities, the decreasing whir in munition factory and shipyard, meant no diminuendo in its effort: amid the universal let-down of tense muscle and brain and heart it sent forth to all its far-flung chapters the message, "Carry on!"

That was true of the Red Cross everywhere, including the thirteen divisions into which the United States is partitioned. Work a-plenty remained to be done, altered in character rather than in quantity; but it was true more markedly of the Fourteenth Division because of its peculiar composition. It was formed at first to afford a common channel of endeavor for patriotic citizens of this country living beyond its continental boundaries, and it was the first effort ever made to bring all of them into touch with one organization. Their Government had not attempted it and had no census of them.

In response to their requests the Fourteenth sprang up almost of its own accord, the warmth of loyalty engendering the flame. And then suddenly it was found that to admit Americans in Shanghai and Tokyo, for instance, was not enough: Chinese and Japanese must be admitted, too, because they wanted to help and because their help was a considerable asset. The division is organized now in twenty-seven countries, with 150 chapters and branches, and in every one of them natives are associated with Americans.

In no other quarter of the earth have the popularity and power of the Foreign Division been more strikingly evident than in the Orient. Everywhere it has overcome obvious obstacles of time and space and alien ways, but especially in China and Japan were additional difficulties encountered. China must be spurred from her fatalistic lethargy, and in Japan there was in existence before this war a Red Cross organization nearly two million strong. But in spite of that the Red Cross spread like a prairie fire before a midwestern gale.



*Press illustrating service*

CHINESE TAILORS MAKING GARMENTS FOR THE AMERICAN RED CROSS, SHANGHAI

Nearly Every Incoming Steamship from the Far East Has Brought Its Freightage of Surgical Bandages, Hospital Garments and Clothing for Refugees, Contributed by China

If the warmth of loyalty engendered the fire, American initiative was the gale that fanned it. A type of the successful American business man had been commandeered to head the Fourteenth Division. Otis H. Cutler, chairman of the board of directors of the American Brake Shoe and Foundry Company, was shifted from his office in the Wall Street district to one of the mushroom Red Cross buildings which were springing up in Washington. In similar circumstances the Government, requisitioning services, was under legal requirement to pay something, say a dollar a year, to the men it selected. The Red Cross knew no such compulsion. It offered nothing more than acquittal in the court of each man's conscience, and that, in most cases, was enough. It was enough, in Mr. Cutler's case, to divert his disciplined energies from the administration of a vast business to the organization of a world-girdling altruism.

Now, this business of conscription is no good unless it works with equal force in every direction and toward every man. And so, when Red Cross officials found that Frank N. Doubleday, head of the publishing house of Doubleday, Page and Company, was planning a trip to the Orient, they commandeered his services. As a matter of fact military methods were unnecessary, because Mr.

Doubleday willingly undertook to do whatever he could. In his capacity as a Red Cross courier he traveled twenty-five thousand miles, and the organization of the Fourteenth Division in Japan, China and the Philippines was the outcome.

The methods employed by this ambassador of mercy were the usual methods of Red Cross campaigners. Only the results were unusual. The devices for arousing public attention were the customary parades and publicity, dinners and teas and speech-making, bazaars and fêtes and carnivals. Throughout the Orient were sown the seeds of humane propaganda or proper-ganda, as one Field Officer prefers to put it. The organization of Shanghai was a typical but shining example of what was accomplished. Work there was undertaken after experience elsewhere had shown that the native residents gave invaluable aid. Employees of the American consulate were set to work and formed a committee, among others, of young Chinese, headed by C. T. Wang, former vice-president of the Chinese Senate. The Chinese committee organized eight teams of ten men each, captained by graduates of American colleges, who worked in the city and its environs. From Ningpo, a hundred miles south of Shanghai, a coolie receiving wages of less than ten dollars a month sent in by courier



THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION FOUND EAGER HELPERS AMONG THE FOREIGN RESIDENTS OF YOKOHAMA AND TOKYO

In Spite of the Fact That the Japanese Red Cross Already Totalled a Membership of Nearly Two Millions, the American Red Cross Received Active Co-operation in Japan



*Courtesy American Red Cross Institute for Disabled Soldiers*

#### WOUNDED INDIAN SOLDIERS LEARNING A NEW TRADE

Queen Mary's School for Disabled Soldiers in Bombay Is Carrying On Important Reconstruction Work

post (apparently not knowing that China had a modern postal administration) \$1.50 in Mexican money. It cost him fifteen cents to send it and fifteen cents for his return receipt. With it went a letter saying that although a poor man, he wanted to join this new society, because he had heard a friend tell about the great work it was doing, and he knew how good the United States had been to China. A great number of incidents such as this supported the belief that the special success of the campaign in China was due to the sentiment of the people toward this country.

Natives of foreign countries are admitted to the Fourteenth Division on payment of a dollar as associate members. How many of these associates were recruited in the Shanghai drive is still in doubt. The full number has not been reported to the headquarters in Washington. The Associated Press gave it as 100,000, and the chapter leaders, at the end of only a week, reported 50,000. To supply Red Cross badges for so many persons became

a problem. A novelty factory was found and its manager was induced to convert it to the manufacture of Red Cross buttons at the rate of 5,000 a day. For a time the Chinese stood in line at its door, to await the insignia of their membership. In Canton an entire issue of *The True Light*, a Chinese magazine, was devoted to the Red Cross campaign. During the drive the sampans lining the river banks were gay with American colors. In the schools entire classes joined as junior members. One of the most enthusiastic workers was Dr. Wu Ting-fang, former Minister to the United States.

Mr. Doubleday's port of entry in China was Hongkong, and he slipped in there without preliminary notice, intending to rest a bit after his vigorous work in Manila. While he was sitting that evening in the hall of a hotel, the very marble floor began to crawl under his feet. It was an earthquake. Chinese rushed out of the buildings on all sides and in a moment the streets were choked with them, gesticulating and talking excitedly; for it so happened that the day of Mr. Doubleday's arrival was the first of the three-day Chinese New Year, far and away the unluckiest time of the whole year for an earthquake. It was not until Mr. Doubleday reached Canton that he learned the extent of the damage. To the north of that city thousands had been killed in the destruction of several villages. The earthquake proved to Mr. Doubleday the essential need of a Red Cross organization to cope with emergencies of peace as well as war.

Hongkong and Canton and Shanghai were but three of fifteen Chinese cities in which Red Cross organizations sprang up. The workers in these cities have set one million as their membership goal. In the second Red Cross subscription drive Hankow alone gave \$40,000, about the amount of China's quota, and the others gave proportionately. Among them were Amoy, Changsha, Chefoo, Chungking, Foochow, Harbin, Nanking, Peking and Tientsin. But just as important was the stream of supplies which set out from China, including surgical bandages and hospital garments, layettes, and warm clothing for refugees. These were largely made from native raw materials and often they were exquisitely made. Nearly every incoming steamship from the Far East bore to the United States some freightage which gave eloquent testimony to the patient industry of Chinese women, working in co-operation with Americans.

The wholesale subscription of the Chinese to the



FU H TAN COLLEGE BRANCH OF THE JUNIOR AUXILIARY, SHANGHAI CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

The Red Cross Drive in China Brought an Enrolment of a Hundred Thousand Members, a Phenomenal Expression of Sympathy on the Part of the Chinese

American Red Cross was unforeseen, even after experiences in other alien lands. There is room for speculation as to whether it was due to the fact that the organization was American, or that it was the Red Cross. Perhaps the factors were co-ordinate. It must be gratifying to Americans to find themselves in the good graces of other nations, and perhaps it will stimulate them to live up to the high hat Uncle Sam is wearing nowadays. But there is no denying that the motives and achievements of the Red Cross have of themselves a general appeal. They afford a common meeting ground for men and women of all races and creeds and traditions. The Red Cross has become a medium of international co-operative effort, because the purpose behind it is the greatest common denominator of human sympathies everywhere.

Consider, for example, the success of the Fourteenth Division in Japan. When America entered the war the American Red Cross had a membership of 300,000, while the Japanese Red Cross had 1,800,000. Japan's Red Cross dates back to 1885. Like America, but ever so much earlier, Japan learned the value of the society through war, for

her conflicts with Russia and China taught her the lesson. She went years ago through the struggle to stamp out tuberculosis, to organize an effective prisoner relief, to do all the other work, practically, which America is just learning to undertake. She equipped two sister hospital ships: the *Hakani Maru*, which means philanthropy; and the *Kosai Maru*, which means humility. Each is of 26,236 tons, is capable of fifteen and a half knots, and can accommodate two hundred patients steadily, or can transport four hundred. Before the war in Europe Japan had 126 relief detachments, consisting of trained nurses and trained assistants; she had 197 physicians organized and at work; she had 330 head nurses, 5,000 trained nurses with their attendants, and an abundance of surgical instruments, all ready for immediate call. She had naval and military hospitals, bandages, appliances, stretchers, ambulances. At once on entering the war she began aiding her allies with drugs and supplies, even to sending 10,000 pounds of tea to the Italian Red Cross.

The Japanese had specialized in meeting what they call the natural calamities. Of these, during

1916, there were 146, and the patients numbered nearly 3,000. Japan is as subject as China to earthquakes. The scientific department of the society has saved thousands of lives by its ability to gauge the center of activity of earthquakes, and thus, in a way, to forecast them. It foresaw the last important one before it reached the height of its power, and caused the removal of 90,000 persons from the danger zone, saving, it is estimated, 30,000 lives.

One might reasonably suppose that the Japanese Red Cross would have looked with some jealousy upon the invasion of its territory by a giant rival organization, suddenly and amazingly grown, at the time of Mr. Doubleday's visit last winter, to a membership of 22,000,000. No one could justly have resented it had the Japanese turned a cold shoulder to the intruder. But we had sent \$500,000 when famine swept the northeast provinces of Japan, and in 1906 the Japanese had responded with 315,000 yen (about \$157,000) when San Francisco was stricken. The value of co-operation had been established, and that may have had its influence when the American society entered the Mikado's domain. In any event, the Japanese welcomed and assisted the Red Cross courier. Japanese women worked assiduously in the quarters established by the Fourteenth Division in Yokohama and Tokyo, and they helped not only with work but with money. Japan recently sent a Red Cross mission to the United States as one evidence of its entire accord.

The Chinese Red Cross, unfortunately, lacks the organization characteristic of the Japanese branch, and so has been unable to give much assistance when relief work became vitally necessary there, in consequence of floods and famines. In Tientsin last year, five thousand victims of the Tung-kiang flood, for instance, were cared for by the American Red Cross under the direction of Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, our Minister to China, and with the help

of American troops. Huts were erected on a five-acre tract at the edge of what had been the German concession. In addition to housing five thousand, including hundreds of children, the Red Cross extended help to thousands of others. The Chinese joined the Red Cross to give; but already they have learned to their own benefit how advantageously to them its energies can be expended.

British relief societies had been formed in India to help the soldiers taking part in the Mesopotamian, Palestine and European campaigns, and Americans had contributed liberally to them. The work had even progressed to the reconstruction of returning crippled men, and Queen Mary's Technical School for Disabled Soldiers in Bombay, where two hundred patients were being treated and

trained, was an excellent illustration of how thoroughly the task had been undertaken. Maimed and blinded men who had left the Bengal jute fields, Kashmir forests, northern wheatlands, Madras cotton fields and tea plantations in the foothills for the trenches of Europe; Sikhs and Gurkhas, Pathans and Rajputs, who had been stricken in service, learned to do tailoring, drive engines, mend machinery, operate motion picture machines, what not! Even in India, where life seems so cheap, men were being reclaimed and remade to enter the world on equal terms with men untouched by war. There seemed no occasion for outside intervention; but Americans in Bombay wanted to

help the Red Cross. So Stuart Lupton, the American consul, headed a Bombay Presidency committee, which gave substantial help to the Division.

This is but a partial survey of the work of the Fourteenth Division, which now has more than 225,000 recruits. It has broadened the view of its American members and of their associates. It has broken down racial barriers everywhere. That is why, even when the worst of the suffering from the war has been remedied, the Fourteenth still will "carry on."



A JAPANESE RED CROSS WORKER

Japanese Ladies Have Given Not Only Their Time but Their Money to the Work of the Red Cross

# DRUMMING UP JAPAN'S WRESTLERS

By ELSIE F. WEIL

**T**HE Day arrives. I am invited to the wrestling by one of the editors of a leading Tokyo daily. In the court of the Ekoin Temple, where the Kokugi-kwan, or wrestling amphitheater, is situated, a large and noisy throng is circulating, through which an occasional wrestler struts, followed by admiring *geisha* and other satellites. Fat and pompous, with his top knot sleekly smoothed back, he glances around with a condescending air, knowing that he is the conquering hero of the mo-

the opening of the amphitheater the drums reverberate incessantly. The sporting blood of Tokyo is up. All the juvenile and loose ends of the city crowds go through the main streets behind the drums, which are carried on a pole by two men and beaten by a third, to announce that *sumo*, or wrestling is the one vital headliner that will crowd everything else out for the next ten days.

Far off at the back, a mute protest to the drum in the Yagura, is a sleepy cemetery with crumbling



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## DRUMMERS ANNOUNCING THE OPENING OF THE WRESTLING AMPHITHEATER

The Tokyo Crowds Parade Through the Streets Behind the Drums, Which Are Carried on a Pole by Two Men, and Beaten by a Third, to Announce That the "Sumo" Season Has Opened

ment. On one side of the long path stretches a row of booths serving tea. Rising over the hubbub of voices and the clatter of wooden clogs on the stone pavement rolls the thump thump of the big drum, which hangs in the Yagura, a tower forty feet high near the entrance to the amphitheater. This is beaten day and night as long as the wrestling is going on. Somehow, wrestling would not be wrestling without the drums. From early in the morning until late at night on the day preceding

monuments—in all this commotion, a trembling finger pointing back to the origin of Ekoin, the Temple of the Nameless Dead. When a terrible fire in 1667 took a toll of 100,000 victims, a common pit was dug for all the bodies on the site of Ekoin, and the temple was erected to say masses for the dead. Because there was no support from the gifts of relatives, wrestling matches were organized and a small admission fee was charged to obtain an income for the temple. And now the wrestlers still



ADMIRAL URYU CUTTING UMEGATAN'S TOP KNOT

The Ceremony of Cutting a Champion's Long Hair Is the Formal Announcement of His Retirement from the Arena

stamp in the arena near "The Mound of Destitution" and the altar flanked by two scowling guardian statues of Nio-san.

The wrestling hall covers an acre and seats 13,000. Entering the circular hall one snatches glimpses through open doors of green room life—wrestlers getting their top knots greased and dressed in most meticulous fashion, and *geisha* watching the operation with suppressed giggles. Inside, tiers of seats slope down to the arena in the middle. The affable editor takes me into a large empty box commanding a fine view of the arena and whispers that the box of the Crown Prince is the next but one to the left. A vast impersonal fusing together of thousands of heads, a dizzy hum of countless conversations, tiring to unaccustomed foreign ears, a curious impression of sombreness

produced by the enormous patches of black and mouse gray and blue that predominate in any large Japanese group. The people are dividing their time between sipping tea, smoking their infinitesimal pipes, eating bowls of rice, and watching the matches.

Down in the center is the arena, covered with a sloping roof like that of a Shinto shrine, gracefully recalling the time when wrestling matches were given in the court of a temple to trample the ground for building, and the proceeds of the contests went to repair temples and shrines. Up in the roof is a little shrine to Nomi no Sukuné, the patron deity of wrestlers, to whom offerings of rice are made before the matches. In the first century before Christ, the Emperor of Japan had an overbearing and insolent officer of the guard, one Kehaya. The Emperor ordered the strongest men of the realm to wrestle with the Herculean bully. Nomi no Sukuné challenged him to a bout and trampled him to death, and received as an imperial reward a great estate. As a posthumous honor he was deified as the first to reduce wrestling to an elaborate science. The four pillars supporting the roof of the arena, each draped with a different color, white, blue, red and black, stand for the four seasons. The purple curtain with white wave pattern draping the eaves signifies passion calming the elements. At each of the four posts, sits motionless, like a Buddha, one of the elders, or *toshiyori*, retired wrestlers who have attained champion rank, and now organize matches, administer finances, take pupils and receive a pension from the wrestling association.

The ring itself is sanded and surrounded by two rows of sand bags, making a circle 20 feet in diameter. On each side two sand bags are removed so the wrestlers can make their entrance from the east and west, for all the wrestlers are divided arbitrarily into two camps, the Eastern and the Western, and the victory of the season goes to the side which has won the most points through its members. Just below the platform sit the rows of naked wrestlers waiting for their turns. The herald, dressed in the costume of a feudal retainer and wearing his hair in the old time queue with shaven crown, comes forward, and turning first to one side and then to the other, announces the names of the wrestlers who will appear as champions of the East and the West.

"Then forward, Champions of East and West!"

And two wrestlers, naked except for loin cloths, solemnly stalk into the arena and bulge out in the semi gloom of smoke filled atmosphere, mountains of fat and muscle.

"Disgusted?" insinuated the editor, intent on his assignment of getting for his paper the impressions of a foreign lady, supposed by all the rules of propriety to be shocked at her first introduction to the wrestlers.

But the intricacies of explanation—that the mere sight of the huge naked bodies is not what disgusts me, but the spiritual emptiness of the sport, which is nothing but brute strength and cunning—are too great to enter into with my Japanese friend.

The wrestlers rinse out their mouths from the pails of water placed at opposite pillars, just as they would do before dying, in token of the fact that the bout may end in possible death; and they throw pinches of salt over their shoulders to drive away bad luck in the form of evil spirits. The contestants spread out their arms and clasp their hands to signify that they are willing to abide by the umpire's decision. They stretch their legs and stamp on the ground five times to give elasticity to their limbs; and then they face each other, squatting on their haunches in the center of the circle. The wrestlers crouch motionless, like two animals waiting to spring for what seems an interminable period during which there is hardly a stir in the vast amphitheater. Here the umpire has a great responsibility, because he must see that when they are ready to grapple with each other, they are both inhaling and exhaling at the same time, so neither has the advantage of the other. This often takes a long time and seems stupid to the uninitiated spectator, but is exciting to the seasoned fan. Suddenly the two wrestlers are locked in a tight embrace and before anyone knows what is happening, one of them is pushed out of the ring. A roar swells out over the audience, and cups, silk coats and even watches are thrown into the air as trophies of approbation for the winner. The umpire, in the ceremonial garb of the feudal period, bows deeply to the winner and waves his fan toward him. The umpire is really an historical figure, for ever since the honor was conferred on Yoshida Iyenaga in 1190 by the Emperor Gotoba, the office has been held by a descendant of the Yoshida family. He still carries the sacred war fan given to the first Yoshida by the Emperor, with the legend, "one



ONISHIKI, THE GREAT MAN OF THE "EAST SIDE"

Reading the Sporting News, to See with What Rival He is Scheduled to Wrestle the Following Day

taste pure wind", meaning that there is only one perfect style of wrestling; but he no longer wears a sword as formerly, to commit *harakiri*, if he renders a wrong decision. During the excitement the defeated wrestler takes his kimono from a waiting servant and slips out quickly. The winner stands a moment facing the people, while the drum outside beats more wildly than ever. It is superb, it is Roman.

"That was the great Onishiki of the East Side who was defeated by Masagoishi of the West Side," explained the editor. "Onishiki has been one of the leading champions of the East Side for four years. He won the prize of the honorable great silver cup of the Jiji newspaper with the design of the dragon ascending into the clouds, and no one thought he could be put out of the ring. So you see Masagoishi



is for the time the god of the West Side. But Onishiki will be very angry because of this humiliation and will not be defeated again."

Other wrestlers enter the ring, but the big match of the day is Onishiki versus Masagoishi. During a lull, Umegatani, the famous ex-champion of the East Side, comes into our box, and everyone is suddenly far more interested in us than in the ring. He is dressed formally in a black silk kimono and *haori* with the little white crest on the sleeves, front and back, that distinguishes the ceremonial costume of all Japanese. He wears his hair short to mark his honorable retirement from his profession. All wrestlers love their top knots and only part from them after the most elaborate ritual, when undefeated and at the end of their careers,

they are satisfied to leave the field to younger men. In the case of Umegatani, the very imposing ceremony of cutting off his long hair was performed by no less a person than Admiral Uryu himself. Umegatani has a wide bandage tied around his head and his large good-natured face is swollen and distorted with a toothache and earache.

"He just told me he couldn't hear what I said, and please step around to his left side and talk in that ear," interprets the editor, "and I told him that he was such a big fat man that it took a long time to get around to his other side."

Umegatani does not speak any English except "Thank you" and "Good by," which he learned in a flying trip to the United States when he went to San Francisco to challenge any American wrestlers who would be willing to meet him. When the western kings of the mat saw how huge he was they had no desire to tackle him—and probably retreated with a "No, thank you." Through the edi-



READING THE LATEST SPORTING NEWS

During the Wrestling Season, All the Fans Gather Around the Bulletin Boards in Front of the Newspaper Offices to See if Their Favorites Came Out Ahead

tor Umegatani explains graphically how some of the wrestling was done. "I cannot speak, but I can show you how they are defeated. That last tall man was defeated like this, like a frog," and he sprawls out wide with his arms, to the delight of some boys in a nearby box. "Now that last match between Nishinoumi and Orachigata was a great match, Nishinoumi wrestled like a four-legged creature, see, just like this table," and he picks up the table in the box and brings it down with a crash. "It is a fine sight to see these great fat men with their muscles stirring."

When Otori, the second champion on the West Side, throws one of the minor wrestlers so hard on the ground that he himself is sorry and helps to pick him up, Umegatani merely re-

marks, "O, that does not hurt, just broken bones, that's all."

Umegatani was graduated from a relentless and Spartan school of training in which bruises and smash ups that would kill an ordinary man are regarded as a matter of course. As one Japanese devotee of the sport put it to me, "Gentle-minded ladies might faint if they witnessed this very coarse training." It is all in the game for the novice to be gashed and bleeding from head to foot after being brutally knocked around the hard gravel of the private training arena during the morning exercising. The young students come out at four on cold mornings and train until eight. Their fat and muscles are hardened by continual ramming at wooden posts, and their heads are hardened, too, by pushing vigorously against the walls. According to the old tradition there are 48 devices or "hands"—12 thrusts, 12 grasps, 12 twists and 12 undergrrips; but a champion of to-day has 150 or

160 hands at his disposal. The aim is a maximum of force with a minimum of disturbance.

Because of their enormous stature and girth, it has often been assumed by foreigners that the wrestlers are a race apart, a strange little group of native giants handed down from antiquity. As a matter of fact, the wrestlers, recruited from the fishing, farming and forester classes, have splendid physiques to begin with, and become strong and muscular through their long training and the encouragement that is given to their voracious appetites. Friends are very fond of giving them big banquets and are amused to see how much they can eat. One prominent trainer, when invited by his backers to a dinner, took all his students along with him, saying, "All my followers come along with me who can drink a gallon of *saké* apiece." There is a touch of the Rabelaisian in it, especially when one contrasts it with the usual foreign impression of the dainty, tea-sipping, cherry-féting Japanese.

When a country lad who already has a local reputation for downing all the village boys aspires to become a wrestler, he applies to one of the famous old champions, and if the youth has possibilities

he is taken into the master's house to serve an apprenticeship. The apprentices must cook, help prepare the bath and massage the limbs of tired wrestlers. In return, the master supplies the men training under him with food, clothing, lodging and a little pocket money. At the same time a young wrestler may be supported by an influential backer, who hopes his protégé will have a brilliant career. Champions, as well as beginners, depend on patronage. Their slender tournament earnings are swelled by presents from backers, which in the case of popular wrestlers often amounts to several thousand dollars a year, and by the generosity of *geisha*s, who will pay any sum to bask in the sunshine of their favorite wrestlers.

The wrestlers are classified into nine grades, of which only the first three or four are of any professional importance. In each camp there are three leading lights; the *O-zeki*, or second champion; the *Seki-waki*, or second assistant champion; and the *Komusubi*, assistant to the second assistant champion. All of these have certain rights and privileges not granted to ordinary puny mortals. Besides this, when in the course of human events



VAST AUDIENCE WATCHING A WRESTLING MATCH IN TOKYO AMPHITHEATER

Business Men Close Up Shop During the Wrestling Season in January and May, and Give Undivided Attention to the Arena, Covered with a Shinto-like Roof, Recalling the Time When Wrestling Was Connected with the Building of Temples



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**ONISHIKI WITH TWO OTHER HEADLINE WRESTLERS AND THE FIRST UMPIRE OF THE RING**

*Onishiki Wears His Magnificently Embroidered Apron and His Champion's Girdle. The Umpire, in Ceremonial Garb of Feudal Days, Carries the Sacred War Fan Given to the First Umpire by an Early Emperor*

a star rises among stars, a champion among champions, he is given the supreme rank of Yokodzuna, or First Champion. There have not been more than a score of Yokodzuna since the beginning of time in Japan, and wrestling almost started with time in Japan. At present, because of the highly developed stage of the science, both sides boast a Yokodzuna, Tachiyama on the West, and Onishiki on the East. Upon the Yokodzuna the umpire has the sole right of conferring the honor of wearing the coveted girdle, formed of two thick strands of white silk straw, a facsimile of the straw rope decorating the houses on the New Year.

The last wrestlers have come forth into the sanded ring, and the tired umpire has waved his fan with finality toward the last winner. The wrestling is over for the day. Outside the big drum still beats as madly as if it had not been keeping up the same speed for hours. The long Ryogokuhashi, the bridge spanning the Sumida River at Honjo, is choked with traffic—all homeward bound from the wrestling—people clattering along on

their sandals, an occasional limousine, luxurious private rickshaws of polished black lacquer, with long, graceful lanterns dangling from the shafts, and pushing through them all, the rickshaws of the wrestlers, pulled by two perspiring runners, ringing their little bells, and shouting "Hai!" for the right of way. The lights are dancing on the junks in the river and rows of lanterns gleam like friendly eyes from the teahouses along the banks; and big solitary lanterns splashed with strange fantastic lettering are being lighted before the little shop doors. On one brilliantly are illuminated corner a crowd of men and boys are gathered before a large frame holding narrow boards with great black characters. I press up to the nearest student in the crowd, recognized by his military cap and blue uniform, and



learn that the boards are in front of a newspaper office and that they are the very latest extras. Tremblingly I ask what has happened. A great victory for the Allied cause in Europe? Not a bit of it. The boards blaze forth the winners in the wrestling tournament. What world event could eclipse that in importance? Tokyo thrills.

# MISSIONS AND WORLD DEMOCRACY

By TYLER DENNETT

**T**HE events of the last few years have been teaching us that democracy is not safe at any single point around the world until it is safe at every point. So long as any one unit is out of step the entire league of nations is imperiled. We must look far beyond the present conflict to weigh the full measure of this fact. Suppose, for the moment, that what we so much desire has already been accomplished; assume that the war has been won, and the peace settlements determined which will, so far as is possible, safeguard the world from a recurrence of so great a calamity. Will the world then be safe for democracy?

One has but to glance at the map to see that fully two-thirds of the earth's surface, and an equal proportion of the population, lie quite outside the primary concerns of the European conflict. We may be fully resolved to enforce a settlement which will protect the weak and backward nations and races from aggression, but we must realize that no victory of arms can protect this two-thirds of the world from its internal weakness and disorder.

Merely to review the world's unrest of the last decade is to reveal how great is the task to which the world has roused itself. It is evident that one must look elsewhere than to the camps and courts of Europe for the leadership, methods and resources to make the world safe for democracy. One may reach this conclusion without underestimating the stakes of the present conflict, and without undervaluing the quality of the heroism which it has enlisted. If the world is to become safe for democracy every nation must be safeguarded not only from invasion and spoliation, but also must be made strong enough internally to maintain for itself justice and liberty. Until that day shall come in Latin America, Africa and Asia, as well as in many parts of Europe, the world cannot be safe.

One of the great movements with which the statesmen will have to reckon now that the war is over is the democratic drift of the Orient. The American policy in the Philippines, followed by the proclamation of allied principles to fight for the protection of weak nations, has stimulated the imaginations and ambitions of the Asiatic races mightily.

Not long ago a delegation of Dutch officials visited the Philippines. They were lavishly entertained, and one day went to see that great American institution, a baseball game. The contestants were some American soldiers and a nine drawn from the native constabulary. It happened that the

latter won, whereupon the soldiers gave the Filipinos a cheer:

"Do Americans take off their hats to Filipinos and cheer them?" asked the astonished visitors.

"Certainly, when they win; why not?" was the reply.

Shortly after that, the Dutch government made an additional appropriation of five million dollars for popular education in Java.

The entrance of the United States into the war was hailed with jubilation. The leaders in India and China feel that the Americans will be their steadfast friends at the Peace Conference, holding out for the application to Asia as well as to Europe of the doctrine of the rights of weak nations. China seeks protection from aggression; she wishes to be permitted to manage her own affairs. India is insistently demanding that she be granted wide extensions in the privileges of autonomy, and these demands are already being met in a spirit of great fairness by the British Government. There is little doubt that the Netherlands East Indies will share also in the benefits of a democratic peace. The entire Orient is beginning to stir with self-consciousness. The Pan-Asia Movement, though small, perhaps too small to be worthy of serious attention at present, is indicative of a new life and vitality that hitherto have been quite unknown in Asia outside of Japan. After the war is won we shall have to solve the other problem of conserving the results of the victory for the neglected and restless area of the East.

One has not to look farther than to our neighbor, Mexico, to see how the weakness of a weak nation may threaten the well-being, and practically the peace, of even her strongest neighbor. China affords another illustration. Japan claims, and with justice, that the disorganization of China is a menace to the security of her Empire. She does not, perhaps, realize so clearly that the instability of the Chinese Republic is a very disturbing factor in the American experiment in the Philippines. The United States has dared to lift a small, weak and neglected race of people almost to the point of self-government. The experiment gives promise of success, but that success is dependent, not only on the peace of the Orient, but also on the safety of the Orient for democracy.

Let us turn to India. The movement for Home Rule is no slight affair. India is demanding full autonomy in the management of internal affairs. She has asked that four-fifths of the members of the provincial legislative councils, and an equal part

of the Imperial Council, shall be elective. But India, neither internally nor externally, is safe for democracy. She has no unity of language, race or religion; her social system is aristocratic. Looking forward into the next century, one must see that the destiny of India is bound up with the settlement of the entire oriental question. England must keep her hand on India, just as we must watch over the Philippines, until such a time as the Orient becomes safe for weak races, until the weakness to which republican governments are liable will not expose her to the aggressions of some covetous and efficient neighbor; or, until India herself has been able to underlay her republican institutions with substantial foundations.

Since the war began, I have visited every continent save one; I have been within sound of the guns on each side of the firing line in Europe; I was in Peking when the waves of the newest revolution broke in China. It is my observation that the war has accentuated pride of race, desire for complete self-government, and the establishment of democratic institutions around the world. The demands which have been made upon the backward races and the non-Christian nations to join in the struggle have greatly exalted these peoples in their own estimation and in that of the whole world. This very fact increases the difficulty of the problem which we shall have to face in the very near future. There is not a non-Christian nation today in which democracy is safe; and there are several so-called Christian nations, in which the form of Christianity has been so constrained and perverted that democracy is hardly secure.

Without wishing in any way to displace the soldier in the affection and loyal support of all lovers of justice and right, I would place beside him the foreign missionary as equally worthy of the confidence and support of those who are truly determined to safeguard the democracy of the world. I quite realize that the foreign missionary has never won his way to popular enthusiasm. He has been dismissed as a visionary and a nuisance. His work has seemed to many both unnecessary and prosaic. Even the church which sent him to his task and maintained him there, has never, perhaps, taken him quite so seriously as she now takes her other sons who went to France. The church at large has known little more than the general public what the foreign missionary is really doing. To many, his task has seemed like a rather hopeless race with death to save a few thousand souls from hell. Indeed, the missionary himself, lost in immediate duty, has not always been able to measure the full circle of his influence. It is only within the last few years that the dimensions of the work of Christianizing the world have come to appear in their full proportions.

And yet it is true, to a very large degree, that the missionary has been the carrier of the democratic ideal to the four corners of the earth. He has preceded the explorer and the trader opening up the highways of commerce. It was through the missionary, and those who came in his train, that the vague forces, which taken together we call western civilization, began to impinge upon the barriers erected by the eastern races. Others in more recent years have carried in the trade and the devices of civilization, but it has been left largely to the missionary to carry the idealism out of which civilization itself has come. The Bible has gone out to the ends of the earth. None of us stopped for the moment to remember the political, economic and social consequences that have always followed the circulation of the Bible. Now we find the backward races in commotion. This follows the open Bible, as harvest follows seed-time. The missionary first asks for religious liberty, and then proclaims the inclusive and sweeping doctrines of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. He establishes schools which not only teach the elementary branches, but set the example of equality by opening their doors to the poorest and most oppressed. The missionary hospital places a new value on the human body and sets standards for the conservation of life. It teaches charity and mercy. Through these channels go out the very influences which create the ideals of brotherhood and democracy.

The missionary does not force conflicts with existing laws. He appeals to something far more fundamental and persuasive—to public opinion; and, in just proportion as he gains the support of public opinion, the old order begins to crumble. When the missionary makes a convert, he makes a radical. When the convert accepts baptism he must repudiate the entire social system which has been the meat and drink of his family, clan, nation and race. The young men and women then enter the missionary school and there fashion and sharpen the weapons that become their superior equipment for the spreading of the new ideas they have acquired. The student's mind is trained and disciplined, so that he goes back to his people better able than they to think clearly and to reach sound conclusions. He carries with him a vast fund of idealism drawn from all the deposits of a more efficient civilization. What wonder, then, that the Christian convert is a man with capacities for radical thought and action?

"Every church in Asia," said Bishop W. S. Lewis, of the Methodist Episcopal Missions the other day, "is a miniature republic. The only trial by jury which the Chinese know, is that which is practised in the discipline of the church."

The missionary is, without doubt, the chief cause

of the fact that America has come to a place of such influence among the Asiatics. Perhaps it is partly because of the democratic nature of that influence that Japan views with occasional alarm the approach of the United States to Eastern Asia. It is evident that the missionary commands the approach to the oriental races. The Bishop of Calcutta said to me not long ago, when we were discussing the unrest in India: "For thirty years I taught Green's *English History* to students in a mission college. I always said to myself, after finishing the course, 'If these boys don't appropriate some of these ideals, it will not be my fault.' " Today India is beginning to be vibrant with the ideals, the development which Professor Green recorded. Equally evident is the fact that in the future the missionary must carry forward the work to make these ideals safe for the peoples who have adopted them. Until they are safe in Asia, they will not be secure in Europe or in America, for this modern globe is each year becoming smaller.

From the beginning most missionaries have realized that their work looked two ways. They were engaged in an effort to bring the individual soul to an experience of personal religion. They have also been laying the foundation of a new social order, remaking a civilization, or even building a new one. Certainly men like Livingstone and Carey saw this. However, early missionary work had, perforce, to confine itself to the intensive cultivation of a very few people. Usually the first converts were drawn from the servant, outcaste and coolie classes, or from other low social orders. The upper strata, the literati, the leaders of public opinion, the men well versed in their own native culture, were not attracted. As the lower and oppressed classes responded more and more to the Gospel, the upper classes removed themselves farther and farther from it. It was not their habit to join in with the coolie and call him "Brother." The printing press was employed to print tracts, Scripture passages and Bibles; the hospital was introduced to draw a crowd; and the school was a card of introduction to the home, or a hothouse for intensive spiritual cultivation. The less inclusive definitions of the doctrine of salvation inclined everyone to measure the progress of the work solely by the number of baptisms. When attention was drawn to the fact, that among the converts not many wise and not many mighty were called, comfort was found in the fact that Christianity has always first prospered among the lowly.

The day of those humble beginnings is past. Christianity is now being carried along on two tides; on the one side, there are masses of people from the lower classes seeking for the Gospel; and, on the other, there are increasing numbers of the educated and influential turning to it. The mis-

sionary purpose has not changed, but it has extended itself. It now includes tens of thousands of people where formerly it reached only to tens. It embraces work among all classes instead of being limited to a single group. In addition, it now includes responsibilities for social leadership, of which none of the pioneers could have even dreamed.

The work of evangelism still goes on with daily marked acceleration. There are several denominations now at work in Asia, any one of which baptizes in a single year more converts probably than there were Christians at the time of the death of the Apostle Paul. Among these converts the outcastes and lower classes are still largely in the majority. A notable illustration of this fact is seen in the mass movements of India. These movements represent, excepting possibly those of Russia, the greatest social phenomenon of the century. They look toward real democracy. Hinduism, the social structure of more than two hundred million people, is, to borrow a figure of speech of Bishop W. F. Oldham, a pyramid. At the top are the few Brahmins; at the bottom are forty or fifty million outcastes. They live by themselves in the least desirable part of the village, doing the most menial work; they are regarded by the caste people as literally the scum of the earth, and are treated as such. Their lot is more pitiable than that of slaves. Large portions of this Hindu outcaste population are fairly stampeding toward Christianity, coming to the missionary in groups, even by villages, to seek baptism. It would probably not be a very difficult matter, if it were wise, to baptize in the near future five, perhaps ten, million outcastes. They are the foundation of Hinduism. They carry the load. When they move out from under, the entire social structure must topple.

The Bishop of Madras, who has been in India thirty years and who has made a careful study of the subject, said to me:

"The outcastes, considered as material on which to work, are not inferior to the Brahmins. When the two classes are received into the same school and given equal opportunities, they do equally well. In fact, one cannot tell them apart after a few years of education. The educated outcaste can enter government service or the church, and hold his own with any one. There is no reason why the church cannot make converts among the outcastes at the rate of a million a year. That means, that, in forty or fifty years, the entire outcaste population will be Christian. India would then have a Christian population nearly as large as the present Mohammedan section, but far stronger and more influential."

But missions have not merely to deal with outcaste Hindus. They have also to reckon with other and quite different people. I searched out the lead-



ers of Mohammedanism in India. At Lucknow I had an interview with the Secretary of the All-India Moslem League, a political organization now seeking to lead the Mohammedans to unite with the Hindus.

"What do the Moslems propose to do for India in the matter of religion?" I asked.

He looked at me for a moment, smiled a little, and said: "We Mohammedans cannot close our eyes to the fact that Islam is a decaying and diminishing institution."

At Aligarh, the city of the great Mohammedan University of India, I went to the leading professors and asked, "How do you state your personal religious faith? What have you, as a Mussulman, to offer to India?"

Their replies were almost uniformly the same: "We are not religious men. Islam is not a vital spiritual force in India, and never will be." These men are all of them cultured and well educated; many of them graduates of English universities. They are practically without religious faith; and, by their own statements, they are attached to Islam by the slenderest of threads. It is largely fraternal.

In Japan I said to a prominent Christian layman in whom the pride of race and sense of nationalism ran strong: "Do you need any more American missionaries in Japan?" I expected him to assert his national pride, and assure me that Japanese Christianity is quite prepared to assume the responsibility for completing the evangelization of the Empire. To my surprise, he replied:

"Yes, we do need American missionaries. We need them for work among our educated and wealthy classes. Our ministers often lack the qualities and the financial support which would make it possible for them to meet these classes on a footing of social equality."

One of the most vigorous manifestations of Christianity in Japan today is that men of great national influence and leadership are studying the Bible and Christian faith. Hardly a month passes without the announcement that some conspicuous Japanese leader has been baptized.

The missionary formerly worked months, and even long years, for a single convert, and, when he had secured him, had only a single illiterate man from the lower classes. Now he has accessible, on the other hand, millions of lower class people; and, on the other, an increasing number of men and women, who are already the great leaders among their countrymen. The present mission staff and equipment is adapted largely for dealing with the man of the lower classes, and for dealing with him individually. Slowly the skeleton organization has been expanded and partially filled out; but no church has yet grasped these larger opportunities for personal evangelism, which the last few years

and decades have brought. As the opportunity has grown, schools, hospitals and publishing houses have been added—designed to care for work already under way. With few exceptions, the missionaries on the field are tied down to the direction of these institutions. They must supervise the churches and the native pastors; run the hospital; manage the printing press; keep accounts; and, in the greater proportion of fields, cultivate an American constituency to meet their increasing needs for more money. Many missionaries are now compelled, aside from their own salaries, to finance the greater part of their work. There is a man in India whose mission expenses run from twelve to fifteen hundred *rupees* a month. He receives three hundred by appropriation; the remainder he must raise as best he can. More extraordinary still, is the fact that he actually raises it.

I know of relatively few missionaries who are prepared and free to undertake the new work among the upper classes. There is an urgent need in the Orient for highly trained and cultured men to meet on common ground the graduate of Oxford or Cambridge. These men, fresh from their studies, often have better and more up-to-date libraries than the missionary could afford to possess. One cannot fairly expect these men to join enthusiastically in the work of a church where practically all the other members are barely literate. Nor are such converts likely to enjoy the ministrations of a preacher with less than a high school education.

The missionary task is so little finished that its present state is precarious. The first impact of Christianity, as well as of western civilization, is more destructive than constructive. Its indirect and more extended influence is to destroy or weaken old sanctions before it can create new ones. In the wake of the missionary comes a flood of influences that tend to demoralize. To pry loose from age-long conservatism these people of Asia, and then to leave them without adequate leadership before they are able to care for themselves, would be nothing less than perfidy. To relax for one moment the steadying, guiding, inspiring leadership of Christian missions in Asia, while western civilization is in chaos, would be only to permit the present chaos to extend itself. The energetic prosecution of the foreign missionary enterprise is a duty as much as is the prosecution of the war.

The world cannot exist half slave and half free, even when the slavery is but the bondage of illiteracy, ignorance and superstition. We embarked upon a war to safeguard democracy. By the same logic, we are impelled to continue the task, now that the war is over, of underwriting a world democracy with a world Christianity. There is at hand no other proposal by which the results of the war may be permanently conserved.



# WITH PRISONERS OF WAR IN SIBERIA

By JOHAN W. PRINS

*Illustrations from Sketches by Prisoners*

**I**T was in a little room of the post office in the Camp Woenne Gorodok, not far from Irkutsk, that I was for the first time brought face to face with prisoners of war in Siberia. A colleague who was at the head of our work in Irkutsk was receiving an official deputation from the officers' camp to hear a report of their grievances and wishes. They were brought in by Russian guards. When they had left, the men first looked around to ascertain that we were alone, and then began a long series of complaints. One would interrupt the other to paint in more gruesome colors than his friend the conditions in the camps over yonder behind the high strong fence.

In particular do I remember, from that conference, an Austrian lieutenant. Like all others, he was clad in a shabby uniform, patched and worn out, but yet kept as neat as possible under the circumstances. From under his high forehead shone his dark desperate eyes, with a spark in them bordering on insanity.

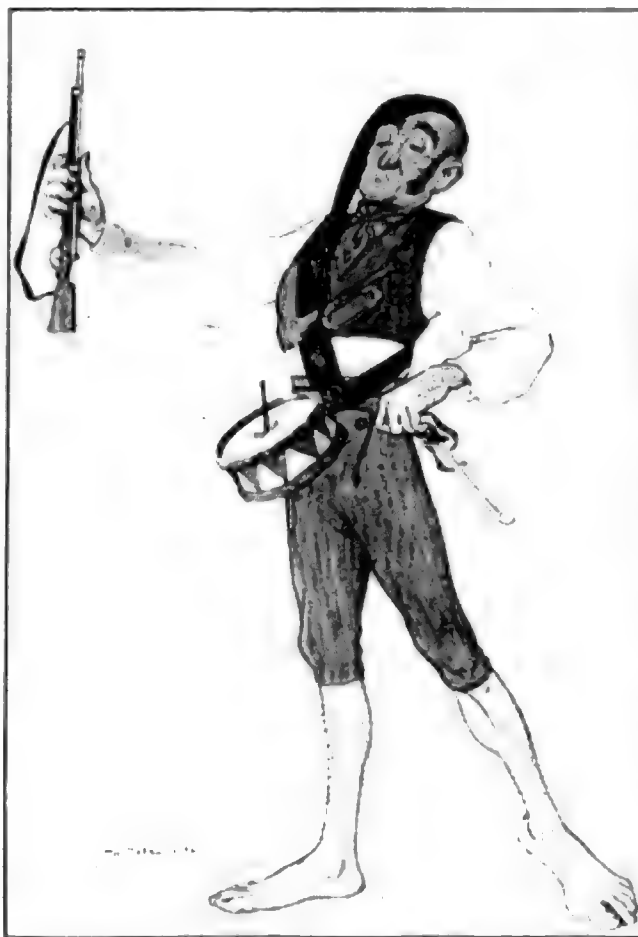
"For God's sake, help us to get out of that camp," he begged, pointing through the window out to the gate where two guards with huge rifles were parading up and down. "We have been in there for almost three years; we have not seen anything but that wooden fence for years. Don't you see that it is not only a frame around our bodies, but that it also frames our minds? Our one wish is to have freedom, freedom to be able to walk around, to see a train, to speak to men who are not prisoners, as we are, to hear a woman's voice, to go to town and sit in a real restaurant and order a meal and maybe stay there one or two days, and have for once a whole room to ourselves

and enjoy the luxury of a bed and clean sheets!"

That is the way they all spoke. My friend listened patiently, sometimes cutting them short when they talked about conditions with which he had nothing to do, never commenting upon their stories, hardly showing any sympathy. I did not understand him. If I had been in his place I should have run to the Russian Camp Commander and yelled, "It is a shame, a dirty shame, that you let your prisoners live under those conditions!", but later—after I had had some experiences myself—I understood him better. He was an old hand at the game; he understood the prisoner's psychology; he knew that he always painted conditions with just one coat heavier than was really necessary.

Most of those prisoners in Eastern Siberia had been captured in the last half of 1914 or early in

1915, and their stories of imprisonment were much longer and dwelt upon something quite different than their war deeds. Scarcely anybody spoke about the glorious days at the front, but all commented upon the days of misery in the prison camp. In hundreds of cattle cars the Russians had sent them to Siberia; sent them as far as possible away from the eastern front. Some were compelled to travel all across Russia, Siberia and Manchuria to camps only a few miles north of Vladivostok. When they finally arrived in some little town in Eastern Siberia they were ordered to march through the snow almost without soles under their shoes to the barracks some miles away. And at the ultimate resting place, no heat, nothing to sleep on but wooden cribs, nothing to sleep under!



"PORTUGAL MOBILIZES"

Cartoon Drawn by a Prisoner of War in a Siberian Camp



GEOMETRY CLASS AT THE PRISONERS' SCHOOL

In the Early Days the Teacher, Who Might Be Explaining a Plan of Escape With All His Queer Lines, Was Placed Under Arrest by the Camp Guards



THE BARBER SHOP

One of the Most Popular Institutions of the Camp and Always Well Patronized by the Prisoners

And yet during those first terrible months, when typhus epidemics raged freely in all the camps in Siberia, there was not one relief organization to help them. Who had expected those prisoners in Siberia; who was prepared to feed and house and nurse thousands and thousands of men? Nobody. During the greater part of 1915 the prisoners were left entirely to themselves. Food conditions in those days were not so bad as they became two years later, but notwithstanding that, thousands and thousands became the prey of the typhus epidemics of 1915 and 1916. When the history of this part of the war is written the Russians will prove with their Petrograd

books and documents that they always amply provided for the prisoners. On paper, this may be the case, but in reality much of the money and supplies stuck to the hands they went through previous to reaching the prisoners.

The American Embassy at Petrograd officially represented the interests of the Central Powers in Russia during 1915 and 1916, and the main task of American Consuls in Russia and Siberia was to see that the prisoners at war received enough food and warm clothes. They were energetically supported in this big task by the American Red Cross, which imported boxes and bales of foodstuffs and other material into Siberia and Russia by way of Vladivostok. Special representatives traveled through all the camps; offices and storehouses were opened at different cities in Siberia, and by means of information bureau relatives in Austria and Germany were posted upon the welfare of their sons and brothers and fathers, thousands of miles away.

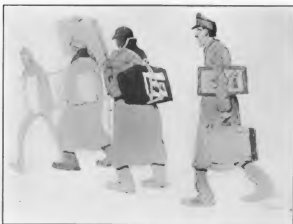
The Red Triangle soon was on the job. It is true the first Y. M. C. A. secretary who arrived in Irkutsk and offered to buy books for the prisoners was taken for a book agent and looked upon with the utmost disgust; but soon the "Y" men won a dear place in the hearts of the prisoners and "Y" huts were known in Siberia before they gained a reputation at the Western Front. Americans, and especially American ladies, became very popular in all the prison camps of Siberia. And when later a few Swedish ladies arrived, they had to overcome strong antagonism because of the fact that they

were not Americans.

But the early months of 1917 brought the break between the United States and Germany, and the relief organizations so well begun by the Americans were now taken over by the Swedes and Danes. From this time on the Danish Legation and its agents represented the Austrian interests, the Swedish Legation and its representatives those of the Germans, in Russia and Siberia. The Y.M.C.A. withdrew its American secretaries and replaced them by neutrals, mainly Scandinavians.

I was sent out by the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. to replace the American secretary in charge of Transbaikalia, the district east of Baikal Lake.

After a long tiresome journey through Russia and Siberia I finally reached Chita, the capital of Transbaikalia. A few days later I took a *drozki*, and with my secretary drove over the wooded hills to the neighboring camp of Pjestchanka. It had always been one of our most successful camps, and our attempt to inject into the Prussian-Russian camp life of strict discipline a few drops of real American democracy had succeeded better here than in many other camps. Here practically the whole relief organization was in the hands of the Y. M. C. A. The first secretary who had started our work in 1915 had provided that a Head Committee should be selected from the men by popular vote. Every soldier and non-commissioned officer had the right of passive and active vote. The officers, with whom it was always far more difficult to work than with the men, had their own camp and organization. The Head Committee consisted of one Austrian, one Hungarian and one German. They were selected for six months and were the executive committee of the Y. M. C. A. secretary in that particular camp, supervising all its institutions. In this camp of Pjestchanka, three energetic fellows had been at the head of our work for the last year. They were, in fact, the recognized leaders of the camp, the highest tribunal,



THE "Y" SECRETARY SOMETIMES BOUGHT PICTURES

And Every Internment Camp Forthwith Oversubscribed Its Quota of Artists

the supreme court. The Austrian, a Catholic, was a Government clerk from a little town near Vienna; the German, a Protestant, was a business man from



PROSPECTIVE CHAMPIONS IN A FOOTBALL MATCH

The Sport Committee Introduced Organized Athletics as a Healthy and Necessary Diversion in Camp Life

Frankfort on the Rhine; and, curiously enough, the Hungarian, the head of a printing company in Budapest, was a Jew; so that not only the chief nationalities among the prisoners but also the principal religions were represented. This committee appointed its sub-committees, allotted the money to the sub-committees, inspected the books and supervised affairs. Every three months all the chairmen of the sub-committees would write a report of their activities, addressed to the Head Committee, and this in turn would report to the general Y. M. C. A. secretary, put the budget before him, and account for the expenditures.

And, really, there were many things to look after. We had two theatres in this camp, one for the Hungarians and one for the Austrians and Germans. They were only plain, dark barracks with wooden benches and a puppet stage, but what was performed there was well worth listening to. Last year the companies gave operettas composed and written in the camps. The orchestra received almost all its instruments from the Y. M. C. A.; also its music and paper. It became one of the most

popular diversions of the camp in course of time.

Then we had a church and Bible room, used by Protestants, Catholics and Jews alike. Here again everything was plain; the altar was made out of old Red Cross boxes. And where, in the theatre, the actors were often professionals from the Austrian or German stages, here the preachers were rabbis, pastors and priests. Yet after all there was little interest in church affairs. After a few months of hardship the prisoner of war became a man without a religion; unreligious almost, who mocked at churches and Bibles.

Far more popular than the church were the library and the school, a regular organized high school-college, where mathematics, chemistry, law, ten languages and many other subjects were taught. Again, this part of our work rose out of a very humble beginning. The first school was held, almost secretly, in an old wash room, and ambitious Russian guards confiscated logarithm tables and French dictionaries because they looked so suspicious. And the teacher of geometry, who made those peculiar drawings, was arrested and taken for a spy, who taught how to escape with a plan of the camp. The library was born when the first Y. M. C. A. secretary arrived and gave six or eight books which he found in his trunk to members of the Head Committee to read.

The sport committee was in charge of the soccer field and tennis courts and in some camps there was even a gymnasium. A small bank was established for the convenience of those who wanted to borrow a few roubles on their official announcements from banks in Petrograd that money had been received from relatives in the central countries (by way of Sweden) and was on the way. Work shops were organized so that the tradesmen, the carpenter, the shoemaker, the barber, might turn to his own trade and work for the benefit of his comrades. But the pride of the Y. M. C. A. was the American Kitchen. This welfare kitchen was necessary because the Russians never gave the men enough to eat. Here they had a chance, once in a while, to get a hearty meal for a few kopecks; here, a certain number of sick and poor could eat every day without cost. How many favorable comments have I heard upon those kitchens, which really became a blessing for the prisoners!

And so the whole Y. M. C. A. relief organization in one camp was in



THE AMERICAN KITCHEN WHICH SAVED MANY LIVES

For a Few Kopecks, It Furnished a Square Meal, or Supplied Food Free to Those Who Could Not Afford to Buy It

the hands of the men themselves. It was the task of the secretary to bring the money, the materials and to supervise the work in the five or six camps which belong to his district. Often one camp was hundreds of miles from the next and many weary days and nights were spent in traveling in dirty, dusty trains, which, since the outbreak of the revolution, were running almost without schedule. To keep the stomachs filled, to keep the minds busy, that was the job of a secretary. If the artist did not have his brush, the student his book, the carpenter his hammer, his mind remained idle and soon began to rust. Some learned a trade; some studied day in and day out, acquiring substantial knowledge of four or five foreign languages. Talents were discovered; for instance, a preacher became a painter; a school teacher a sculptor. Nothing was wasted, out of the hair of a horse tail a chain was made; out of soup bones a bracelet or pipe was carved; out of Red Cross boxes school benches were made. In some parts of Siberia the prisoners were bitter against the Y. M. C. A., but in others it was very popular, and the fate of the Swedes and Danes was much the same. The judgment of the prisoners depended much upon the work of the particular delegate in his district.

Late in the spring the work of the relief delegates became practically impossible; not only because of the disorganization caused by the Russian Bolsheviks which made it extremely difficult to obtain food and arrange for transportation, but also because conditions within the camps became intolerable when the principles of Bolshevism penetrated into them. Many a prisoner would have been able to stand all the hardships and return home, perhaps not materially injured, had not the Bolshevik Revolution broke out. Bolsheviks, out of conviction, are dreamers, fearless idealists. Bolsheviks, by chance, are scoundrels, jailbirds, illiterates, who have grasped an opportunity to plunder, murder and steal. During the last twelve months many are found of the former kind, but more of the latter type, in Russia and Siberia. The agents of blackest Prussianism were sent out among the masses of Russia to poke up the fires of red Bolshevism. Germany succeeded—at least temporarily. Russia broke down, the Bolsheviks revolted against autocracy and permitted Germany to dictate the farce of Brest-Litovsk. But Germany has now reaped the harvest of the seeds she sowed herself. Little did she realize at the time what a boomerang her Russian

foreign policy was! But the flames of revolution crept into the prison camps and found in the weary dissatisfied subjects of the Central Powers splendid nourishment. Long before the Germans at the Western Front took off their eagles and marks of distinction from their hats and uniforms, their comrades in the Siberian camps had done it. The Russian Bolsheviks threw open the gates of the prison camps and out of them poured the German, the Austrian, the Hungarian Bolsheviks.

The days which I spent in Siberian prison camps belong to the richest, but darkest, in my life. So much misery one seldom sees in so short a time, so many difficulties one seldom has to encounter. But yet I am glad to have had a part, however small, in bringing about good will and understanding among the different nations. When I think of the many Austrians, Hungarians and Germans I left behind, who believed in the Y. M. C. A. and the country it represented, a League of Nations, based, not upon the principles of Bolshevism, but upon good will and unselfishness, seems to me, notwithstanding all, a very real possibility.



HARD AT WORK IN THE CARPENTER SHOP

One of the Provisions of Relief Work Was to See That Everyone Was Given an Opportunity to Practise His Own Trade

# THE ROMANCE OF THE SOYA BEAN

By L. S. PALEN<sup>1</sup>

**B**ACK when the records of the ages were being engraved on the stone drums in China that history might not die prematurely, there was probably in current household use among the peoples inhabiting the plains of what are now China and Manchuria a small, unobtrusive and entirely insignificant legume, which no sage or classic-steeped scholar ever dignified into the realm of a competitor for the attention of man in the filmy haze of the centuries unpropheied. Even then, if they but knew, it is probable that the little legume could have traced back his ancestry through the annual generations, to a day as far back in the past as the present is from the records of the stone drums. One of the undisturbed, unpolished and Rip-Van-Winkle-like scions of the original stock can, it is said, be seen in what we stigmatize as a weed along some of the back paths of China, reproducing yearly its small dark brown seeds.

Still, even this highly creditable family record of age and development could hardly claim our attention in this day of commercialism, if the legume in question had no more persuasive argument for our time. *Ergo Vide*, interested investigators estimate that the United States could now probably make use of some 6,000,000 tons of soya beans each year. If you write that amount in ships, it means three steamers of 5,000 tons dead weight burden arriving every day throughout the year, which immediately commands attention from a very wide circle of interests in this country. For instance, we must find the return cargo for this increased shipping, and in the solution of this feature lies matter enough for discussion for many of our Mercantile Associations and Boards of Trade, carrying with it the concomitant considerations of expanding our industries and of building up the mechanism of our foreign trade. The exceedingly low figure at which return space to the Orient could be purchased should make possible the development of markets there for commodities which have never figured in our exports to Japan and China in any perceptible amount. Suppose the figure of 6,000,000 tons of soya beans is too high and that the importation of only a third, 2,000,000 tons is practicable. This leaves us with one steamer whistling daily for a commercial pilot to guide it through the channels of our business world. To trace some of the ramifications of this stream through our industrial and

commercial life is the excuse for the present article.

To allay at the outset some of the incredulity which the previous paragraph may be counted on for arousing, it may be recorded that the United States has, in its recent survey of the available tonnage at its disposal and the commodities to be moved, allocated 300,000 tons for 1918 to soya beans and soya bean products from the Orient to America. As this means, say, nearly 400,000 tons of dead weight and as part of the cargo is to be bean oil, representing roughly 10 per cent of the weight of the original bean, it would require only half to be oil to give us our figure of 2,000,000 tons of beans. From such facts it is not so difficult to project the imagination over the greater bulk.

In answer to the second question which immediately arises as to why we should suddenly expand our consumption of the soya to this extent, everyone can name the first great reason, the scarcity of animal and vegetable fats and oils through the wastage of the war and the interference with regular sources of supply by disorganization and lack of tonnage; but it is not so much a matter of common knowledge that the bean itself, the oil and the by-products of the oil manufacture have many and important uses as foods that the pressure of the war, especially for proteins, has thrown into high relief. Moreover, the soya has certain peculiar individual values and uses as food which, it is probably safe to prophesy, will give it a permanent place in the dietary of the Occident reflecting somewhat its importance in that of the Orient.

To all who have lived on the China Coast since the Treaty of Nanking opened the original five ports to foreign trade, the movement of the soya beans and cake from Manchurian ports to the south and to Japan has been quite familiar; but not until after the Russo-Japanese war did the movement toward the European market really take definite form. Shipments had been tried but with much attendant loss amounting in some cases to very considerable sums, due to the heating of the cargo through the Red Sea. Finally success in transportation was quickly followed by rapid expansion, in both England and on the Continent, of the demand that gave an earnest of what the present decade might bring. A clear statement of the development of this trade can be found in the Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 439, "The Soya Bean," by Messrs. Piper and Morse.

It is only after long residence among the Chinese farmers that one can even guess at the tremendous

<sup>1</sup>The author wishes to acknowledge indebtedness for much of the material in the accompanying article to Dr. Yamei Kin, to Dr. J. H. Kellong of Battle Creek Sanitarium and to Mr. W. J. Morse of the Bureau of Plant Industry in the Department of Agriculture.

...ning, as measured in human aspirations and  
 of such a price-curve as the soya bean  
 wed following 1908. In that year foreign  
 is bought the beans at 25 cents per 100  
 pounds, and were convinced with the subsequent  
 se to 33 cents that all possibility of business with  
 Europe had probably been stopped. Orders con-  
 tinued however as the prices rose to between 40 and  
 50 cents, until during the season of 1913-14 some  
 carloads to fill steamers changed hands at over  
 50 cents per 100 pounds. In this last year of  
 peace the total export from Manchuria represented  
 roughly 1,000,000 tons at an average price of prob-  
 ably 40 to 45 cents per 100 pounds to the farmer;  
 that is, less than one-half cent per pound. Low as  
 this figure seems to us, it meant the driving force  
 that sent thousands of sturdy Chinese pioneers  
 trekking northwards to live in sod and adobe huts  
 while they broke with their shaggy ponies the vast  
 areas that have gone under the plough in Northern  
 Manchuria during recent years. I have often met  
 them on the road with their families, their chickens,  
 their tools, their iron cooking pans, and their bags  
 of grain, all laden on one farm cart, as their total  
 equipment with which to battle against the forces of  
 nature and the demands of hunger. Of course there

...the other crops for which they labor, but the soya  
 is their one great staple which they can turn  
 ...mediate cash.

...the primary purpose of these shipments to  
 Europe was the production of oil to be used largely  
 in the manufacture of soaps. Since its extensive  
 introduction into the western market, its uses have  
 been diversified until now it is treated or mixed as  
 a paint oil; it is purified and flavored with an ad-  
 mixture of olive oil for salad purposes; it forms the  
 basis of some of our butter and lard substitutes;  
 and, after various processes, furnishes an ingredi-  
 ent for, or is used in the manufacture of explosives,  
 linoleum and varnish. Many would doubtless be  
 surprised to know that if Manchuria had not come  
 to the rescue during these days of war, some of our  
 greatest soap factories would have been hard  
 pressed, even to the point of closing, for lack of raw  
 material.

Back in China this oil, which has a very penetrat-  
 ing pungent odor that modern processes of manu-  
 facture, however, eliminate, is the butter and lard  
 of the masses, as it is their chief medium for frying,  
 and in most cases constitutes the only element of fat  
 in the diet. As it furnishes the enticing atmosphere  
 of the inn to the discerning nose of the hungry car-



SOYA BEAN CAKE IN OPEN STORAGE, ON DAIREN WHARVES, SOUTH MANCHURIA

Interested investigators estimate that the United States could make use of 6,000,000 tons of soya beans  
 a year, equivalent, in terms of ships, to three steamers of 3,000 tons arriving every day



ter at noon, so it speeds his journey as the axle grease for his cumbersome wheels, and provides the light that welcomes him again to the redolent haze of the caravansary at eventide.

One of the strongest arguments in favor of producing soya bean oil is the high value of the residuary cake and the meal that can be ground therefrom, both as feed for stock and as food for human

human foods will receive increased attention. Within the decade a strong movement for the introduction into the occidental dietary of this most ancient staple among oriental foods has been initiated and cannot longer be disregarded. What Mr. Li Yu-ying accomplished in Paris in the establishment of a Laboratory of Research and of a factory for the production of all the products derived from



NORTH MANCHURIA IS FAST GOING UNDER THE PLOUGH IN ORDER TO MEET THE GROWING DEMAND FOR BEANS

It is Only in the Last Decade That Soya Beans and Bean Products Have Begun to Move Toward European Markets. The New Demands Have Sent Thousands of Sturdy Chinese Pioneers Trekking Northward

beings. The disposition of the bean cake has been in pre-war times one of the principal determining factors in the problem of whether the bean should be shipped to the Occident in its natural form or whether the oil content alone should be exported. At present, the element of tonnage has assumed so important a place as to alter considerably the problem. In Europe, where there has always been a large demand at high prices for cattle feed, the soya produced in cake form has found a ready market. Many business men before the war unhesitatingly gave the opinion that in this country, which has been itself an exporter of cotton seed oil, the soya bean could never expect to gain a foothold in our commerce. The war has changed many things. At present we have the very highest authority for the statement that for five years following the conclusion of peace, the world's supply of fats and vegetable oils will be insufficient to restore their price to normal.

As the trade in soya develops to meet this new demand for oil, the question of the adaptability of the bean itself in its natural state, and of the by-products in the manufacture of the oil for use as

the soya has been the forerunner of activity on the part of certain independent Chinese companies in America and of government and private investigations. We shall attempt to indicate here the principal results of these investigations, for we believe it to be the feature of the subject which most closely concerns the individual American.

In general the use of the whole soya beans has not been attended with much success because of the ever present flavor of the oil content and because, with the ordinary method of cooking, they remain hard and unpalatable; but it has been found that cooking at a temperature somewhat above the boiling point, say from 220 to 230 degrees, breaks up the cellulose structure and develops a richness of flavor that is not obtainable with the lower temperature. Although this result can readily be secured in high pressure steam cookers, the problem is to know how to accomplish this end with the ordinary household equipment. Dr. J. H. Kellogg of the Battle Creek Sanitarium has found an answer in using a saturated solution of salt which boils at about 225 degrees, or a solution of chloride of calcium, boiling at a somewhat higher point. The boiling point of

the salt solution is sufficiently high to produce the desired results. To secure this temperature it is, of course, necessary that the beans be placed in a strong and air tight receptacle. Glass jars can be used if the kettle containing the solution and jar be set aside to cool nearly to the temperature of the room, to avoid cracking; otherwise stone jars like the apple butter containers will serve, if the tops

Of the sauces the liquid form is already familiar, although unrecognized, perhaps, by a large percentage of Occidentals through the work of early English traders in bringing back the base of the now famous Lea and Perrins Worcestershire Sauce. This original Chinese *shi-yu* was highly spiced and became a well recognized adjunct to many an English meal. Following the example of Lea and Per-



MODERN MACHINERY FINDS ITS WAY NOW AND THEN INTO REMOTE AREAS OF BEAN CULTIVATION, WHERE FOREIGN INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED

To the Manchurian Farmer, With His Laborious Methods of Hand Cutting and Hand Winnowing, the Introduction of Western Farming Methods Would Spell Many-fold Prosperity

or stoppers are firmly and tightly fastened down.

In China where centuries of empiricism in the use of the soya can be drawn upon, we find the yellow bean used very little in its original state, except when sprouted a few days before cooking, in which process germination quite alters the character, contributing valuable anti-scorbutic qualities inherent in fresh vegetables. This characteristic, too little known in the Occident, gives to it a really high value in long sea voyages and on land expeditions. The Chinese and Japanese also serve the whole bean in the form of a sweet or dessert, first cooking or parching it and then preparing it with either sugar or salt just as peanuts or almonds are treated.

But, as was stated above, by far the most extensive use of the soya is in the products manufactured from it. And it is here that Dr. Yamei Kin, the talented Chinese physician, is making her chief studies under the direction of the Pure Foods Division of the Department of Agriculture, with the purpose of spreading a knowledge of the soya among Americans. For convenience of consideration the products studied may be divided into sauces, curds, cheeses and milk.

rins, others have put out sauces with the same base without, however, attaining the same success, because the makers did not understand that there are many kinds of soya sauce. While they are all made by the same ferments and in the same general way, they differ very greatly in quality according to the locality and to the manufacturer, just as wine, though made from the identical kind of grape and by the same process of fermentation, may be a very different article from different hands. It takes several months to make this liquid form of sauce, while the best kind requires a year or more to attain the finest flavor and mellowness.

The making of the soya sauces is one of the great domestic industries of China and Japan. It is interesting to go through the establishments of the soya merchants and see in the spacious courtyards rows and rows of large earthenware jars full of beans that have been boiled and started on the fermentative process, each covered with a split bamboo lid woven like a big coolie hat. On bright days these covers are slipped back so that the sun and air can penetrate and hasten the process of turning the insipid little yellow bean into the delectable sauce.



© Adair

# STACKS OF BEANS AS FAR AS THE EYE CAN REACH, AWAITING SHIPMENT TO FOREIGN MARKETS

Within Recent Years the Oil Produced from the Beans Has Been Used Extensively in the West in the Manufacture of Soaps and as a Basis in a Large Number of Industries

Salt is the only condiment added with the exception of some mushroom flavorings for certain fancy varieties. The hot condiment added by Lea and Perrin is not favored by the Chinese, since according to their taste it detracts from a wide use of the soya sauce. After sufficient time has elapsed the jarful of beans is put through a press, thus producing the liquid sauce, which is then flavored according to the special recipe of the manufacturer, a carefully guarded secret of his trade.

But while they may be termed the decorative touch to food values, which is important in its way, the greatest nutritional value of the soya lies in the curd form. This is obtained by soaking the beans well and grinding them with water in a stone mill. The meal as crushed makes an emulsion which looks exactly like an animal milk. After straining out the residue, either before or after boiling, the casein is precipitated from the milky fluid by various reagents, just as rennet is used to throw down the casein from cows' milk. This light, fine curd is gathered in a thin cloth, the whey strained out and the residue pressed. This is the *to-fu* of China, for which there are records to show that it has been used since at least nine hundred years B. C. *To-fu* making is a staple industry in every little community. Usually it is done at night so that the fresh curd will be ready for the morning demand in the market, or for peddling around the streets. It provides, for the fraction of a cent, the indispensable equivalent of meat and affords very often the ex-

planation of how the Chinese laborer does so much work on what is a purely vegetable diet, popularly supposed not to contain much protein. *To-fu* is made in many different forms and the bean stalls occupy quite as large and prominent places in the city market as the fish and meat stalls, presenting so multifarious an appearance that the average traveler passing by is not aware that all the articles spread out before him originally came from the humble bean.

Cheeses are also made from the growth of cheese-making moulds on *to-fu*. The Chinese resident in America regularly import a certain highly flavored red bean cheese for their own use, and there are several distinct varieties that are not yet known out of their particular localities. It is said that the factory in Paris makes a Roquefort from *to-fu* which closely resembles that made from cows' milk curd. This factory has made a success also of soya jams, sweets and biscuits.

After this recital of possibilities one might well cry "Enough!" were it not the belief of some who have studied the question that perhaps the greatest contribution of the soya to the life of the Occident will be in its form of milk. Back in the golden era of peace there had been established in London a soya bean milk factory which was prepared to place its product regularly on the market, and there were said to be plans consummated for the erection of two others at Manchester and Liverpool; but of what the development has been we have no definite



THE BEANS ARE SOMETIMES STORED IN HUGE OSIER BINS OR CONTAINERS

In the Orient, the Products for Which the Soya Is Chiefly Prized Are the Sauces, Curds, Cheeses and Milk Which Nourish Many Millions of the Inhabitants

information. In Shanghai, Peking and Dalny Chinese companies are supplying hospitals and individuals with an 8 or 10 ounce bottle of concentrated milk per day at a cost of \$1.00 Mex per month.

In its competition with the cow the legume has in its favor the following facts: Soya milk can be produced with less contamination; it is tuberculosis-free; its caseins break down much more readily than the caseins of cows' milk and do not form curds in the stomach in the same degree. Although as yet certain clinical demonstrations of its superior features cannot be considered sufficiently conclusive, from one series of experiments in feeding diseased babies, it has been reported that in cases where the diet of cows' milk failed to keep up normal conditions the soya milk checked retrogression and restored normal growth. If these facts be proved and commercialized, the spread of the soya will have been given another most marked filip.

By those who advocate and urge a vegetarian diet, a very strong bill can be drawn in favor of this oriental substitute. In these days when war has thrown new light on many of our life problems, it will be easier to secure acceptance for their contention that the world must for both economic and physiological reasons adopt the biological diet. It has been calculated that, roughly speaking, it takes 100 pounds of foodstuffs to produce 3 pounds of beef and that a given acreage of land can support five times the population if the necessary protein can be derived

directly from vegetable sources rather than going through the roundabout way of an animal form, imposing upon the body the burdens incident to taking in the toxins resultant from the catabolism of the cells of the animal, and from possible putrefaction. In China the Buddhist priests and people who enter the various temperance societies all depend on varieties of *to-fu*. Physiological experiment has shown, it is claimed, that over 97 per cent of the nitrogen thus introduced is retained by the body and goes to build up tissue in the same way as milk casein or meats. It has the advantage of being in a form that does not give rise, as it breaks up in the process of digestion, to acids deleterious to the body nor to the precursors of the toxins of the animal foods.

Following the many empirical demonstrations in China of the soya's adaptability to meet this need for proteins, the scientists of this country have strongly confirmed these results by their analyses and experiments. It has been found that, in contrast to the proteins of vegetables and cereals, which are practically uniformly "incomplete proteins"—that is, their molecules of protein do not contain the full number of subsidiary and separable molecules found in the protein of flesh that must be built up in the body—that of the soya bean is not only large in quantity but "complete" and of the finest quality. The proteins of wheat, rice and potatoes are far superior to most of the vegetable proteins, but even these are incomplete and so incomplete that animals cannot live on any one of

these products alone or on any combination of them. Messrs. Osborne and Mendel, writing in the December, 1917, number of the Journal of Biological Chemistry, state, as a result of their experiments on white rats, "that the proteins of the soya bean, unlike those of the other leguminous seeds thus far investigated, are adequate for promoting normal growth." They go on to say: "So far as we are aware the soya bean is the only seed hitherto investigated, with the possible exception of flax and millet, which contains both the water-soluble and the fat-soluble *unidentified dietary essentials or vitamins*. This fact, taken with the high physiological value of the protein, lends a unique significance to the use of the soy bean as food." Their results have been duplicated by other experimenters.

In quantity the analyses of the Department of Agriculture show the elements as follows:

Proteins . . . . .	30 to 46 per cent
Oil . . . . .	12 to 24 per cent
Carbohydrates . .	24 to 28 per cent

And to all this list of virtues is added the now most widely recognized value of the soya for diabetics, in as much as it contains only the slightest trace of starch around the hilum.

One of the certain evidences that the soya is making good some of these claims in the Occident is the fact that for more than two years the French army has replaced a large proportion of the meat powder in the soldier's potage by soy bean products, and has used it in several forms as a part of the regular ration.

For those who may be interested academically or commercially in the cultivation of the soya bean a few of the principal features may be noted. In the Orient it is raised all the way from India and Java on the south up through China and Manchuria and the islands of Japan—that is, roughly, from below the equator to above the 50th parallel; in parts of Australia, in Africa and in Central Europe, experimental plantations have been made; and in America it has been planted from Maine to the Gulf of California as a forage crop and has recently become one of the seed crops of the Carolinas and of some other districts. Our Department of Agriculture has recommended and accomplished a considerable development in the soya plantations and has to its credit some most interesting and valuable work in testing out old and breeding new varieties. In the accomplishment of these results Mr. W. J. Morse of the Department has had a large share, just as he has had in the general campaign for disseminating knowledge regarding the uses of the soya. The Department will through him supply much valuable information to any one who wishes to make inquiries.

It has tested over 1,000 specimen shipments from

India, China, Manchuria and Japan, many of which have contained numerous varieties within a single sample. About 1907 over 600 distinct selections were made. Out of these the best were chosen, from which hybridizing, consisting chiefly of combining the characteristics of smoothness of the pod and the ability to withstand shattering, was carried on until varieties were developed which successfully retained and carried down these desirable traits. These varieties were then used as parent stock for what are now certain well-known commercial strains, such as the Peking, Virginia and Wilson 5. Some of these varieties, it is said, can be left standing in the field all winter without losing the seed from the pods. Also numerous varieties, developed and carried through three years of station tests, have been distributed throughout the country to secure information regarding the effect of different soils and climatic conditions on the oil content and general chemical composition. In general these plantings show the same characteristic noted in Manchuria, that like varieties give more protein and less oil as they are moved northward. One has only to be familiar with the conglomerate character of the samples from China and Manchuria to realize what a tremendous benefit can be rendered to the Chinese farmer by the carrying back of these purified and developed varieties, a mission which is now being undertaken. It is a very fitting recompense to the Orient for this contribution to our economic life.

Yet even now with our science in improving seed and with our mechanical inventions, it is perhaps questionable whether the soya can ever become a great profitable staple in this country in competition with the disproportionately low costs of production in Manchuria. Although the increasing ravages of the boll weevil in the cotton belt may lead to a larger place in the South for the soya, it must be taken into consideration that the cheapness of the Manchurian product may force the cotton farmer to find another substitute in which the Chinese farmer does not compete. Nevertheless, American farmers may always retain the soya on a restricted acreage because of its unquestioned value as a forage crop and as a soil improving element in rotation. Likewise as a food for animals it may achieve to an extended use, when its concomitant advantages of the straw and the fertilizer accrue to the farmer. It cannot be strictured as banal to remind ourselves how much China has contributed to our domestic economy. Glazing is so recognizedly from Cathay that we call our glazed ware "china"; silk, the article and the word, came to us from there; tea, the same; and following these three great contributions to our daily life, the soya may readily become the fourth and perhaps the greatest of them all.

# The Little Town of Bethlehem

*Photographs by Dr. John Finley*



REFUGEES FROM JERICHO GATHERED AT THE TOMB OF RACHEL

Driven from Their Homes in the War Zone They Have Encamped Near the Ancient Tomb of Rachel, Not Far from Bethlehem. The American Red Cross Provided Social Centers, Nurses, Doctors, Industrial Work-rooms and Schools in Jerusalem and Elsewhere, and Did Everything Possible to Make the War Refugees Comfortable in Their Exile.



WAITING FOR RED CROSS AID IN THE BETHLEHEM MARKET PLACE

The hideous realities of war brought the outside world very close to the little biblical villages of Palestine. The relief work carried on by the Red Cross and other organizations during the war will broaden out along permanently constructive lines. The West will give of its best to the East that has contributed so much to its religion and philosophy.



HEWERS OF WOOD AND DRAWERS OF WATER GLAD TO RETURN TO THEIR VILLAGES

The Turkish Army Ruthlessly Destroyed the Farms and Orchards of Palestine and Left Tracks of Desert Waste in Their Wake. Now the Natives Can Cultivate Their Little Farms Again—Every Man Under His Own Vine and Fig Tree. The Olive Trees and Pomegranates, the Orange and Almond Blossoms Will Once More Thrive on the Hills of Judaea and Peace Will Dwell in the Land



THE WANDERING ARAB IS SEEN AS OFTEN IN BETHLEHEM AS HIS CHRISTIAN BROTHER

No Outside Force Contributed More to the British Success in Palestine Than the Willing Coöperation of the Arabs. From the Red Sea to the Persian Frontier They Sprang to Their Steeds and Helped Rid Mesopotamia of Turkish Rule. Already They Are Reaping Their Reward in New Roads, Clean Streets, Hospital Clinics and Pure Water Supply. And the Future Looks Bright for This Proud and Noble Race of the Desert



NATIVE OFFICIALS SHOWING PALESTINE LANDMARKS TO AN ENGLISH OFFICER

The English Victory in Palestine Will Go Down in History as One of the Decisive Campaigns of the World. General Allenby and His Gallant Men Did What Seven Centuries of Crusades, Backed by All the Mediaeval Power of Europe, Failed to Accomplish. It Seems Fitting That the Descendants of Richard the Lion-Hearted, Who Participated in the Crusades, Should Have Ended the Dominion of the Crescent in the Near East



A MAN OF BETHLEHEM TRAVELING AS HIS ANCESTORS DID IN BIBLE TIMES

It Is the Custom in This Country for the Men to Ride, When a Donkey Is to Be Had, and for the Women to Walk, and Even to Carry the Burdens. The Woman's Movement Has Not Yet Penetrated to the Land of Canaan. But When Progressive Currents Enter from the West, One Hopes That the Rich and Picturesque Garments of the East Will Be Retained as a Memory of Statuesque Dignity and of Solomon in All His Glory





## LA VÉRANDAH

From *POÈMES BARBARES* by LECONTE DE LISLE

DONE INTO ENGLISH BY LOIS E. BENNETT

*Illustration by Wilfred Jones*

*I*N an old red urn of porphyry the water tinkling falls,  
And the Persian rose trees murmur in their low continual sighs;  
The ring doves in the branches utter soft and crooning calls,  
The humming birds and hornbills sip the ripe nectar on the walls,  
In their capricious they quarrel making sharp and fretful cries,  
While the Persian rose trees murmur in their low continual sighs,  
By an old red urn of porphyry where water tinkling falls.

Where the trellis lifts its arches in the dim verandah close,  
In the warm air heavy laden with the scent of jessamine flowers,  
While the day in brilliant splendour throws its darts of gold and rose,  
There a royal Persian princess takes her indolent repose,  
Smooth brown neck on almon hands resting, listlessly she counts the hours,  
In the warm air heavy laden with the scent of jessamine flowers,  
Where the trellis lifts its arches in the dim verandah close.

Rapt full mouth that lips the amber, with a touch caressing, light,  
Subtly sweet the faint aroma from a bowl of crystal old,  
Where the whirling, swirling vapour rising, takes its perfumed flight  
Over scarlet silken cushions wrought with golden flowers bright,  
Spray-like the branching haku creeps and coils in circling fold  
Bearing subtly sweet aroma from a bowl of crystal old  
To the mouth that lips the amber with a touch caressing, light.

Lengthened glances, rapture-laden, steal from out her sombre eyes,  
As she lies in sweetest transport, lightly dreaming, bathed in bliss;  
Eyes half-open, heavy-lidded, bruth in long and shuddering sighs,  
Watching where the wreaths of vapour, drifting, float away and dies;  
And her breast lifts at the perfume from the amber's fragrant kiss,  
As she lies in sweetest transport, lightly dreaming, bathed in bliss,  
Lengthened glances, rapture-laden, steal from out her sombre eyes.

In the old red urn of porphyry no water tinkling falls,  
The Persian rose trees long have ceased their low and murmuring sighs,  
The ring doves dream forever, hushed their soft and crooning calls,  
Neither bird nor bee is nibbling at the ripe nectar on the walls;  
Nevermore the soft air quivers at their sharp and fretful cries;  
The Persian rose trees long have ceased their low and murmuring sighs,  
In the old red urn of porphyry no water tinkling falls.



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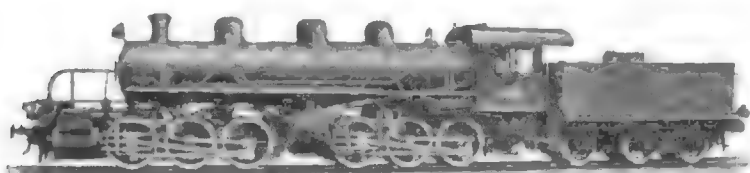
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## ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

THE WAR IN THE CRADLE OF THE WORLD—MESOPOTAMIA, by Eleanor Franklin Egan. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1918, pp. 372. Price, \$2.00.

A chatty, interesting, and picturesque narrative of personal experiences in the British war zone in Mesopotamia, whose value is decidedly enhanced by a series of excellent photographs by the author. Mrs. Egan is a traveler, the breadth and variety of whose experience has not dulled her capacity for surprise, or deadened her sense of wonder. Nothing human is alien to her, and no more delightful interpreter could be desired of the many and diverse types encountered in her officially conducted visit to the scene of the military operations of General Maude. Into the character of the Commander in Chief she gives an attractive insight and she places on record these notes of the circumstances which attended his passing away in Bagdad:

When the city learned next morning that the Army Commander was seriously ill an all pervading hush descended upon it. . . . I met groups of officers who were discussing the grim possibilities. The question they were asking was "If he dies who will 'carry on?'" The solemnity of such a question can hardly be realized by any one who is not familiar with the quality of the influence exercised by an idolized Army Commander in a theater of war. General Maude had brought the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force out of chaos and had led it on to unqualified victory, his name was a name to conjure with. Nobody knew that better than the enemy. He inspired the force with a happy confidence which made itself felt throughout the whole field of operations from the Persian Gulf to the last lonely outpost on the far-flung circle of defense, and to have him removed was like shutting off the current in a vast system of gloriously electric enterprise. . . . But, strangely enough and fortunately, no man is indispensable. That afternoon they telegraphed for Lieut.-Gen. Sir William Marshall and he came in from the eastern front. The last time the Army Commander roused himself at all was to say to his military secretary: "Tell them I can't come to the office to-day. They must just 'carry on!'"

Those who have followed in the news' dispatches the significant events in the campaign in Asia Minor will welcome this personal narrative of a more extended nature by one who had opportunity to know intimately some of the men who made possible the brilliant achievement of the British army.

# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

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## Contributors and Contributions

ISRAEL ZANGWILL, one of the foremost English writers of the day, has been President of the International Jewish Territorial Organization. Mr. Zangwill is not over hopeful for the realization of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. He writes in a letter to the Editor of ASIA: "The British Declaration was at best vague, inadequate and self-contradictory, and is likely to be still further whittled away at the Peace Congress and under the united pressure of France and the Arabs. I hope I am mistaken. Indeed I am trying practically to improve the prospect."

PUTNAM WEALE was born in Hongkong and has resided in China for a great many years. He is a regular correspondent for the London Daily Telegraph and author of a number of significant books on China, including *Indiscreet Letters from Peking* and *The Fight for the Republic in China*. As critic and interpreter of Chinese politics, he ranks among the leading authorities.

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OLIVE GILBREATH is a young American writer who is making a study of Siberian conditions from the focal point of Vladivostok.

EPHRAIM LILIEN is a Jewish artist whose distinctive work represents an important contribution to the development of a national school of Jewish art. His illustrations reproduced in this number are from an edition of the Bible published by George Westermann. ABEL PANN is another Jewish artist, of Russian origin, whose work has received recognition here and abroad.

LEON SIMON, a prominent figure in English Zionist circles and member of the British Zionist Commission for Palestine, is the author of a number of pamphlets and articles on Zionism.

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# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

VOLUME XIX

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IN AN OLD QUARTER OF JERUSALEM

In Spite of Modern Thoroughfares and Newly Built Quarters, Jerusalem Is Still Largely a City of Winding Byways of Uncertain Direction. The Houses Are Constructed Almost Entirely of Stone, the Streets Are Narrow Walled Strips of Sunlight and Shadow, Sometimes Little More Than Stairways Cut Into the Hills



## BEFORE THE PEACE CONFERENCE

By ISRAEL ZANGWILL

WITH the arrival in France of President Wilson, the champion of the League of Nations, the most momentous episode in all human history begins, the true "War for the World," to which Armageddon has been only a prologue, and the loss of which would mean the victory of Prussianism and the bankruptcy of civilisation. The whole planet is in the grip of Allied Might, and it needs but Allied Right to reshape all racial boundaries and international relations. Here there is no place for Secret Diplomacy. All claims and interests must be plain, provable and public, and it is in the light of the contentment of peoples and not in the darkness of diplomatic intrigue that the repartition must be made. In some instances, where the chaos of populations is a menace to permanent settlement, there must be mutual adjustments, even (in the gravest cases) gradual measures of race redistribution, but, given the will to Peace, there is no knot which Reason and Love cannot untie. If mankind thus builds a brotherhood, the immeasurable slaughter and suffering of the war will be redeemed, and the prophetic gospel of ancient Judæa will come to its own at last: "They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-

hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more."

### II

But Judaism stands to gain also a minor traditional hope from the Peace Conference: the repossession of Palestine. And if this secondary consummation could be united with the setting up of Jerusalem as the seat of the League of Nations, instead of the bankrupt Hague, the two Hebraic dreams, the major and the minor, would be fused in one, and the Hebrew metropolis—that meeting-point of three world-religions—would become at once the center and symbol of the new era.

### III

But a Hebrew Palestine, if it is to exist at all, must be a reality, not a sham. Such interpretations as have hitherto been vouchsafed us of the vaunted British Declaration seem scarcely serious. The "Jewish National Home" is to be a British Crown Colony with a predominantly Arab population, even if a French Syria does not lop off a considerable slice from its meagre ten thousand square miles. The power in every country, Lord

Morley tells us in his "Autobiography," always resides in the land-owning classes. Yet over 30,000 Arab landlords and some 600,000 *fellahin* are to continue in possession of the bulk of the Holy soil. Moreover, Bethlehem and perhaps other places are to be too sacred for Jewish hands. Nor may we guard the shrines entrusted for so many centuries to the Turk, although there is no monument in Palestine, whether Christian, Jewish or Mohammedan which is not a memorial to Jewish genius and saintliness. While the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs and still other peoples scarcely known to history are to flourish on their own soil with all the apparatus of sovereignty, the greatest and longest-martyred of all the oppressed peoples—a people which has supplied no small proportion of the outstanding figures of the world crisis, and in whose literature this whole new era finds its inspiration—is to crawl into a corner of its own land like a leper colony, warned to keep off this and to keep off that, or to keep away from this Jew and to keep away from that Jew, and repeating on its own soil the humiliations and subservience of its two thousand years of agony and ignominy. Such a Palestine has neither the glamor of poetry nor the practicality of prose. It is neither Jewish nor National nor a Home.

## IV

If this is what the great Declaration meant, then it was an illusion and an insult. But we are entitled to assume and the eloquence of its Christian protagonists and their endorsement of the Hebrew University encourage us to assume, that the Declaration was neither a political maneuver nor a mockery of the great Jewish hope; that it was intended to settle the Jewish question in harmony with the spirit of this great moment of world reconstruction when everything is in the melting-pot and the whole "sorry scheme of things" that has been shattered is to be remoulded "nearer to the heart's desire." And hence we must suppose that this new system of creative politics will not stop short with disentangling Europe, and that those amicable measures of race redistribution which we have already seen to be an unavoidable part of a final world settlement will be carried out in Palestine as elsewhere. Thus the Arabs would gradually be settled in the new and vast Arabian Kingdom to liberate which from the Turk, Jews no less than Arabs have laid down their lives, and with which the Jewish Commonwealth would cultivate the closest friendship and coöperation. Only thus can Palestine become a "Jewish National Home." Only thus can Israel

—with his diaspora of thirteen millions—risk being told that Palestine is his country. Only thus can a final peaceful refuge be prepared against such race hatreds as are finding bloody expression in Poland at this very moment. Only with a Jewish majority (not of course a Jewish totality), only with the land nationalized—and Jewish as well as Arab land must be expropriated with reasonable compensation—can Israel enter upon the task of building up that model State, the construction of which American Zionism, in its trustful acceptance of the Declaration, has already outlined. And it is now or never.

## V

Even if our object was merely to build up an ordinary commonwealth, had we, in addition to the chaos of the regathering, to confront inter-racial friction and unrest, which indeed has already begun, our statesmanship would be taxed to breaking point. If Palestine is to be "safe for democracy," a minority cannot at the outset control a majority six times its size, while if on the other hand the majority controls the minority, it could restrict our immigration and nip the "Jewish National Home" in the bud. In any case, the cheap vast labor-force already in existence would seriously limit the possibilities of Jewish immigration. If we boycotted this force we should be accused of worse than Polish racialism; if we used it we should be charged with exploiting it, with being merely a capitalistic class, parasites on our "hewers of wood and drawers of water." With three-quarters of a million soldiers in the great war, not to mention the Jewish regiments already in Palestine, on which, according to Colonel Patterson, the whole military movement was pivoted, we have ample resources both for labor and order, and with a general of genius like Sir John Monash there is no need to search for a Jewish Governor. If this is a dream, it at least follows the laws of life and politics on which all other States are established: it is the timid compromise that would be the doubtful and dangerous experiment. One would have thought that this war was a sufficient object-lesson in the rankling poisons of race-hatred generated between peoples pent in the same territory. No, the Jews must possess Palestine as the Arabs are to possess Arabia or the Poles Poland. Otherwise, while not abandoning the existing Hebrew Colonies nor neglecting Palestine as an immigration area, Israel must look, like Jochanan ben Zaccai, for other means of continuing his chosen mission.

# THE JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

By ELSIE F. WEIL

"The heritage of Israel is beating in the pulses of millions; it lives in their veins as a power without understanding, like the morning exultation of herds; it is the inborn half of memory, moving as in a dream among the writings on the walls, which it sees dimly but cannot divide into speech. Let the torch of visible community be lit! Let the reason of Israel disclose itself in a great outward deed, and let there be another great migration, another choosing of Israel to be a nationality whose members may still stretch to the ends of the earth . . . but who still have a national hearth and a tribunal of national opinion. . . . Who says that the history and literature of our race are dead? Are they not as living as the history and literature of Greece and Rome, which have inspired revolutions, enkindled the thought of Europe, and made the unrighteous powers tremble? These were an inheritance dug from the tomb. Ours is an inheritance that has never ceased to quiver in millions of human frames."

—GEORGE ELIOT: *Daniel Deronda*, Book VI, Chapter XLII.

IN 1876 George Eliot wove the romance of an impassioned longing for Zion around *Mordecai*, her visionary of the English ghetto, and developed a pioneer literature in English on Zionism. But the dream of a reunited Jewish people in Palestine was not new; it was the threnody that sobbed through all the litany of the Jewish Dispersion. Even now Orthodox Jews pray three times a day for the return to Jerusalem: "*And may our eyes behold their return to Zion in thy pity.*" At Passover, pious Jews, commemorating the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into Palestine over three thousand years ago, recite *Le-shanah habah be-Yerushalim, Next year in Jerusalem.*

The Jews mediaevally cloistered in their ghetto communities, jealously safeguarding their social structure, customs and ritual, no matter to what ends of the earth they had wandered, considered themselves a unit bound together by common history, tradition and suffering, until the torch of liberalism kindled by the French Revolution carried its message of freedom through western Europe. The Jews then came out from the high narrow walls that had shut them in to an intensified introspection of their epic past, to walk down the nineteenth century avenue of liberty, equality and fraternity with their fellowmen. The *Great Sanhedrin* of French Jews, convened by Napoleon, renounced all claims the children of Israel had jealously guarded among themselves as a nation, and placed Judaism on the same level as other religious sects. The new emphasis on Judaism as a religion, and not a nationhood, was reiterated by reformed Jews in practically all western countries. In 1845 the conference of rabbis representing the reform wing of the Synagogue met at Frankfort on the Main and rejected all prayers from the ritual which referred to the restoration of the Jewish state. Conferences of American rabbis in Philadelphia in 1869 and in Pittsburgh a few years later went on record with the following pronouncement: "We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and we therefore expect neither

a return to Palestine nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning a Jewish state."

The emancipated Jews of the West entered into the currents of activity of the last century in various countries, becoming German in Germany, French in France, and American in the United States, thereafter regarding Palestine simply as a precious folio of ancient history with the silver clasps closed forever, and by preference. But there were still many Jews in Eastern Europe who sat down by the rivers of Babylon and wept when they remembered Zion. The ancient, vague longing to rebuild the Temple crystallized into a definite intention of settling in Palestine. There were several unsuccessful efforts by prominent Christians and Jews through the middle of the nineteenth century to establish Jewish colonies in the Holy Land. But it was the terrible Russian pogroms and persecutions of the Jews in 1880-1882 inaugurated in the dark reign of Alexander III, that gave the first really vital impetus to practical Jewish colonization. A handful of Russian refugees founded in 1882 a short distance from Jaffa the colony of *Rishon le Zion* and put new life into *Petach Tikvah*, Gate of Hope, the pioneer Jewish agricultural settlement in Palestine, started a few years before by seven natives of Jerusalem. At the same time Rumanian Jews, fleeing from the persecutions of their government, established several Palestinian colonies. The hardships and struggles of the new settlers found countless sympathizers and inspired the interest of many Jewish societies. The first and most important of these organizations was the *Chovevei Zion*, or lovers of Zion, which originated in Odessa, but spread rapidly into Rumania, Germany, Austria, England and the United States, with the definite object of giving every practical assistance to the Jewish settlers already in Palestine and to others who wished to return. The work of the *Chovevei Zion*, of the Jewish Colonization Association endowed by Baron de Hirsch, and of Baron Edmund de Rothschild of Paris, who for seventeen years

most generously assisted the existing colonies, planted new ones and laid the foundations for the Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Individuals and institutions with benevolent intentions could keep the breath of life in the struggling settlements of Judaea but a spark from within, the inspiration of a great leader, was needed to develop a movement of national scope enkindled by the enthusiasm of large groups and every class of Jew. Curiously enough, the man who gave Zionism its world significance, a follower of those who believed in the identification of the Jewish element with the larger community had, through his work and interests, been almost entirely removed from the current of Jewish affairs. Theodor Herzl, a brilliant Viennese journalist, was in Paris at the time of the Dreyfus affair and was carried away by the urgent impulse to find a solution for the Jewish problem, given such acute emphasis at this time. In his *Judenstaat*, he set forth the view that the root of the anti-Semitic evil was found in the homelessness of the Jewish people, and concluded that the only hope lay in an autonomous state where they could develop freely and live their own lives as a Jewish nation. Herzl thought the leading Jews of the world would rally to his ideas, but most of them not only held aloof; they were decidedly hostile. Concentrating upon the process of being assimilated into the textures of the nations which they had adopted for their homes, western Jews, following the lead of French Jewry, first emancipated in the name of the rights of man and gladly accepting their French nationality, did not want the Jews regarded as a separate nation, as a people apart, and felt that publicity to Herzl's movement would only arouse latent anti-Semitic feeling. Herzl was not discouraged. The theoretical idealist became a practical man of action.

In 1897 Herzl called the First Zionist Congress at Basle, composed of 200 delegates from all parts of the world—the first Jewish assembly in modern times to have a distinctly national character. It proclaimed to the world the program of Zionism. "The aim of Zionism is to secure for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine." The enthusiastic young nationalists and intellectuals of Russia, Rumania and Austria, many of the members of the *Chovevei Zion*, and the pioneer Palestinian settlers supported Herzl and the Zionist movement. From that time until his death in 1904, Herzl devoted himself to the Zionist cause—an international diplomat, pleading his cause in the courts of kings.

In 1903, instigated by the interest of Joseph Chamberlain, the British Government had offered a large tract of land in East Africa for a Jewish State. Herzl and the English Zionists, led by Israel Zangwill, wished to accept this proposal, but the

majority of delegates before whom the offer was laid at the Sixth Zionist Congress, desiring only Palestine as a Jewish Homeland, would not consider the East African proposal. This led to a definite split in the Zionist organization, and a new party, known as the Jewish Territorial Organization and headed by Zangwill, with the avowed object of securing land for the Jews in any part of the world, came into existence. Max Nordau, who had from the beginning been an enthusiastic supporter of Herzl, was chosen as the leader of the parent organization. But the first years after the death of the prime mover, who had held widely scattered people together by personal magnetism, were not productive of much activity for the organization.

Recently the progress of the Zionist movement has received fresh impulse from a more united determination to forward practical colonization in every possible way, regardless of any definite political guarantees. This trend represents a liberalizing influence which has reacted favorably for the popularity of the movement among all classes of Jews. A number of organizations have diverted their funds or have been formed especially for the purpose of helping the Palestinian colonist. The Jewish Colonization Association, endowed by Baron de Hirsch of Paris with a capital of £8,000,000, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Palestine Land Development Company, Ltd., the Anglo-Palestine Company, and the Jewish National Fund, have granted loans on long-term credits to settlers in Palestine, and have helped to buy up and develop large tracts of land. The Jewish Colonial Trust, the principal financial prop of the Zionist organization, with its seat in London, is interested in the investment of Jewish capital in Palestine. Zionists in Galicia and Russia have pawned their clothes and sacrificed property to buy small shares in the company, which has established banks in Jaffa, Jerusalem, Beirut, Haifa, Safed, Hebron and many of the Jewish colonies. The organization has been instrumental in helping the villages to secure irrigation systems and good water supply, and in assisting the colonists by loans for buying land, equipping their farms and selling the produce. The Jewish National Fund was formed to purchase communal land, which should remain a national domain, to be leased to settlers on easy terms. The National Fund has established training schools for workingmen, assisted in the work of afforestation and in securing proper housing conditions for laborers. The Anglo Palestine Bank has been instrumental in forming many mutual loan or coöperative associations and stores for selling the products of the Jewish farmers. The growth and success of the fifty or more Jewish colonies in Palestine, upon which will rest one of the strongest claims to be presented at the Peace Conference for an eventual



Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, have been largely due to the effective backing of these practical associations, directly or indirectly connected with the Zionist organization. Many influential Jews in America as well as in other western countries, are coming to accept both the practical and idealist side of the Zionist programme.

And what is this programme? It may be summed up in the platform unanimously accepted by the Zionist Organization of America at the Pittsburgh Convention of June 25, 1918:

The recent declarations of Great Britain, France, Italy, and others of the allied democratic states, have established this public recognition of the Jewish national home as an international fact.

Therefore, we desire to affirm anew the principles which have guided the Zionist Movement since its inception and which were the foundations laid down by our lawgivers and prophets for the ancient Jewish state and were the inspiration of the living Jewish law embodied in the traditions of two thousand years of exile.

First: Political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex, or faith of all the inhabitants of the land.

Second: To insure in the Jewish national home in Palestine equality of opportunity we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control of the land and of all natural resources and of all public utilities by the whole people.

Third: All land, owned or controlled by the whole people, should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.

Fourth: The cooperative principle should be applied so far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial undertakings.

Fifth: The fiscal policy shall be framed so as to protect the people from the evils of land speculation and from every other form of financial oppression.

Sixth: The system of free public instruction which is to be established should embrace all grades and departments of education.

Seventh: The medium of public instruction shall be Hebrew, the national language of the Jewish people.

This twentieth century social programme for the reconstruction of a Jewish state in Palestine has assumed definite possibility of realization since the collapse of Turkey and the announced British support expressed for the first time in the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917:

"His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people and will use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish societies or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Granted the world-will to establish a new Palestine, there arises at once the question of its delimitations. The Zionist territorial claims are very modest. According to Dr. Sokoloff, who practically agrees with the British Palestine Committee, the western boundary of Palestine is, of course, the Mediterranean Sea. Eastward the extent of the country will depend upon the frontier of the new Arabian kingdom, which, with Palestine, is likely to come into existence under the auspices of the Peace Conference. It is probable that it may extend no further than the River Jordan. On the North the projected boundary is the Litany River. On the south the natural boundary is the Gulf of Akaba.

This territory, comprising roughly 10,000 square miles, about the equivalent of the area of New Jersey, was inhabited before the war by some 700,000 people—500,000 Arabs, 100,000 Jews, and 100,000 Christians of various nationalities and sects.

If the right of the Jews to take over Palestine is sanctioned by the Peace Conference, the Zionists, in spite of dire forecasts that have been put forward to the contrary, do not anticipate any serious difficulties or conflicts with their Arab neighbors, who constitute by far the largest proportion of the inhabitants. The land itself is owned by private individuals, Arab peasants or absentee landlords living abroad, by the Crown (the Turkish Government), by religious organizations and by the Jewish colonists. The Jews hope to be able to acquire by purchase much of this Turkish Crown land. It is impossible to estimate its extent, because of the enforcement of a Turkish law that any land which has remained uncultivated for a period of three years reverts to the Crown. The Zionists believe that there is ample room for a greatly increased Jewish population living side by side in amity with the Arab inhabitants of the country.

In the past there has been friction between the two races, not, however, on racial grounds so much as economic ones. Wandering tribes of Arabs, unchecked through the absence of any police force under Turkish rule, sometimes made free with the Jewish fields and their produce. At first Arab watchmen were employed, but later a semi-military, mounted guard consisting of the boldest and most adventurous spirits among the Jewish colonists was organized to protect the more exposed territory of the colonies. On the whole, it is reasonable to believe that what differences there are can be sympathetically adjusted. The Arab is as likely to gain as to lose by the Jewish occupation of the country. Land has risen in value through the colonization enterprises. The influx of new immigrants has given the Arab farmer a larger market for his produce. Arab labor itself is in greater demand. The children of the villagers are accepted in the Jewish schools where Arab is taught as well as Hebrew. It is said that the Arabs have such respect for the justice of the Jewish courts that they often bring their disputes into them for settlement. The extensive settlement of Jews in Palestine, with the attendant economic and agricultural expansion, would be more beneficial than detrimental to the population, Arab as well as Jewish.

There were colonized on the land in Palestine in 1914 approximately 12,000 Jews in some fifty agricultural colonies covering a total area of 122,500 acres. The average density of population in Palestine per square mile in the rural districts is only 25. Expert statisticians have estimated that Palestine can support a population of five or six million



people, through the draining of swamps and the reclamation of desert and waste lands, and a well balanced development of industry and commerce, together with scientific and intensive agriculture. Out of the total of 14,000,000 Jews in the world (of which there were, before the war, approximately 250,000 in the United Kingdom, 100,000 in France, 600,000 in Germany, 2,250,000 in Austria-Hungary, 7,000,000 in the Russian Empire, 45,000 in Italy and 3,000,000 in the United States), it is neither expected nor desired that the majority of them will seek a home in Palestine. Zionism is primarily a movement to give those Jews who wish to return to the ancient land of their forefathers an opportunity to express their Jewish individuality in a Jewish community, free from persecution and prejudice. The pogroms which have broken out in Eastern Europe even since the signing of the armistice emphasize the necessity of some spot where the Jew can live a normal existence according to his own tradition and culture, without arousing hostility on racial grounds.

Large communities in Rumania and Galicia are planning to migrate to Palestine if the Peace Conference establishes a Jewish Palestine. The number of educated young Jews, who are eager to participate in the renaissance of Jewish life in Palestine, is a promising sign for the future welfare of the country. Students in Russia, at the University of Moscow and elsewhere, have formed societies to return to Palestine. An association of young Russian Jews known as The Pioneers, with a membership of 15,000, have been working on farms in Russia even under the chaotic conditions of the last eighteen months, to fit themselves for agricultural enterprise. The Builders, a syndicate of contractors and builders, intend to devote their capital of 10,000,000 rubles to construction work in Palestine. Other syndicates have been founded to develop railroads and port concessions that may be granted, to erect warehouses and supply depots for handling transportation. In the United States, a society of students called the Palestine Builders, with its headquarters at the University of Wisconsin and branches in a number of other colleges, are studying agronomy and engineering, in order to equip themselves intelligently for the work they have pledged themselves to do in Palestine as soon as the opportunity offers. The Zionist Engineers' Society, composed of Jewish engineers in the United States, will send many of its members back to help in the work of reconstruction. Among individuals representing 150 trades and professions, who have sent in their applications for return to Palestine to the Zionist headquarters in New York, are farmers, engineers, teachers, scientists, builders and contractors, skilled laborers, weavers, and representatives of almost every occupation needed to build up

a diversified commonwealth. The Jewish colonization of Palestine will stand, not for immigration of the old order, but a filtering back of trained and well equipped men and women who will carry with them not only their ancient inherited culture but the culture which they have absorbed from the various countries where they have lived.

The Zionists base the Jewish claim to Palestine on their ancient historical association with the land and also on the concrete results accomplished by the Jews since they have colonized there. According to the figures of E. W. Lewin Epstein, Treasurer of the Provisional Zionist Committee, the orange groves represent an investment of 200,000,000 francs; the almond, olive and other groves, 7,000,000 francs; the vineyards, 13,000,000 francs. The Jews have so far shown themselves to be the only people able to cultivate the soil and make it productive and to build up an ordered life in Palestine. No Zionist contemplates political affiliation with Jews in any other part of the world. But it is the contention of the Zionists that a resuscitated Hebrew life in Palestine would have a tremendous influence on the Jews of the whole western world, strengthening their Jewish consciousness and linking them more firmly with the best in Jewish tradition.

It remains for the Peace Conference to cast the final vote on this as on all other problems pending for oppressed nationalities, and to give form to the hope of a new Zion which burns so ardently in the hearts of many Jews. The Zionist does not ask at the present time the creation of a wholly independent Jewish State. The ideals and definite plans which the Zionists have for Palestine are given expression by the first American Jewish Congress, which met in Philadelphia in December, 1918. Speaking for the Jews of America it called upon the Peace Conference "to recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine and to declare that in accordance with the British Government's declaration of November 2, 1917, endorsed by the Allied Governments and the President of the United States, there shall be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as may be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish Communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

In the words of Dr. Sokoloff, one of the leading representatives of the International Zionist Committee, "Our whole programme may be summed up in the phrase 'A peaceful home and national center for Jews and Judaism.'"

# INSIDE POLITICS IN CHINA

By PUTNAM WEALE

*Author of "The Fight for the Republic in China"*

THE writer can lay claim to an intimate knowledge of the Far East and of everything that affects it. Almost his earliest memory of childhood is of a great crowd of many thousands of shouting men, stripped to the waist, and armed with bamboo carriers' poles, who had swarmed forward determined to destroy the house of his father because five square black characters on the door-plate proclaimed that it was the official residence of a commissioner—one responsible for the levying of taxes. The salt-tax had just been raised, to pay for the Tonkin war of 1884; and these men, coming on shore from the great fleet of salt-junks which were tied up along miles of the Yangtze river, were trying to secure a remission by intimidation. Characteristically, they were threatening the wrong authority; but long experience had taught them that in a country of compromises violence of any sort is effective as a political argument, and that it is better to hit the wrong man rather than no man at all. That was the curious Chinese question thrusting itself on his immature attention, a vast question in many ways, yet nevertheless inherently simple, since it is made up of the crudest economic problems which have not changed throughout the ages.

Since those days of thirty-five years ago a good deal of water has flowed under the bridges and a good many changes have come. War, and war's alarms, were responsible a quarter of a century ago for the handing over of China to the international money lender. With indebtedness came complications and irritations. The year 1900 was signalized by that big "blowout" called the Boxer rising; and the settlement which followed was still further complicated by the complete breakdown in 1905 of the fiction of Russian invincibility which had so obsessed the late Lord Salisbury and the present Lord Lansdowne that to it alone must be traced most of the disasters of our hectic decade. The fabric of Far Eastern relations having been based on balance of power, which is only another name for a refusal to face the inevitable, the declension of Russia destroyed the patchwork scheme and made one of two things certain—that either China must win her complete independence or be carved up.

In 1911 a valiant attempt was made on the part of Young China to secure the first alternative by erecting a Republic. But as the writer has sought to explain in a recent work, the attempt was not a great success mainly because the Liberal Powers of the world, being every whit as shortsighted then

as they have shown themselves in the case of Russia, did not love the Chinese Revolution—only tolerating the elimination of the Manchu autocracy because the bondholders' interest in the country was not directly affected. At the earliest possible opportunity they assisted reaction in the person of Yuan Shih-kai; they subsidized him so that he might destroy all his rivals and the embryo of parliamentary government into the bargain; and then were mightily surprised that he should have aspired to a burlesque kingship which killed him and left the country pretty well wrecked.

The results of the Republican experiment in China, so far as Europe was concerned, were thus counted quite negligible. It was said by professional diplomats, who probably know less about modern politics than any other body of men and who have been badly frightened all the world over by the rise of popular power, that the Chinese were not fit for self-government, whatever that may mean; and so when President Li Yuan-hung assumed office in the summer of 1916, the Powers had nothing left in the way of a reconstructive plan excepting to induce China to enter the war, hoping that this act would tide things over, and serve to mask five years' discreditable diplomacy. On August 14, 1917, China did declare war on the Teutonic Powers—being speeded to take that decision by Viscount Ishii's special mission to the United States, which it was feared had sinister objects. But the Chinese declaration was stripped of half its international significance because the country was once more at war with itself—north facing south and each side declaring that the other was a rebel and seeking by force of arms to subdue it. And as this kind of provincial militarism has become just as much the enemy in China as Kaiserism has been in Europe, it is well carefully to consider it.

## II

The modern army of China is the child of the collapse of 1900. It is true that prior to the Boxer explosion a few "model" Divisions had already been organized as a result of the disastrous Japanese war of 1894-95. There was, for instance, one Division of northern troops under a General Nieh which, although the fact has never been properly chronicled, fought with the utmost gallantry against the international armies around Tientsin, advancing against entrenched positions until it

was almost entirely destroyed. There were also some well-trained troops at Nanking and Hankow, and above all there was Yuan Shih-kai's picked Division in Shantung.

It was this Division which was the germ of the modern Chinese army. When the fugitive Empress Dowager Tsu Hsi and the Emperor Kwang Hsu returned to Peking from far-off Hsianfu in 1902, and sanctioned Yuan Shih-kai's scheme for a National Army, events marched so rapidly—for

Japan, who had just beaten Russia in her Manchurian war, began to realize anew that China was not really a negligible quantity, and that given an army and navy of even moderate efficiency China could re-establish the Far Eastern balance of power which had existed prior to the Korean war of 1894. The writer believes that a portion of the astonishing diplomatic story which has been enacted in Peking in the period 1914-18 is due to this one fact—namely the Japanese fear of a militant China.

Had the revolution of 1911 not created an interregnum, the modern Chinese army would have reached its full authorized establishment (namely 36 Field Divisions with a peace footing of half a million men and a war footing of something over a million) at about the time of the commencement of the world war. But the revolution broke up the reorganization long before it was completed; mixed the old style and the new troops, and by lowering the standard and introducing politics into the army, destroyed unity and discipline.

What Gambetta found in Clericalism, Republican China indeed soon discovered in her militarists. The army, reinforced by myriads of men who had managed to acquire firearms, was plainly the enemy; for the soldiers openly declared that they had made the Revolution and that without them the revolutionary leaders could not have lived an hour. This was unfortunately only half the truth, and therefore as dangerous as all half truths inherently are. For the revolution was as much the work of the foreigner as it was of the Chinese. The Manchus could never have been dethroned had their borrowing power on foreign markets not been deliberately cancelled by the action of foreign diplomacy, which, yielding to the clamour of publicists, declared that the western world would maintain strict neutrality until a decision was reached. Consequently, the army in spite of its boast, was really dependent on an alien paymaster who could only be reached by a method which its leader and creator—Yuan Shih-kai—had brought to a fine art. This method was a mixture of bluff, promises to rival Legations, and threats—above all, threats that if hard cash were not forthcoming all China would go up in flames. By finding the monthly quotas for the troops Yuan Shih-kai became supreme.

Only on the surface, however. For the army had become contumacious even before the Manchus had abdicated. Its northern leaders, roughly grouped together under the arms of the Peiyang Party—*anglicé*, the party of the northern seas or the Northern vicerealties—had nearly all risen from humble captaincies in Yuan Shih-kai's original model corps organized in 1896 after the Korean War to Divisional Commands; and one and all they coveted



*Courtesy United Press & Co.*

GENERAL TSAI AO, HERO OF THE YUNNAN REBELLION

The Southern Party Lost One of Its Ablest Leaders When He Died from the Effects of the 1915-1916 Campaign

Asia at least—that by 1905 Yuan Shih-kai as Viceroy of the metropolitan province of Chihli and chief of the Army Board was able to hold army manoeuvres in which 100,000 well-trained men participated.

At the time this created a great sensation: it was felt by all far-seeing men that Yuan Shih-kai was deliberately raising a force to take the place of the Eight Banners or Manchu army corps which had been the means of effecting the Manchu conquest of China in the Seventeenth Century and whose organization—on paper—survived, although the men were entirely worthless and unequipped.



From "The Fight for the Republic in China."

Courtesy of Dodd, Mead & Co.

#### THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTIONAL DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF 1913

Photographed on the Steps of the Temple of Heaven in Peking. Where the Draft Was Completed. In the Abortive Attempt to Restore the Monarchy in the Summer of 1917, Chang Hsun intrenched Himself in These Grounds for a Last Fight Before Capitulation

the direct control of provinces. In other words, the revolution, having abolished the viceroys who ruled over single or linked provinces, and substituted the *Tu-fuh* (now *Tu-chun*) or Military Governor for each province, the aim of all these men was to rule at the provincial capitals where provincial taxation was centered and where money necessarily was found.

By the use of terrorist methods, which commenced in Peking on the memorable twenty-ninth of February, 1912, when the capital was sacked by the Third Division, these Divisional commanders soon became the most solid factors in the very fluid post-revolutionary China. Commander after commander received as reward for fealty to Yuan Shih-kai the gift of a provincial capital; and although a Parliament or assembly of some kind has been in session in Peking most of the time, such real power as there has been since 1911 has been divided among these men.

Nevertheless the idea of constitutionalism—and the necessity of civil rule being made supreme—never perished. That idea is stronger today than it has ever been before—it is the goal all educated Chinese in their heart of hearts are determined to attain. And because civil rule as opposed to militarism is the proclaimed object of the Southwestern

group of revolting provinces with their capital at Canton, let us see precisely how the matter stands.

#### III

The struggle between North and South in China is very old. In one form or another it has gone on for eight hundred years—in fact, ever since the Kitan and Kin Tartars burst through the Great Wall and commenced the Tartar military supremacy in North China which has so profoundly modified the old Chinese ritual of government. For, although the Ming dynasty (Chinese) broke the Mongol supremacy and moved the capital from Nanking to Peking five hundred years ago, the Mings were soon enough ousted by the Manchus (Tartars again) who stereotyped nearly three centuries ago the conception of a military domination directed from Peking—a domination which, no matter how unreal it may have become, still lives in northern China as a political concept—tradition playing such a powerful role among the educated and uneducated that no amount of argument can kill it. This, then, is the real quarrel between North and South, in spite of all talk about constitutionalism; namely that the Peking tradition of a military domination has not been killed and cannot be killed until universal education has definitely rele-



CANTON, THE SOUTHERN CITY IN WHICH REVOLUTIONS AGAINST THE ESTABLISHED ORDER GENERALLY BREED

*Canton Has Always Stood for Progressive Independence in Contrast to the Conservatism of the North. From This Center Most of the Chinese Who Emigrated to Other Countries Originally Came, Carrying Back With Them When They Returned to China the Advanced Ideas of Foreign Governments*

gated it to the limbo of similar forgotten things.

From the beginning of the revolution—that is, from October, 1911—the Northern army was not only filled with this tradition, but was conscious of its strength. A number of the northern provinces had so far completed their reorganization that Yuan Shih-kai at the time of the Manchu abdication had certainly a quarter of a million fairly well-found troops under his direct orders. South of the Yangtze the situation was very different. Some provinces had no more than mixed brigades of re-organized troops; and although five southern provinces—Hupei, Kiangsi, Chehkiang, Kwangtung and Yunnan—could each muster at least one good modern Division with artillery and transport, they were without proper arsenals and were vastly outnumbered by swarms of old levies. Moreover, all the machinery of army administration, as well as all the reserves of arms and ammunition, were under the control of Peking; and when we add that the borrowing power had been inherited by those who were ten minutes from Legation Street, it will be seen that the odds could not but be heavily in favor of the North.

Nevertheless the South remained determined regarding the necessity of substituting effective parliamentary government for military dictation. The Southern leaders of course knew that they had not really won in 1912, when the infant emperor Hsuan-Tung abdicated, and that the big battle had yet to be fought. The abdication had been due primarily to Yuan Shih-kai, who was influenced by three things—hatred of a dynasty that had desired his blood; ambition to rule the nation himself; and an inveterate habit of following foreign opinion because that opinion controlled the Stock Markets on which China had lived for twenty years. Consequently, when the Manchus had been eliminated, there remained for him two controlling impulses and only two—his ambition and the foreign money market. Everything else, parliament, people and provincial capitals, was for him mere shadow-play and not reality. It is only when the problem is thus envisaged that what took place can be understood.

In the spring of 1913, i.e., considerably more than a year later than it should have occurred, the first Republican Parliament with a large southern majority met in Peking, in spite of the assassination

of their leader, Sung Chiao-jen, at Shanghai, under Yuan Shih-kai's orders. Not only was there this majority, but by virtue of the Provisional Constitution, which was the law of the land, the southern leaders believed that they could effectively control Yuan Shih-kai by reducing him to a figurehead. Quickly disillusionized by his signature without Parliamentary endorsement of the great Reorganization Loan, which gave him the one thing he needed to secure open mastery—money—they nevertheless held to their point for several months, only inciting open rebellion in the end, because they saw that force was still the only argument. This trumped-up affair of July and August, 1913, commonly called the Second Revolution, which was over in a few weeks, thanks to the military strength of the North, further weakened the South by allowing the Northern divisional generals, who had hitherto not been in office south of the Yangtze, to occupy the whole line of provincial capitals running from Wuchang (Hankow) to the sea. By the end of the revolt the North was therefore considerably stronger than it had been in 1912. Not only were fourteen out of twenty-one provinces openly in its hand—forming a solid block of territory from the Amur to a point south of Shanghai—but portions of the remaining seven provinces were menaced, making the southern outlook as black as it could be.

Had Yuan Shih-kai not yielded to the last of the three impulses which had dictated his entire policy from 1911—his ambition—he would possibly be alive today as ruler of a very centralized and very bureaucratic commonwealth. But in 1915, yielding to the importunities of his family circle and of his friends—who declared that the moment had arrived for the substitution of a legalized régime for his *de facto* dictatorship—he gave his consent for the monarchy movement and thereby signed his death warrant.

There is even today a controversy among scholars as to precisely why there should have been such a pothole about his attempting to do what so many Chinese had successfully done in their four thousand years of history. From the beginning of time, that is, from the days of Yao and Shun, who are said to have flourished long before the Tartar shepherd kings, the Ayksos, invaded Egypt (2000 B.C.), Chinese citizens have been upsetting old dynasties and making new ones. The right which the early emperors had of nominating anyone they pleased as successor—the doctrine of the blood royal being unknown—was to be good warrant for an illustrious minister mounting the Dragon Throne, the imperial yellow signifying a priesthood rather than kingship. Yuan Shih-kai's friends indeed declared that a really constitutional monarchy, in which Chinese thought and western political thought would be impartially mixed, would kill the Tartar-military taint

attaching to Peking and bring national contentment. But his enemies retorted that not only was his sanction of such a scheme deliberate treachery—and the revelations since made regarding the so-called national referendum certainly disclose unblushing fraud—but that what he aimed at was simply the self-same family rule, with all its corruption and sycophancy made ten times worse with the help of well-trained men—who would have the skill of scientific criminals. Moreover, those in touch with political life were assured that since Yuan Shih-kai had rejected the Japanese Protectorate which Mr. Hioki, the Japanese Plenipotentiary, had offered him at the time of the Twenty-one Demands (January 18, 1915) Japan would certainly defeat his plan by hook or crook. Consequently, the outbreak of the so-called Third Revolution on Christmas Day, 1915, this time not on the Yangtze, but in the inaccessible province of Yunnan, foreshadowed his fall, since even the northern generals refused to support him generally.

On the sixth of June, 1916, Yuan Shih-kai died a broken-hearted man. The South once more was jubilant, declaring that at last it had won. But in 1916, as in 1912, it was not really a victory for the Southern Party. It was a qualified victory for certain southern military leaders in certain southern provinces, Tsai-ao, the brilliant young Yunnan leader, who had done all the fighting, dying before he could consolidate his gains and make his weight really felt. Vice-president Li Yuan-hung, who now assumed office as President, although a thoroughly honest man, was a mere hostage in Peking without a single soldier from his native province of Hupeh to support him. It required the revolt of the whole navy to force the northern military party to agree even to the restoration of the Provisional Constitution and the re-conconvocation of the dissolved Parliament of 1913; and therefore under the surface when Parliament reassembled it was simply the situation of 1913 over again, *minus* Yuan Shih-kai. When the war issue came up early in 1917, owing to America's invitation to China to join in the battle against submarinism, the question of the Permanent Constitution had already nearly wrecked Parliament, the southern majority not being sufficient to force through the vital clauses. Consequently, just as Yuan-Shih-kai had used the signature of the great Reorganization Loan to break the power of Parliament in 1913, so in 1917 the Northern Party began to use the question of a declaration of war against Germany as an intimidation against the majority party, being greatly fortified by the attitude of the Allied legations, who so desired that step, that everything else was held immaterial.

Thereupon began an extraordinary struggle. President Li Yuan-hung seemed to have it within his hands not only to settle the constitutional ques-



tion by a display of firmness, but to define once and for all China's foreign policy. But, being without competent help and without troops, his nerve failed him at the psychological moment, and illegally he dissolved Parliament after diplomatic relations with Germany had been broken off, but before any formal declaration of war had been made. At the same time adding folly to his great mistake, he had called to Peking the illiterate General Chang Hsun, who carried a burlesque restoration of the Manchus—a mockery which was dissipated by a brief fusillade. The result was to leave North and South worse divided than ever; the Northern Military Party being once more in firm control of Peking, whilst the fugitive Southerners were once more forced back to the home of the revolution—Canton. For eighteen months the situation has continued like that, with fitful fighting along the northern edge of the seven southwestern provinces, and with the foreign powers looking on helplessly and wondering whether it can ever end.

## IV

Whilst the expression "the foreign Powers" is still in general use to signify the whole group of nations in Treaty relations with China, recent events have proved that the proper way of expressing foreign political activities should be "the foreign Powers and Japan." For although Japan is an ally of the Allies, and although since her first Treaty of Alliance with England in 1902, in which Chinese integrity was so carefully guaranteed, she has repeatedly exchanged agreements, notes, secret memoranda and what not, with half the powers of Christendom, affirming the self-same principles, her Chinese policy is as purely a Japanese product as are the *geta* (wooden clogs) of the Japanese people. That policy clatters noisily along the international highroad just as if it were shod in resonant *geta* so that everyone can see and hear it; but every so often the clogs are slipped off and Japan enters her neighbor's house in her stockinged feet (as good manners demands); and then very secretly behind the *shoji* (screens) she whispers that unless her tutelage is accepted it will be highly unfortunate for China.

It would be mere repetition of things already outlined to re-examine the problem of the Chinese Revolution from the Japanese standpoint. But this at least ought to be said: that nothing which has occurred in the Far East since the Perry expedition of sixty years ago has more disconcerted Japan than the institution of republicanism at her very doors. Having with vast difficulty and trouble adjusted her national life to the requirements of the modern world from the time of the Restoration of 1868 to the Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905, she viewed with real horror westernism sweeping in on

China like a torrent and threatening entirely to capture it under the name of Democracy. For the isolation which existed under the Tokugawa Shogunate for two and a half centuries still lives spiritually in Japan: Japanese national life remains a curious compound of adjustments and half-tones, a rather delicate thing that, like a hothouse plant, might easily be blasted if left exposed to the cold winds of Reason. To preserve in the second decennium of the twentieth century not only a belief in the Divine Right of Kings, but to propagate officially in every school, in every college, and in every university of the land the cult of the actual divinity of the emperor, emphatically necessitates a juggling with the problems of the outer world of an almost fantastic nature. In the writer's belief the secret of Japanese diplomacy may be traced to this unreal foundation of government, which is further complicated by the haunting conviction that the western races are really stronger, more virile and more efficient than the races of the East and must infallibly dominate them whenever it comes to an open trial of strength. And if we take this hypothesis as a starting point, obscurity vanishes.

Let us explain. Already after the Russo-Japanese war—fourteen years ago—all classes of Japanese knew that their material development was wholly insufficient for the fierce competition of the modern world, and that Russia had really been defeated by a miracle. Crushed by taxation to pay the war debt incurred, the Japanese people instinctively favored a double policy—the exploitation of China for her raw products and the stimulating of Chinese opinion in such a way as to secure, if not the union of the yellow races, at least the general acceptance of the idea that internationally the Far East must be considered as one entity under the hegemony of Japan.

It was when the Japanese people were in this mood that the Knox neutralization scheme of the Manchurian railways was presented to the world (1908) as a solution of the political territorial tangle which the Russian war had left. That such a proposal, in the circumstances narrated, should have struck the Japanese people much as the German Kaiser's telegram to Kruger struck the British people at the time of the Jamieson raid is not at all surprising. It was looked upon as unwarranted interference, almost as an affront. For there was the diplomatic record of the days prior to the Manchurian war to prove that Japan had deliberately and categorically offered to abstain from all interference in Manchuria if Russia would enter into a similar commitment regarding Korea. The fact that the Japanese had been forced to fight a ruinous war, with no real margin of safety either on land or on sea because that offer had been refused, in their opinion entitled them to a considera-



tion which the jealous western world was not giving them. It is necessary to insist upon this half-forgotten matter even to the point of weariness, as it is the secret of much tortuous diplomacy. For when the neutralization scheme fell through and Japan found the alternative plan for a parallel railway (the Chinchou-Aigun trunk line) being pushed by British and American interests in 1909, she became convinced that a new battle had already commenced, having for its object her economic restriction on the Asiatic mainland. And although the

tion days, every group of Japanese became convinced of the necessity of drastic action.

The outbreak of the world war gave the needed opportunity. Japan consented to declare war on Germany only on her own conditions. The mishandling of the Tsingtao question by the Allies—the British government, for instance, could easily have induced Yuan Shi-kai to deliver a 24 hours' ultimatum on Germany to evacuate Chinese soil, since the President of China had 50,000 troops almost at Tsingtao's back doors—allowed Japan to



John Zumbro

#### WITHIN THE SACRED ENCLOSURE OF THE "FORBIDDEN CITY" OF PEKING

Where Seven Centuries of Gilded Imperial Dreams, of Dark Plottings and Counter Plottings and Unrest, Make Mockery in the Empty Courts and Yellow-tiled Halls Within Which the Boy Emperor, Who Signed His Edict of Abdication at Six, Still Lives in Solitary Confinement

formal annexation of Korea was successfully accomplished in 1910, in 1911 the British government insisted on a revision of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty, inserting a clause which made the inapplicability of that instrument to America absolutely clear.

It was with these things weighing heavily on Japan that the Manchu Abdication of February, 1912, came—after a British refusal to countenance armed force to retain the dynasty. And when it was plainly shown that Yuan Shih-kai—who for a quarter of a century had been the arch enemy of the Tokyo Government—was being supported by all the Western Powers alike as an instrument to continue the politico-financial policy of the pre-abdica-

make war as if by favor, using the belligerent conditions throughout the world to hasten on a policy which had nothing to do with the issues being so savagely fought out on European soil. And when Yuan Shih-kai, tardily recovering from the surprise into which he had been thrown by the international catastrophe, declared a war zone in Shantung province so as to restrict the Japanese military effort, and then cancelled that zone as soon as Tsingtao had been captured, Japanese irritation reached such a point that they were forced to action.

#### V

On January 18, 1915, they accordingly served their Twenty-one Demands on Yuan Shih-kai; and



Lithuanian Service

HSU SHIH-CHANG, PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC, WITH THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE AND SPEAKER OF THE SENATE

Liang Shih-yi, on the Right, New Speaker of the Senate, Was Formerly Controller of Chinese Finances.  
Wang I-Tang, Governor of Kirin, Is Speaker for the House of Representatives

although a violent press defensive did something to mitigate the terms, the famous Group V which was the outline of a Japanese protectorate being withdrawn, by means of an ultimatum they forced through all the Manchurian and Shantung articles, with many other valuable closed-door privileges which will be later considered.

Yet even this left Japan dissatisfied. She was still fearful that China would enter the war and thereby regain a certain liberty of action. The direct efforts the Tokyo government made at the end of the year 1915 to prevent such a consummation were followed in 1916 by direct efforts abroad to improve Japan's international standing. It was naturally at Petrograd that Japanese diplomacy first set to work; and as the Bolshevik publication of the Secret Treaties has shown, the Japanese succeeded so well that in 1916 they wrote a re-insurance of their China policy with Russia aimed at any *Third Power* who might wish to oppose their China schemes.

But the Russian Revolution totally destroyed the value of this undertaking, whilst almost at the same time China, invited by America to do so, in a most surprising and unexpected way broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and was on the eve

of a formal declaration of war. Seeing the prize once more slipping through their fingers, the Terauchi Ministry developed in the late spring of 1917 a new policy.

Deliberately they associated themselves with the Peiyang Military Party, promising every kind of financial support if this party would fight under their banner. Nominally acquiescent, the Peiyang Party, in spite of the odium cast on them by the southern adversaries, were still first and last Chinese—i.e., men who knew perfectly well what Japan's plans really were, and who only pretended that they were in entire accord with them. Thus once more there was a play within the play, the number of factors involved being so immense that most people soon lost sight of the main issue—which was that Japan was for the time being merely concentrating on one matter, i.e., pushing Peking to pawn every liquid asset so that Tokyo's claims would be so overwhelmingly strong that when it came to a settlement of the Far Eastern question her wishes would be law.

It was under these auspices that Viscount Ishii sailed for the United States, a signal for the keen-witted that things were still deemed unsatisfactory by the Tokyo Government and that the last re-

fractory element must be forced into the melting-pot. Finding that two months' sojourn in Washington yielded no tangible results, the Japanese Special Envoy became almost desperate. Then followed a brief and curious departure for New York, with a brief and curious return to Washington, resulting in the Lansing-Ishii Notes of the second of November, 1917. That this exchange of notes was very largely prompted by the reports of the possibility of serious developments of Japanese policy if nothing were done to placate Japanese public opinion, there can today be no doubt. The manner in which German emissaries were constantly attempting to enter into relations with Japan—notably at the Scandinavian capitals—is well known to those behind the scenes; and although Japan remained loyal in word and in deed during this dangerous pause in the world war, that temptations of an extraordinary character were dangled before her eyes is an undisputed fact.

And yet even these notes, with their untenable doctrine of geographical propinquity, did not capture will-o-the-wisp China. They assisted, no doubt, in the promotion of the peculiar Japanese policy of the period 1917-1918, when so many hundreds of millions of dollars were lent to the Peking Government on ruinous terms to be squandered on a meaningless civil war; but internationally they were failures. England, still the chief Western Power in Eastern Asia, did not recede from the position she took up in her Treaty of 1911—that she possessed special interests in China as well as Japan and that those special interests, British as well as Japanese, must be maintained. This is a very important fact which has never been given its proper importance: it is a fact which even now troubles Japan.

And then at last Bolshevism, invading Asiatic

Russia in the spring of 1918, brought a final complication; for although there never was any German menace to the Far East, as Japanese agents declared, there was certainly a menace to Japanese plans. In the long story of the intrigues and counter-intrigues at Harbin—during the first half of 1918—in which Japan characteristically backed the reactionary General Horvath, master of the Chinese Eastern Railway—in order to gain control of the railway—we see a fire being fanned to a blaze so as to allow deft fingers to secure the chestnuts. Had the reactionary Russian element in the Russian Far East and among the Cossack communities of Transbaikalia not been incited to attack the Bolsheviks, there would not have been any of the complications which still await solution.

But Japan required frontier warfare, since these activities on the rim of Northern Manchuria allowed her to force through the Sino-Japanese Military Secret Agreement which seemed to bind the Peking Government to her chariot wheel for the term of the war; and although the astute use made by the United States of the Czecho-Slovak impasse finally brought Allied intervention at Vladivostok and prevented the fruition of the full plan which was the Japanese military occupation of everything East of Lake Baikal, it is necessary to note that Japan has acted independently in spite of the Allies in Northern Manchuria, in Transbaikalia and in the Amur province and is today virtual master of Harbin, of Chita and of Blagovestchensk.

Here we pause—for the involved outline is now complete. How the Chinese imbroglio is to be solved—how a reasonable balance is to be reconstituted for the whole Far East, and peace thereby assured—these things must be separately treated, since they are as complicated as this discussion, which has only touched the fringe of the subject.



## LIFE

From the Chinese of *PEH KII YIH*

By COLIN CLEMENTS

*WE would keep the Spring,  
But the Spring will not stay:  
The Spring goeth . . .  
And men are forlorn and lonely.  
We would avert the wind,  
But the wind will not be at peace:  
The wind riseth,  
And the blossoms are stricken and desolated.*

# ISRAEL'S CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

By BEN ZION MOSSINSOHN

THE Jewish population in Palestine is composed of several elements. There are but few who claim descent from those who lived there at the time of the destruction of the second Temple in the year 70. Only one village cherishes this claim—Pekiin in upper Galilee. The first large number of Jews came to Palestine from Spain and Portugal after 1492 when the Jews of these two Pyrenean kingdoms were forced to leave their countries. In the last three hundred years people came from middle Europe and especially from eastern Europe to the Holy Land to *die* there. These two elements, the former, the Sephardim, and the latter, the Ashkenazim, made up the Jewish population of Palestine.

About 1882, a group of young Jews came to Palestine to *live*. None of these various groups sought shelter from persecution or the improvement of their personal status; they turned to Palestine as the old Jewish Homeland. Neither the Sephardim nor the Ashkenazim of the old type tried to establish there a real Jewish settlement. They carried only a passive hope in their hearts. They wanted to be present at the moment of the arrival of the Messiah. They wanted to die on the holy soil and to be buried in it. This settlement had no practical value for the revival of Palestine. Yet it was a very interesting and touching expression of the great love for Palestine that was always alive in the Jewish people. Old men and women left the countries where they had lived all their lives, left all that was dear and near to their hearts, went through indescribable suffering and danger, for the sake of spending their last years on the holy soil. They were the forerunners, the martyrs, of the idea of the Jewish revival in Palestine.

Of another kind are the settlers who have come to Palestine since 1882, the men and women of the so-called "New Settlement"—bearers of the idea of *Chibath Zion* (love of Zion) and of Zionism itself. The years 1879-82 were the years of the growth of anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria and the persecution and pogroms in Russia and Rumania. There is a belief that the pogroms created this movement to Palestine, but this theory confuses the true cause with the last stimulus. Pogroms are a negative manifestation of life. The Palestinian movement was positive and creative. The pogroms were only the stimulus which awakened the desire of old that lay dormant in the soul of the Jewish people. Persecutions made it clear that the existence of the Jewish people continued to be abnormal,

even under conditions of modern life, and roused in the heart of a part of Jewish youth the desire to build up their own life in their own way. The stream of Jewish emigration then followed the line of least resistance, to the countries where they could improve immediately their personal existence, to America, for instance. A part of this stream turned toward Palestine, not with the purpose of dying there, as in former days, but to live and to create. There were two slogans: back to the soil and back to Hebrew culture. The first to go to Palestine were students of Russian Universities, who exchanged their school benches and books for plows and pickaxes. These men were not only fleeing persecution. Far stronger than fear as an impelling motive was their belief that the Jewish people had yet a word to say to the world, and living on its own soil, speaking in its own language, it would find the word. They wanted to be the pioneers in the field of national creation.

They changed their fluent Russian language for a stammering Hebrew. And the Hebrew language ceased to be a stammering tongue, became once more a living, flowing language, a language in which tens of thousands of Jewish children are receiving their modern education, in which trade is conducted on the market-place and men carry on their daily affairs.

The revival of the Hebrew language does not mean the revival of a dead language. Hebrew was never entirely dead. It existed throughout the middle ages as a literary language. Not only was the ritual conducted in Hebrew, but a scientific literature, original as well as translated, and a large body of poetry, had been developed. It had not even ceased to be a spoken language. It was used in intercourse between Jews of different countries and different cultural surroundings. But it was not an every-day language. The idea of a normal life of the Jewish people on its own soil emphasized the necessity of Hebrew as a language of every-day life. There were individuals who advocated this idea, preached it, and acted it, as an example. Eliazer Ben Yehuda fought for the recognition of Hebrew as a living language in the pages of the Hebrew magazines, went to Palestine and established there a Hebrew magazine which existed for decades. Within his own family Hebrew became the language of daily life. There were other individuals who fought and even suffered for this ideal. But the real revival of the language came not through the efforts of individuals, but through the



THE BRILLIANTLY TILED DOME OF THE ROCK DOMINATES THE JERUSALEM HORIZON

The Mussulmans Have Beautiful Monuments as Echoes of a Glorious Past, but Today They Show No Progress; and the Education of Palestine Is in the Hands of Jews and Missionaries

essential needs and urgent demands of life itself.

In every country the Jews, living as the minority among a majority, had to adapt themselves to the forms and conditions of life of the majority. Whenever Jews emigrated from one country to another, they adopted as the language of communication between them the language of the country to which they came. In Palestine the pioneer Jews did not find a developed form of life. There was no culture, for even Arabic was not predominant in this country. The Jews brought with them a higher cultural development than the one that existed in Palestine under Turkish rule, and were thus free to create their own forms of life.

Jews came to Palestine not only from western, middle and eastern Europe, but also from remote parts of Asia and Africa; there was even a movement in later years from Bokhara, from Yemen and from Abyssinia. Every group brought its own language, a jargon of the country from which it came. When different groups wished to communicate with each other they could not use any one of these languages, but all knew at least a few words of Hebrew. They loved this language and looked upon it as a common inheritance of the great past of Israel.

A final and most important condition favoring the revival of Hebrew in Palestine was the country itself. The language of a people, as formulated by a great modern scientist, is the echo of the struggle between man and the soil upon which he lives. A

group of people living together in the same physical surroundings, under the same physical conditions, express their joy and sorrow, their victories and defeat, in exclamations growing out of common reactions. Hebrew is the expression of the mountains and valleys, of the skies and seas of Palestine, and only in Palestine does the individuality of the language become alive.

The revival of the Hebrew language was accompanied by the building of a school system with Hebrew as the language of instruction. The absence of a school system of the Turkish Government or of the Arabian population (the schools of both are beneath criticism), made it easier for a Jewish school system to be developed. The obstacles that the new schools had to overcome were of an inner Jewish nature. The first so-called "Old Settlement" favored religious schools of the oldest type and condemned any attempt to modernize the schools or to create free schools for secular knowledge. There were Jewish organizations with a European tradition that established schools pursuing a definite policy of opposition to the development of free Palestine schools, based upon the real needs of the local population. These organizations proclaimed that they had no interest in the national revival of the Jewish people; yet they tried to gain a foothold in Palestine and to exert their influence through their schools. Wherever they worked they preferred to remain as local organizations without

general Jewish significance, except in Palestine. Here they gained international significance and became factors in Jewish world development. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle* created a system of schools in the colonies and in the cities with French as the language of instruction. There were a few schools established and kept up by the English Jewish organizations, and later came the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden* which spread the German language in the country. These schools differed very much from each other in form and scope. The poorest of them and the least modern were the *Alliance* schools. Poor, ugly, dirty in appearance, with the oldest methods of teaching, they developed in their pupils only a great longing for the boulevards of Paris. There were too few English schools to influence Jewish life. The German schools were far better than the others in equipment and in methods, but all the schools were alike in one thing: they had their politics dictated by outside interests, and not by the desires and needs of the Palestine population. These schools, instead of unifying the Jewish population in the country, divided it. Children of the same family spoke different languages, depending upon the schools they were attending. Jewish children became the playthings of the contending political interests of different European powers in Turkey.

But the Jews of Palestine, desiring to have their schools express their national individuality, started to build up their own school system, beginning with the lowest grades and advancing to the highest. A beginning was made in Jaffa and in some of the colonies. A group of parents and teachers in Palestine, with the help of the *Chovevei Zion* in Russia, started this great work. The language of instruction of these schools was, from the beginning, Hebrew. But it was not merely the language of instruction. It was the spirit of these schools, the aim underlying their curricula, that made them so different from the others. It was a difficult task that the teachers in the new schools took upon themselves. They had no text-books in Hebrew. The language itself was not adapted to modern subjects of teaching. The teacher had to prepare his own text-books, to find words and even to coin new words to express his thoughts, and this under the most restricted conditions. But there was a great love in the hearts of these teachers, a lofty ideal before their eyes, and the children in the schools felt this and followed them, achieving wonders. The most acceptable new Hebrew words, the most adequate Hebrew expressions, were coined not by etymologists but by the children on the streets. Later on, higher grades of schools ranking with the gymnasias or colleges of Europe were founded.



Courtesy of the Hachshara

THESE KINDERGARTEN BABIES WILL BUILD UP AGAIN THE LAND OF THEIR FOREFATHERS

They Have Prattled Baby Talk in the Classical Language of the Old Testament, Played Kindergarten Games in Hebrew, and Through the Hebrew Schools of Palestine They Will Develop Their Individuality for the Highest Ideals of Their Race

By the common efforts of teachers and pupils all obstacles were removed and the diploma, for instance, of the Hebrew Gymnasium in Jaffa was recognized by all universities in Europe and a great number of universities in America, because the instruction in these Hebrew higher schools was equivalent to that of any other institution in any of the living languages of the world. And again it was not only a question of the language. It was an attempt to create the national Jewish school. Here, as in most of the other Hebrew schools, special attention was paid to recreation, to give the Jewish youth what they lacked, for the most part, all over the world. Jewish life in the Ghetto was concentrated on books and the development of thought. The new schools in Palestine took the Jewish youth out into the fields, to develop their eyes, ears, hands. Special attention was paid to natural history, drawing, singing and especially physical culture and manual training. Excursions throughout the country were an important part of the program in the gymnasium, and also in many of the other schools.

A reformation of the curriculum was demanded by the aims of the school. The pupils had to acquire all the knowledge that a modern school could give and in the most modern ways and methods, but it grew out of the Palestinian, out of the Jewish, point of view. It was necessary to know the physical world, but it was very natural to begin geography and geology with the nearest corner, with Palestine, and then to broaden out gradually and finally take in the world as a whole. So with history. Beginning with Jewish history and that of the Near East, where the cultural development of the world started, they learned to know the history of peoples and nations of the world.

The purpose gradually crystallized to abolish outside philanthropic influences. The schools of the *Alliance Israélite* began to fade away; only the poorest and uncultured elements of the Sephardic Jewry continued to send their children there. The schools of the Jewish Colonization Association in the colonies adapted themselves to the program of the Hebrew Teachers' Organization, which took charge of the Hebrew school system. The only schools that stood aside, sometimes coming near to the Hebrew system, sometimes drifting away, were the schools of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*. There was always a feeling that behind that philanthropic Jewish organization there was a strong tendency to force German *Kultur* on the new settlement in Palestine, and use it for German political purposes. The Jewish settlement in Palestine was

opposed to it. They were sick and tired of serving the purposes of others. They wanted to live their own lives and to create in their own way. But the *Hilfsverein* succeeded in hiding its political purposes for a long time, until occasion came and a fight broke out. The dream not only of Palestinians, but of all the Jews who were sympathetic to the revival of their Jewish people in Palestine, was to crown this school system of Palestine with



WAR VICTIMS WAITING FOR FOOD AND CLOTHING

Thousands of Refugees Whose Homes Were Destroyed by the Turks Sought Shelter in Jerusalem. Despite All Hardships, the Jewish Colonists Kept Their Schools Open to the Last for the Exiles

a University, and other institutions of higher education. The *Hilfsverein* agreed to participate in the establishment of a polytechnical institute in Haifa and even took the leadership in this movement. A number of Palestinian Jews were opposed to the leadership of the *Hilfsverein*. They did not trust this organization. But the proclamations of the leaders of the *Hilfsverein* were promising. A number of well-known Zionists participated in the



Press Illustrating Service

THE ANCIENT CITY OF DAMASCUS MAINTAINED IMPORTANT CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL CONTACTS WITH THE JEWS

Thriving Even Today as a Caravan Center, It Was One of the Most Opulent Cities of Bible Times. Damascus Was the Merchant of the Jews "for the Multitude of All Riches"

work and this gave the guarantee that it would be a Jewish National Institution in Palestine. The propaganda for the Polytechnical Institute was led by Dr. Schmarya Levin, one of the most trusted leaders in Zionism, one of the most beloved representatives of the idea of the Jewish national rebirth. The ideal of the Polytechnical University found sympathy in Russia as well as in America. Funds were secured and a beautiful building was erected at the foot of Mt. Carmel in Haifa. But when it came to the question of the program the *Hilfsverein* showed its true colors. A demand was made that all subjects be taught in German and only a very few of the non-important subjects were to be allowed to be given in Hebrew. This demand threw light on all the politics of the *Hilfsverein*. A great historic struggle broke out, demonstrating the unity and strength of Palestine Jewry. All teachers

and pupils, colonists and workmen, merchants and artisans, participated. It was a fight for self-determination before this term became famous in world politics. The schools of the *Hilfsverein* were deserted by their pupils even before the teachers had decided to leave them. Before any help was promised from abroad a chain of schools was opened in all those places where *Hilfsverein* schools formerly had been. Teachers of all the other schools offered half of their salaries (which were little enough), workmen offered days of work to sustain these schools, and in this way Palestinian Jewry expressed its feelings against the methods of the philanthropically disguised German *politik* in Palestine. This revolt of Palestinian Jewry against the enforcement of a foreign culture found sympathy among Jews throughout the world—particularly in Russia, and even in German and Austrian Jewry large numbers of Jews sympathized with the struggle and helped to support the new schools. The *Poly-Technicum* was never opened. The Palestinians were victorious. Then the war came and all further development ceased.

In the Bezalel Art and Craft School of Jerusalem was laid the foundation of Jewish Art. The old Hebrew alphabet, with its stable, square form, seemed immovable and, like the language itself, for a long time dead. In the Bezalel School the elements of this square alphabet served as a basis for a new ornamental style in rug weaving

and decorations on vases. The old candlestick, the Menorah, and the few objects of art that remained from the old times came to assume new significance in the revived national art. A group of young painters attracted by these attempts to create a Jewish school of art in Palestine came from different countries. They brought with them a desire to create. They found in Palestine a treasury of old memories in colors and paint. The movement is still young. It is not yet strong enough to express itself in an impressive way, but a young soul vibrates and quivers in this attempt and promises a future. The influence of the Jewish school of art on the population of Palestine is very great, perhaps even more in the case of the old settlement than the new one; for the old pious Jew regards art as forbidden fruit. It is the echo of the Mosaic law: "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven





HAIFA, THE FLOURISHING SEAPORT OF PALESTINE, IS BECOMING AN EDUCATIONAL CENTER

On the Slopes of Mount Carmel is the Jewish Technical Institute, Endowed by Jacob H. Schiff of New York. The New Settlement in Haifa Already Forecasts the Possible Achievements of a Nationally Conscious Jewish Population

image, nor any manner of likeness of anything that is in Heaven above or that is in the earth beneath or that is in the water under the earth."

To one of the little Bezalel exhibitions, thousands of Jews from the narrow, dirty streets of old Jerusalem came, a little frightened; they stole in step by step; they became interested, absorbed, their eyes awoke, they devoured a new world, a world of beauty of which they had no conception. When they went home some of them took with them a longing for another life and a great number of children in this Jerusalem Ghetto went out of the walls of the old city to broader streets and free fields, to work and create instead of suffocating in the mediaeval forms of life still maintained in old Jerusalem.

An attempt was made to revive Jewish music in two schools in Jaffa and Jerusalem. Old and new Hebrew melodies were collected. Attention was paid to the native Arabic melodies, which come so directly out of the East. From the minor melodies of Jewish songs new songs sprang into being—songs of joy, pride, hope and echoes of marching fleet on Palestinian soil.

The spiritual rebirth influenced the economic rebirth and went hand in hand with a psychological change in the spirit of the Palestinian Jew. Power, a word so seldom used in Jewish Ghetto life, became the ideal and emblem of the new settlers. A new

element has come into the land, the working element, and it has its own characteristics also. Young men and women came as farm hands with high school and often university educations, developing new methods of agricultural production. In the cities there grew up new districts with wide streets lined with trees and flowers, with dignified houses having light and water.

The war put an end to all activities in Palestine. As soon as Turkey came into the war it was clear that a terrible time was approaching. Although the Palestinian Jews were given an opportunity to leave the country, with safe passage to Egypt and from there to the other countries of the world, not only did they remain in Palestine, but they fought to the end for their existence as a unit. When others left their fields and orchards and groves and had thought only for their safety, the Jewish colonists sacrificed and suffered all to keep up the foundations of the future life they had created in Palestine. When the Turkish Government expelled all the Jews of Jaffa and most of the Jews of Jerusalem, the schools were open to the exiles in every place to which they came. When the English Army came as liberators of Palestine they found in the Jewish colonies the only places where food was obtainable; in the Jewish schools they found the root of the new culture. It was entirely in accord with this spirit of Palestine that manifested itself in



*Herbert T. Wade*

#### THE MOST SIGNIFICANT JEWISH COMMUNITY OF PALESTINE LIVES IN JAFFA

The Port of Jerusalem Carries Forty Per Cent of the Foreign Trade of Palestine; the Beautiful Zionist Suburb of Tel Aviv is Settled by Engineers, Teachers, Scientists and Artisans; The Schools Are Among the Best in Palestine and the Diploma of the Jaffa Gymnasium is Accepted by Leading European Universities

time of stress and suffering that the first step taken by the Zionist Commission sent by the English Government to Palestine was to lay the cornerstone of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The renaissance of Israel in Palestine is not alone of value to the Jewish people. It is of value to the development of the Near Orient, and must not be underestimated in the future development of all humanity. The Jewish problem is generally considered as a problem of physical suffering and political and social restorations, but these are only its outer manifestations. The inner problem is that of a people with a soul and a will to create, but lacking the possibility to create even in the lands of greatest freedom. The settlement in Palestine will be one of millions of Jews living together, free, possessing the opportunity to express their inner life in individual creation. The Jews of the Diaspora will build a periphery for this center, furnish new strength for the center and receive further blood and life therefrom. The rebirth of the Near Orient is possible only through the rebirth of Israel in Palestine. The great culture of the Arabs, though still alive, has fallen far behind. Modern civilization has been brought to the Arabs through western nations, in western forms, western languages. It has not penetrated deep into their soul. It is too strange an element. The Hebrew renaissance in Palestine in the Hebrew language, which

is oriental in itself, is the only one which could possibly penetrate into the soul of the Near East and awaken it to real life. It will come naturally and by close contact. The Semitic culture which influenced so much of the world in ancient times is sunken in deep lethargy. It must be awakened. A free Mesopotamia and Yemen, a free Syria are possible only with a free Jewish Palestine.

This is a question not only for the Jews and Arabs; it is one of world-wide significance. It is an historical truth that the Mediterranean served in some way as a line of demarcation between the two worlds. It was not an accident that Confucius, Buddha, Manu, Zoroaster, Moses, Isaiah, and Jesus came from the eastern side of the Mediterranean Sea and influenced the development of the western world. It seems as though humanity has been breathing always with but one lung; when the East was creating, the West lay bare; when the West began to create, the East fell into lethargy. Now there is a yearning in the West, consciously or subconsciously, for a new spark from the East. The greatest development of humanity is possible only by a synthesis between the East and the West. Palestine was always the gateway between the East and the West. Israel is an oriental people that has lived long in the West. A Hebrew renaissance in Palestine will unite the two worlds, creating the power for a new human development.

# ECONOMIC AID FOR IVAN IVANOVITCH

By OLIVE GILBREATH

TO that American whose image the great Lincoln kept always in mind, the comfortable citizen with his glasses far down over his nose, the clock approaching the hour of nine, the cat dozing by the kitchen stove—as well as to others, including editors who clamor for details of the American bread line in Siberia—the economic relief of Ivan Ivanovitch seems to present a picture with a delightful Christmas flavor. The main features can be imagined—white and treeless wastes, the wind howling with a six thousand mile unbroken howl, Ivan Ivanovitch buried in his broad-eaved *izba* and the *izba* buried in drifts of snow across which Uncle Sam speeds in a reindeer sleigh pitching out food and clothing at every sign of a chimney or a fold in the drifts. It is a gratifying picture and in part it is even true. The steppe is there, blanketed with snow, and no American can image it too white and bleak. The wind is there and it cannot be drawn too bitter. The drifts are there and the little *izbas* buried up to their eaves. And Ivan Ivanovitch is there. But Uncle Sam is not; there is no reindeer sleigh scattering packets. Ivan Ivanovitch does not need the packets. In fact, with butter fifteen roubles a pound in Vladivostok, it sometimes looks as if Ivan Ivanovitch would have to rescue the port.

It has been a matter of amazement to the military authorities, the Red Cross, the Refugee Relief, the Salvation Army, the economic commissions, the War Trade Board and all the gentlemen concerned in the business of rescuing Ivan Ivanovitch that he is not worse off. European Russia and the refugees are different considerations. But so far as concerns the starvation of the Siberian peasant, the gentle reader may "lay down his heart." The Siberian peasant is not starving, he is not even hungry; in fact, he has enough of food stuffs and to export. This abundance is due to two main causes. One has been the incapacity of the trans-Siberian to transport the materials. The other has been that with the markets bare of things to buy and nothing to do when he had brought produce to market but drive home across the steppe with an empty sleigh, Ivan Ivanovitch saw no point in delivering his goods. Like his neighbor across the line in Mongolia, he finds the real medium of exchange in commodities. Formerly he sold butter for boots and if there were no boots, why should there be butter? He began accumulating, for from force of habit, he kept on working a bit—just a bit; the result has been in some commodities a superabun-

dance, in fact, a wealth to export. Men travelling east from the Urals, and even from the Orenburg region, report all along the line of the railway piled enormous quantities of materials, and even more up the branch lines and the waterways. "Such an abundance," one report comes, "as beggars description." Of wheat, for example, there remains undisposed two and a half crops and good winter wheat in the fields is reported. At the end of 1917 a total of from 1,700,000 to 2,700,000 tons was available, one-third of the entire export of Russia and Siberia before the war. Flour mills are still operating in the smaller towns and a few in the cities, sufficient to supply the needs of Siberia. Meat abounds; Siberia itself has hordes of cattle and Mongolia can be drawn upon for mutton while Tibet furnishes the strange but toothsome yak. There is no scarcity of geese, chickens, ducks or eggs and game is plentiful. The butter in reserve at Omsk is sufficiently valuable alone to furnish the basis of a Siberian credit. Under a few capable Danes who introduced Danish dairy methods fifteen years ago in the Yenesei region and taught the Siberian peasant, western Siberian butter has become a most significant asset. The reserve is now valued at eight million pounds sterling; the peasant is oiling his machinery with it, and has been for a long time. There is no hint of lack of food in Siberia; in fact, Ivan Ivanovitch is very well supplied. Only two food comforts, not necessities, are lacking, tea and sugar. Tea lies already in Vladivostok, 70,000,000 pounds under those vast storehouses, where supplies have been piling up since the beginning of the war—a vast quantity even in the face of tea-drinking Russia. And sugar has been bought in India at a reasonable rate. It is to be said to the credit of the Allied armies, too, that they diminish practically not at all the supplies of the country. The holds of the American transports held American larders *in toto*: American ham, bacon, flour, canned foods, sugar, coffee, cocoa. And the Canadians swung equal quantities out of their ships. Both armies, it is said, could live for years on their own stores.

Ivan Ivanovitch is not short of food. But this is not to say that he has no economic needs. All the world has and he is no exception. The question of clothing has been less pressing than might be imagined, less pressing than it would be among a population wearing luxurious and less durable materials. Sheepskin coats last longer than the furs of other peoples and the peasant has become his

own tailor. Siberia has reverted to the conditions of the old days when the great estates with their enormous retinues of serfs manufactured everything. But clothes are now a problem. In the fourth year of the war, woollens are waning fast and clothing will soon be an imperative need. Boots and shoes the peasant lacks and every manufactured thing—cotton, paper, matches, hardware—all the small wares that Germany used to send and most of the greater things from both America and Germany. As a matter of fact, however, all the needs, boots, clothing, hardware, are but straws in the wind in comparison with the one supreme and imperative need, on the supplying of which hangs Siberia's economic recovery and the capture of that priceless possession, Ivan Ivanovitch's good will. That need is for *machinery* and for all the parts of machinery which must be replaced, and for lubricating oils. The Allies must supply these or lose Ivan. They are the ammunition for the new war to win Siberia.

The rate at which Siberia can devour agricultural machinery is astounding. She can use from four to six times as much as European Russia. Before the war, her yearly expenditure for such machinery was 168,000,000 roubles. She ploughed every year with from sixty to sixty-five thousand new ploughs; she mowed with from ten to twelve

many, the harvesters, mowing machines and horse-rakes from America. For the last four seasons, these machines have been without new parts to replace the worn-out parts and latterly they have suffered extreme hard usage from a lack of proper lubricating oils. The trans-Siberian has become a matter of grave concern to the railway engineers who foresee a quick destruction if the practice of running the engines without proper lubricants is continued. And this state of affairs holds for other machinery in Siberia. There is but little provision for replacing parts in Siberia. In all the Amur province there is but one repair shop and in the Primorskaya but one. The Russian would like shops for the repair and manufacture of machinery such as existed in south Russia before the war, but pending this he must receive from foreigners his machinery.

The need has come to this point that who reaches him most swiftly, most effectively and most cheaply—with the depreciation of the rouble, machinery is almost beyond a peasant's reach, a mower costing now 1900 roubles—wins a large place in his sympathy. He is too tired of being marched over by different factions and lied to by different routes, too unaware of world politics to fight again. It is to be doubted if any power on earth could line the Russian peasant up for battle. He wants no poli-

tics—lately he has taken to hanging orators—but something substantial and dependable, boots and ploughs. And if the Germans give these things to him, *neechevo*. But, unfortunately, the Allies cannot adopt this high indifference. Ivan Ivanovitch nearly holds the future of the world in his horny, uncaring hand. For the judgment of the East, Germany capitulates on the west front only to turn that Slavie hand for her own aggrandizement and to set it against the rest of the world. This can never be permitted. The Allies must for the future of the world win this hairy-breasted Protean giant. If they fail, the Slav in Russia, German led, will become the peril the German has seen in him, but a dirigible peril directed for, not against, Germany.

And it is the part of America and England at present to do the winning. France has nothing to



ONE OF GENERAL SEMENOFF'S HOME-MADE ARMORED CARS

Cossacks under General Semenov fought against the Red Guards who attempted to control the Trans-Siberian Railroad

thousand new mowers. Her binding twine was so important that in the old régime even troop trains gave way to it. Of this machinery, the ploughs, harrows and threshing machines came from Ger-

send and Japan operates from her own political point of view. It is the new war which America and England must fight and if they are laggard or inexperienced, Germany will win; she will operate not only her own factories but those of Russia in Moscow and the south, will supply the country and entrench herself in every province in Russia. Germany always has managed the factories in Russia; German factory overseers are a part of the accepted scheme, a habit, and in Russia, half Oriental, habit means much. Fundamentally, the aim of England and America in this economic game is the same: to set up the stream of commerce again and by re-establishment of export and import to enable Siberia to recover herself; and second in importance but of greater immediacy, to rush to the aid of the population with means for making good deficiencies in their present want. The ultimate object is identical, to succor and hold Siberia against German greed. The method differs according to the business genius of the two nations, and the difference is largely a matter of accent.

The plans of both governments are yet tentative but at least this much may be said: England anticipates a situation in which private firms will not risk their capital in the supplying of certain commodities. For the purpose of filling this gap, she has organized a vast concern under the direction of Leslie Urquhart, financed by the government, and to be known as the Siberian Supply Company. This company will function more or less parentally toward the Siberian peasant to insure that at the lowest price possible, his needs are met, regardless of the whimsies of private capital. Siberia must needs be a somewhat rough sea financially so long as it is flooded with bogus fiat money running into issues not of simple millions but of billions upon billions, without a fraction of gold or silver reserve; and settled trade will be impossible. At Blagovestchensk, for example, the local Soviet manufactured and forced into circulation 87,000,000 roubles of this fiat money; it is depreciated in value but it is in everybody's hands. This is but one of countless examples

of the revolutionary currency with which the country is inundated and so long as this state of affairs exists, capital will of necessity be wary. The British scheme, therefore, has the virtue of guaranteeing the peasant a fulfillment of his needs, however the financial wind blows. The most difficult problem, of course, is how to guarantee that this monumental government scheme will not affect unfavorably private trading concerns. In the first launching of the scheme, the British Home Government seems to have been naively unaware of the number and size of foreign enterprises in Siberia. They have since been furnished data as to the business enterprises already existent in Siberia and now apply themselves to the task of reconciling the two interests—the Siberian Supply Company, which carries back in its suggestion to the old East India Company, and the smaller private concerns.

Distribution of the commodities for such a vast governmental concern will, of course, be one of the problems for the British to solve. Can foreign representatives accomplish this task of distribution over a territory in which the United States could be lost, or must Russian organizations be the medium through which goods will reach the consumer in the most economical way possible, not diminished to the vanishing point by that pernicious perennial enemy of the Orient and one of the wickednesses



AMERICAN SOLDIERS FOLLOW THE FLAG INTO SIBERIA

As Part of the Allied Movement to Guard the War Stores in Vladivostok, the United States Sent Regulars from the Philippines

which brought Russia to her present chaos, graft? Luckily, Siberia has one powerful and far-reaching people's organization, or rather unit of organization, the coöperative societies. They cover every industry and flourish in every province of this mammoth pioneer land. Almost any morning in Vladivostok, one may see standing in the morning sunshine before certain shops a queue of kerchiefed figures in clumsy boots and peasant blouses, men, women and children holding cards in their hands, waiting for the coöperative shop to sell them boots or butter or sugar or honey, in limited quantities to be sure, but at far cheaper prices than can be obtained anywhere else in the city. They are true Russian in spirit, these coöperatives, and one of the most powerful organizations in Siberia. In 1917, the dairy coöperative exported 2,000,000 *poods*—36 English pounds to a *pood*—of butter. And they have that quality almost priceless in these troubled times of being known and trusted by the people. In all probability, the coöperative will furnish the channel for reaching Ivan Ivanovitch. All the individual societies are united in one head for Siberia and another for European Russia. The presidents of both the Siberian and the Russian union are at present in Vladivostok and they are eager to undertake the handling of the commodities at what appears a very reasonable rate, two per cent. The method looks feasible, especially if it be supplemented by the supervision of foreign representatives. It is being more thoroughly investigated by the British pending a decision.

The British scheme is typically British in conception, the system evolved through generations of experience with centralized home capital and peoples outlying in the far corners of the earth. The American plan, as has been said before, has in view the same ultimate object of restoring commerce and succoring Siberia in her present needs, but, American-wise, she has shifted the emphasis. It has not been officially announced but it is understood that Washington plans financial support by the government in case of necessity, but the American does not anticipate the necessity. His main accent is on the private concern with private capital. He believes that with the proper stimulation and control of commerce, export and import, the private firm can meet the need. The idea of sending a special American economic commission to Siberia has been abandoned as a needless multiplication of machinery and the matter has been placed in the hands of the Eastern section of the War Trade Board now sitting in Japan, with representatives in Vladivostok. What the scheme of this Board is it is unwilling to announce as yet in detail. Its headquarters in the building of the American Consulate show only a minor array of typewriters and its office force has not yet arrived from Washing-

ton. The Americans as yet are extremely shy and tentative in their plans. What from the distance of America appears, doubtless, a perfectly adjusted and irresistible steam roller for making smooth and easy the path of Ivan Ivanovitch, from the perspective of Vladivostok appears a machine but slowly assembling its parts. Doubtless, however, an excellent machine when finished, a proper medium for American energy and efficiency, already a household word in this far Northeast.

One thing the Americans are doing, an initial bit of work of enormous interest to all Siberia. This is the survey of those mountains of supplies packed away in the caverns of warehouses, dotting the hills with canvas mounds and spilling over into valleys in every direction from Vladivostok, those acres of supplies on which every correspondent who has passed through Vladivostok since the beginning of the war has exhausted his vocabulary of dimensions to describe and in vain. If anybody in the world can furnish an accurate list of their contents, he is as yet undiscovered. The director of the customs does not know, the present government does not know, the consular body can furnish no information. For three years these stocks have been accumulating—that one thin line of steel crossing to Europe offering no facility for their distribution—overflowing from the warehouses into the streets, piling up in every cranny of the hills, paid for and unpaid for, belonging to dealers in Russia and Siberia, dealers known and unknown, dealers alive, bankrupt, dead or "missing," or not consigned at all. There is only one more striking evidence of Russia's chaos and disruption than these incredible accumulations of stocks undistributed and spoiling, and that lies in the harbor below: three little torpedo boats, all that remain of Russia's fleet. Of these mountains and valleys of stocks contained in the port of Vladivostok the Americans have made an estimate. They have a reasonably accurate knowledge of the weight, and of some commodities they have been able to state the quantity. The private warehouses, however, have not yet been opened and until authority can be obtained to demand it, any estimate must remain incomplete.

The reasons necessitating a survey are manifest. In the first place, it is still of great importance that shipping space be economized. In the second place, a survey of the present stores must be made in order to regulate imports, to prevent an oversupply of one commodity at, perhaps, the cost of undersupply of another commodity. But there is a more far-reaching reason in the matter of credit. If Siberia be overstocked, the rouble—already but a fifth of its normal rate—will still further depreciate and the credit of Russian merchants abroad be injured. It will act unfavorably also on the American merchant; if there be an over-



THE HARBOR OF VLADIVOSTOK, THE EASTERN TERMINUS OF THE TRANS-SIBERIAN

The Vast Supplies That Have Accumulated in Vladivostok Since the Beginning of the Russian Revolution Cannot Be Distributed to the Siberian Peasants Unless the Railroads Are Kept Intact

supply, the market will be lowered and the merchant, having lost in the new field, will withdraw, to return reluctantly. In other words, there must be a survey of stocks if that, to the American mind, very important measure, the license to import and export, function properly, and trade be steered into smooth channels of supply and demand.

As a matter of fact, the listings made of the warehouses available have revealed the fact that in some commodities Siberia is already fully stocked. The supply of tea, as already stated, is enormous. Rice is present in almost equal quantities, whether impaired by its long storage has not yet been ascertained. There is leather sufficient to boot and shoe Siberia and shoes in addition, mouldy but not wholly lost. The cargoes of raw rubber are extremely valuable; the manufactured rubber goods are stiff but of good quality and still usable. The quantity of chemicals seems inexhaustible and their value has increased since their delivery. It is hardly possible to mention a commodity which is not contained in the stores: aluminum, wire, matches, textiles—twice as many cottons as woolens—lumber, raw cotton, gun cotton, explosives enough to wreck the Five Provinces. A large crate standing in an out of the way road may mean an automobile, even a limousine. The automobiles which have thus far been unpacked—and they have been drawn upon more frequently, perhaps, than any other one commodity—have proved for the most part in good condition. The bodies are a bit lack-lustre but the metal parts have withstood the storage and the

machines are serviceable. The computed weight of the entire stock of stores is staggering—38,000,000 poods. Even in a world trained to think in millions, a total of a billion, three hundred and sixty-eight million pounds carries weight. Ironically enough, out of the mountainous aggregate, there are more typewriters and electric light bulbs than there is agricultural machinery, of which the weight totals only four thousand poods, a trifle in agricultural machinery scattered over the great Siberian plains.

Concerning Japanese participation in the economic relief of Siberia, the Japanese Consul in Vladivostok is responsible for the statement that Japan as a government is back of no plan or organization. This by no means lessens the attention centered on Japanese commercial activity in Siberia. For a time, the Russians declared that the whole of Siberia was passing into Japanese hands and for anybody who had seen the swift swarming of Japanese life in Shantung after the occupation of Tsingtau, there was no ground for discrediting Russian fears. Japanese shops open over night in Vladivostok. A very large new business building, the famous *Golden Horn*—rechristened by the Americans the *Solitary Dog*—has passed into Japanese hands. So merrily did the process of requisition for military purposes, followed by purchase, go on, that at last a protest was lodged by evicted tenants. The matter went before a commission and there seems for the present a lull in deals. About Harbarovsk, the same process has occurred. Mines,

mills, business houses, dwellings, have been bought eagerly from tired and disillusioned Russians happy to escape from the business uncertainty and political chaos of their great nebular land. There has been a very large import from Japan of all sorts of manufactured goods. Practically the only obtainable gloves, stockings, handkerchiefs, sweaters, underwear, have been Japanese. And we are informed that a Japanese commission of business men has passed west to the Urals on a tour of investigation. Japan will, without doubt, fulfill her part in supplying Siberia with her manufactured articles.

In general it may be said that there will be no physical suffering in peasant Siberia this winter—except, perhaps, for clothing. The task of the Allies, however, will not be an easy one. The bogey is that of transportation facilities—the incapacity of the trans-Siberian. If reports be true, it is now nearing the verge of a breakdown. The trouble is not with the road itself. Strangely enough, with all the Bolshevik-Czech fighting through June, July and August along the line of the road, the road itself was comparatively little injured. Some bridges were wrecked and tunnel 39 at the corner of Lake Baikal was “daylighted” but the main body of the road, due to the fact that it had always stood for order in the old régime and any infringement of its rights incurred severe punishment, remained remarkably intact. The bridges which were wrecked were repaired by American engineers sufficiently for Czech troops to cross eastward and traffic has been practically uninterrupted so far as the bridges were concerned. The difficulty lies where it has always lain, in the disorganization and hopeless confusion of the system in Russian hands. There seems to be no dearth of labor, of a highly skilled type and willing, but there are no heads to direct—station masters, train despatchers and superintendents. Secondly, the road is heavily cumbered, if the rolling stock is not rendered positively inadequate, by the large refugee cities at every central point. On the tracks at Omsk, Tomsk, Vladivostok and Irkutsk stand hundreds of cars inhabited by Russian society from the heads of governments—no, not the heads, the governments themselves—through all the grades to the poorest Armenian refugees, sleeping on bare planks and huddling about their rusty stoves. To see only the railway city in Vladivostok and then to imagine it multiplied eight or ten times is to realize what a serious cluttering up of the road and drain on the stock of cars these cities are. When added to this is the fact that every colonel of every nationality must travel over the road in a luxurious private train, the dwindling usefulness of the road is comprehensible. If all the refugees were cleared out and sent into the villages to work and the colonels could see their way to surrendering the road to

other traffic than themselves, the trans-Siberian might do valiant work. Just now, in November, posters in the station announce no freight westward while the Japanese troops are coming out, but this is but half the true reason for the suspension. Freight was being received only at intervals before the emergence of the Japanese. A shortage of coal is threatened, also, and there are rumors that the Tomsk-Ekaterinberg line may be discontinued. The present railway muddle is more than serious. It may be fatal. It certainly will be fatal to economic relief unless experts be allowed to reorganize and handle it. The trans-Siberian is in actual truth the key to the economic situation in Siberia. Now that the Czechs have returned to the Ural front, attention centers upon the road and its future. American experts constantly are affirming that it could be put into shape in two months and a train an hour run each direction between Vladivostok and European Russia. Will the American engineers after their wait of a year be placed in charge to manage the road or will the Japanese put a spoke in the American wheel? The decision lies on the knees of the diplomats. The best gamble is that the road will pass into inter-Allied control, with a Russian, General Horvath, as the managing head. Until the road is in condition to handle traffic, Allied economic commissions can do little more than fill sheets of white paper with projects.

The enterprise of economic aid in Siberia is so colossal that it staggers the comprehension and at every turn it branches off into interesting and intricate problems. How can credit be established and currency stabilized? Must not certain embargoes be lifted by the Allies in order to encourage Siberian export? The cafés are filled with thick-necked speculators and have been for a year. How frustrate their designs for profiteering which, if carried out, would undo all the good the Allies could possibly do the peasant? But more insistent than all other questions—how to enlist the loyalty of those dark, apathetic peasant masses lying there to the west, a living tide of ignorance and potential danger? Germany will contend for Russia and Siberia commercially with all the diabolical ingenuity and persistence that she employed in France. The trackless forests of the mind of Ivan Ivanovitch, knowing only his own *mir* and caring nothing for the world beyond his horizon, will be the world's next battle ground. Just now Ivan Ivanovitch is tired and a bit savage with Bolshevik terrorism. He dislikes the Japanese, accepts the American as the least objectionable of the khaki invaders. In fact, he finds the American almost *sympateechie*. But he likes nobody and nothing long and loud. He is the same peasant one saw in the Petrograd hospitals three years ago: all he wants is to plough. How warp him into an upstanding ally?



# FROM THE BOOK OF THE BIBLE:

Illustrated by Ephraim M. Lilien



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*And the Lord said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them.*

*And Moses went up into the mount and a cloud covered the mount.*

*And the glory of the Lord abode upon Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six*

*days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud.*

*And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel.*

*And Moses went into the midst of the cloud, and got him up into the mount: and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights.*

*Exodus xxxiv: 12, 15-18*



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*And Abram said, Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus?*

*And behold, the word of the Lord came unto him. . . .*

*And he brought him forth abroad and said, Look now toward heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; and he said unto him, So shalt thy seed be.*

*Genesis xvi: 2, 4, 5*



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And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh, and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint as he wrestled with him.

And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.

And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob.

And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.

Genesis XXXII: 24-28



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*And David spoke unto the Lord the words of this song in the day that the Lord had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies, and out of the hand of Saul:*

*And he said, The Lord is my rock, and my fortress and my deliverer;*



*Therefore I will give thanks unto thee, O  
Lord, among the heathen, and I will sing  
praises unto thy name.*

*He is the tower of salvation for his king,  
and sheweth mercy to his anointed, unto  
David, and to his seed for evermore.*

11 Samuel xxii: 1, 2, 50, 51



© George W. Stearns

*Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.*

*And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day.*

*And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel.*

*Joshua x: 12-14*



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*Then the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast him into the den of lions. Now the king spake and said unto Daniel. Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.*

*Then the king arose very early in the morning and went in haste unto the den of lions.*

*And when he came to the den, he cried with a lamentable voice unto Daniel; and the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?*

*Then said Daniel unto the king, O King, live forever.*

*My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me, and also before thee, O King, have I done no hurt.*

Daniel vi: 16, 19, 22





© George Westermann

Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble.  
 He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a  
 shadow, and continueth not.  
 Seeing his days are determined, the number of his months are with thee,  
 thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass;  
 Turn from him, that he may rest, till he shall accomplish, as an hire-  
 ling, his day.  
 For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,  
 and that the tender branch thereof will not cease.  
 But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and  
 where is he?  
 O that thou wouldst hide me in the grave, that thou wouldst keep me  
 secret, till thy wrath be past, that thou wouldst appoint me a set  
 time, and remember me!

Job xiv: 1-2, 5-7, 10, 13

# SHOULD AMERICA ACT AS TRUSTEE OF THE NEAR EAST?

**P**ROBABLY no single point in the range of principles involved in the formation of the League of Nations bears with such immediate force upon its practical working and the good faith of its advocates as the answer to the question:

What will the League do with those nationalities and territories which through oppression, or unacquaintance with the practices of democratic government or native incapacity for it, are today too weak, or in other manner unfitted, to secure its advantages on their own responsibility?

Discussion of the League of Nations plan in this application can therefore take no more pointed form for the stimulation and clarifying of public thought in this country than in consideration of the significant proposal from one of the most authoritative unofficial sources of British opinion and government counsel. It is essentially this:

That the United States be the guiding hand in the reconstruction of the Near East, practically supplanting Great Britain and France, acting as trustee for the League of Nations in helping, advising, guiding and in such manner as necessary supervising the establishment and operation of new autonomous, semi-autonomous and dependent nationalities in what was formerly Turkey.

This proposal is made by *The Round Table*, the foremost British quarterly on the politics of the British empire, in its latest issue as follows:

"But what is the effect of this victory to be on Asia, Africa, and the scattered remnants of primitive society who inhabit a hundred Pacific isles? In the end the effect must be that they, too, will achieve the arts of governing themselves. But the question, how soon that end can be reached, depends upon a right understanding by the free nations who now control the world of the delicate and complex nature of the problem. Failure to grasp it will not only delay the achievement of the end, but may yet set the civilized world by the ears . . .

"There are no problems more calculated to provoke jealousies in peace between allies who have held together in war than those presented by German East Africa and by all the territories of the Middle East bounded by the frontier of Turkey in Europe, the Eastern frontiers of Egypt and Persia, by the Caucasus and the seas which connect these lines. Let us say at once that in these regions there are engagements with France and Italy which must in any case be observed. Pledges are pledges, however made, and it is not in the world's interest to break them. It is at least

possible, however, that France might prefer to exchange the responsibilities to which she aspired in the Levant for others in respect of the German colonies of West Africa.

"All things are possible if the French and British as well as the American people can rise to the spirit of these times. There is no self-denying ordinance which England might not be prepared to make if France would consent to maintain the open door in all her African territories. If America can discard her old traditional aloofness, it is surely not too much to ask that her allies should forget their old rivalries and claims. The interest of the world is the only platform wide enough to hold them all.

"If once the problem is really considered on that plane, it will come to be seen how largely it is solved if once America will make herself answerable to a League of Nations for peace, order, and good government in some or all of the regions of the Middle East. (Writer's italics)

"Her very detachment renders her an ideal custodian of the Dardanelles. For exactly similar reasons her task in preserving the autonomy of Armenia, Arabia, and Persia will be easier than if it were to rest in our hands. Her vast Jewish population preeminently fits her to protect Palestine. Her position between India and Europe removes all our objections to the railway development which these regions require. The task is one which she understands better than ourselves, and her knowledge of irrigation is second only to our own. Above all, she has the capital for these works, while we, with less than half her population, will be hard put to it to find enough for the vast territories we already control. Nor can America plead that she lacks knowledge. As a matter of fact, Robert College and the American Missions in the Near East have given her a preponderant share, if not the monopoly, of public-spirited men with a first-hand knowledge of those regions.

"Last, but not least, is the most baffling of all the questions which this war leaves in its train—the restoration of Russia. America is morally pledged to put her hand to the task of regenerating that unhappy people. The key to this problem lies not in Siberia, but in Russia itself. If once America shoulders the task of creating order in the Middle East, she will buttress Russia from the South; for order, no less than anarchy, is infectious. As steward of the Near East, America can extend to the blind giant the neighborly hand of a friendship which is open to no suspicion."

More than the usual significance of a magazine article must be attached to this inquiry addressed to America—bearing the stamp of reflecting the desire of British government leaders to know how far American public opinion is ready to accept some of the most immediate and pressing responsibilities a League of Nations is likely to impose. *The Round Table* is more than the leading British quarterly on the politics of the British empire. Its writers (all articles are unsigned) are the expert students of the affairs of those peoples affecting most directly the British empire, whose recommendations after an intensive study during the war based on years of previous association with these problems, are carrying much weight in the programme of the

British government at the Peace Conference.

It is necessary to go back to the first years of the war to realize the completeness of reversal of British foreign policy contained in such a proposal. British influence has long been a tradition in the Near East, recently augmented by the military campaigns which brought about the collapse of the Turk. The proposal in question would surrender this position to us, who have had not the slightest share in the Near Eastern victories. Only last month was the existence of a secret treaty, entered into between Great Britain and France early in the war, made public. Under its provisions the Near East was to be partitioned off under the same old pernicious system of "spheres of influence." To quote the despatch—"France was to assume direction of the destinies of Syria, Lebanon and Armenia Minor (that part of Armenia to the west of the Euphrates), Palestine was to be under international protection, while Mesopotamia and portions of the Arabian peninsula were to be under the supervision of Great Britain." It is quite a different proposal that comes now in the words of *The Round Table*.

This question to America from Britain therefore deserves the serious consideration of American public opinion. These questions arise:

Is it necessary that parts of the world such as those liberated from the Turkish yoke and others be given the guidance and supervision which even the most benevolent trusteeship under a League of Nations implies?

If necessary, what is the least objectionable and most effective form of such trusteeship in line with the declared principles of the war as the liberator of the oppressed and the guarantor of ultimate freedom to all?

If the system of trusteeship is adopted, must it not be with the initial definite declaration of the League of its intention so to conduct trusteeships where possible that by definite periods of time the steps of self-government be handed over to the peoples concerned?

Why should America act in a part of the world it little knows and with which it has been slightly concerned?

The United States will be loathe to accept any responsibility for nationalities outside the American continent, under any foreign policy so far removed from its traditional one. It would require the strongest conviction of the necessity. *The Round Table* expounds this necessity of the principle of trusteeship for "derelict territories" under a single nation responsible to the League of Nations, and the further necessity for American participation, in the discussion of "America's Place in World Government":

"The crux of the problem lies in the fact that none of the territories outside Europe detached by this war from the

German and Turkish Empires can in the near future provide peace, order, and good government for themselves. How to provide government for these territories is the most difficult of the questions which the Conference has to face. From a hundred lips and pens the answer will come that the solution lies in international control. The League of Nations will solve the problem. Some light may be thrown upon the subject by those who will recall the history of the United States."

The Federation of the thirteen original states, having held together under the stress of the Revolution, collapsed after peace, the argument sets forth, because it could derive no authority from the thirteen state governments. The subsequent successful union of states had to draw its authority directly from the people and it could not exist, if it could not tax individuals. Similarly, an Inter-State Conference of the world—of which the Peace Conference will be the first meeting—a league which falls short of a world government composed of representatives elected directly by the peoples of the nations and having power to tax those peoples directly, will collapse if charged with an attribute of government, such as the direct administration of vast territories which cannot as yet govern themselves. The prime difficulty would be in securing action, for action could only come by agreement among many nations and such agreement on details of administering government is practically impossible. The trusteeship of a single nation for administering territories which may have to be administered is therefore proposed, the article continuing:

"Egypt is an example of the countries of the Near East for which there is at present no hope except in the guardianship of some civilised State. . . . Less than forty years ago Egypt was one of the most miserable countries on earth. To-day she is one of the most prosperous, and is gradually contracting the habits of order from which progress towards self-government can begin. The marvelous transformation worked by Lord Cromer is well known. . . . But what would Lord Cromer's position have been, had he been answerable to a Conference of Powers from whom he could obtain no authority or instructions except in so far as they were all unanimous. The results would have been paralysis to begin with, disaster in Egypt and, perhaps, in the end a conflict between the Powers themselves.

"Let Americans apply the same reasoning to the problem of Mexico, which is at their doors. It is quite a possible arrangement that Washington should make itself responsible to a League of Nations for seeing that their citizens resident in Mexico are not robbed of their lawful property, massacred or roasted to death in tunnels; for securing that Mexico is not debauched and exploited by foreign capitalists, and that some form of civilised government is maintained. But what hope for this country would there be if the United States were to relegate all her responsibilities in the matter to a League of Nations, and undertook to do nothing in Mexico to which all the Powers had not previously agreed? Americans, who see that such a proposal is impossible from the outset, will hesitate before proposing that the maintenance of order in countries like Asia Minor, Palestine or Armenia should be made subject to such conditions."

The Inter-State Conference of the world is a scaffolding for the ultimate government of the world, the argument continues. Unable through its own unwieldiness to discharge directly its responsibility to its members by seeing that those parts of the world unable to maintain peace, order and good government themselves do not become a means of embroiling the rest, it must provide a workable machinery. This is the setting up of a single democratic nation to be responsible "for creating and maintaining peace, order and good government for their territory, subject to conditions laid down in treaties for the observance of which the guardian State shall be held responsible to the League of Nations." These conditions should include the duty of maintaining equal opportunity for the traders of all nations, prohibition of forced labor, the liquor traffic and the organization of native troops except for policing their own territory—and the direction of policy toward fitting the people to govern themselves.

It is pointed out that where such a guardian State might evade or defy the supervision of the League, it might be impossible to get an agreement of member nations to eject the offending Trustee. In such case "the world would find itself face to face with one of those positions necessary to teach it that the risk of war will never be exorcised until the world has developed a world government competent to govern."

But the principle of a single nation trusteeship is the workable plan presently available, and in developing it, *The Round Table* points the necessity for it as most clearly visible in two examples of primitive peoples—evidently taken as examples of extreme cases needing the largest measure of outside control.

"The German colonies in the South Pacific," it says, "cannot be treated on the old principle, as estates to be taken by the strongest claimant. This war will not have been fought in vain if the Peace Conference once for all discards that idea in terms. The destiny of these islands must be determined primarily in the interests of the world at large, and otherwise in the interests of their own inhabitants. . . . Unless civilised races are willing to spend large sums on patrols for preventing trade with these islands and cutting them off from the world, their independence (restoration of their one-time independence) is a pure figment. We know that their trade will not be cut off. Traders will not be excluded and, if admitted, the only chance of these people from escaping worse horrors than their own barbarism would produce for itself is for some civilised Power to control their relations with the traders, which means governing the islands.

"The Peace Conference cannot escape this dilemma. In their own interests, as well as that of the world at large, it must commission some Power competent to govern these islands subject to treaties, for the observance of which that Power must be held responsible to the League of Nations. It needs but a glance at the map to show that the only Power situated to do this is the British Commonwealth, at

any rate, so far as the islands south of the line are concerned."

Liberia is the second example.

"Bordered by French and British territory, is one for which America has contracted a special responsibility. Liberia was founded in 1822 by American slave-owners as a dumping ground for emancipated negroes whose influence on the slaves they feared. In 1847 the colonists declared their country to be 'an independent republic,' and were presently recognised as such by the great Powers. But experience was to prove that, under the thinnest veneer of civilisation, American citizens had all unwittingly inaugurated what is, in reality, the worst tyranny under which any section of the African people labour to-day. Some light is thrown on the subject by the following note:

"The Republic of Liberia is a Negro Republic and represents one of the most deplorable experiments in a purely African Government. . . . The indigenous population is about 2,000,000 and the negro American population about 10,000. The Government of Liberia is exclusively in the hands of the American Negroes. It is inefficient and lethargic. As a Government it has done hardly anything for the education of the people or the opening up of the country."

The report continues that American interest in Liberia evaporated in 1847, until its financial affairs became so involved that in 1909 President Roosevelt appointed an investigating commission. Action was taken by Great Britain, France and the United States to lend Liberia \$1,700,000 with the appointment of controllers of the customs under an American chief. "The relations between Liberians and the indigenous peoples do not improve. Every time the Negro Government attempts to extend its taxation activities, local tribes who derive no benefit from the Government offer violent opposition." The story is told of a fight in 1916 in which the Liberians with the help of an American force obtained the surrender of sixty-seven of the opponent chiefs upon what is alleged was a promise to them of safe conduct. The government, "with its usual lack of honor," proposed hanging the sixty-seven, but the British Government intervened to save forty.

One answer to the question of why America, unskilled by practice and long tradition for outside trusteeship, should undertake it is presented in the following paragraph:

"Let us recognise at once that the burden borne by the British Commonwealth is now overwhelming. It is answerable for the government of 373,000,000, or nearly one-third of the races who cannot as yet govern themselves. A fraction of this burden rests on South Africa, the merest atoms on Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The rest lies with crushing weight on the 45,000,000 of the British Isles. That it is not shared by the 100,000,000 who inhabit the United States is the tragic result of the schism of 1775. Had the British Commonwealth not been disrupted, the vast administrative resources of the most vigorous people in the world would have been used in the discharge of this, the greatest of all human functions. As it is, the brain-power and energy by which these vast multitudes are controlled has all to be drained from the British Isles, to the great detriment of



its own internal efficiency. And these Islands have now lost at least a million of their most promising youth. It is not in her own interest, at any rate, for England to assume, as a result of this war, additional burdens which any other Power is equally capable of discharging. In its own interest, if not in the world's, the British Commonwealth should restrict its claims to territories, control of which is essential to the safety of others for which it is already responsible."

The necessity not only of trusteeship but of American trusteeship in a wider field than Liberia is then urged by *The Round Table*:

"Can America evade her responsibility for undertaking this charge?

"And, indeed, the time has come for America to consider this whole matter on grounds wider than those created by her citizens in founding Liberia. The lesson of facts is nowhere more clearly written than in the experiment which she has made there. In tropical Africa, as in the Pacific, the only hope of those races who cannot as yet govern themselves, of ever learning to do so, is in tutelage by some great democratic civilised nation. Once for all the League of Nations will render obsolete the old pernicious idea of empire, rightly abhorrent to American tradition.

"The duty of external government can now once for all be placed on its right footing of trusteeship to society at large, if at this juncture the greatest and wealthiest of all democratic nations will not shrink from assuming her share. Is it too much to ask that in this crisis of human destiny America shall forget to think of herself, and think rather of those infinitely wider interests, to vindicate which she has sent two million Americans to Europe, and in doing so has saved freedom for mankind? Having put her hand to the plough, can she look back? Can she now shrink from the dignity of her calling? Can she now go back to the plea that American interests are the dominating principle of her policy? Can her spokesmen submit that plea to the Conference? And if not, if the welfare of the world at large be now and henceforth freely accepted as the polestar of her policy, what infinite consequences follow? . . .

"The allies in Europe ought not to be made answerable to a League of Nations for the whole of the regions outside Europe now severed from the German and Turkish Empires. The future of the system depends upon whether America will now assume her fair share of the burden, especially in the Near East and even in German East Africa."

It is the purpose of the presentation here of this British proposal to America to open the matter for discussion and formulation of public opinion. No such question could be transmitted, however, without the implied assumption that if we accept the principle of world organization in a League of Nations we naturally must accept the responsibilities that go with it. It remains to determine what the extent of our responsibilities are.

Strongly opposed to our entering the Near East or any territory outside of our influence in the Americas are aligned:

Our tradition.

Our power in world settlements wielded as a balance at critical times by our very freedom from the entanglements of direct participation in such spheres as the Near East and the consequent development of selfish interests.

On the side of our acceptance of such responsibility are these factors:

Participation is preferable as opposed to exercising power as a balance, just as preventive hygiene is preferable to medicine after sickness.

The influence of an uninterested third party in the Near East may avoid the friction possible among France, England and other European powers, if any one were given precedence.

Present participation by the United States in the four power loan negotiations with China, carrying with it supervision of loan expenditure, is precedent for participation in the affairs of other continents than America.

America's experience as guide to weaker nationalities has emphasized in method the reduction of outside influence to the minimum. The Philippines are steadily receiving increased authority. The Central American republics are checked rather than controlled, through collection and administration of their customs and supervision of concession granting. To Cuba was released all government authority as soon as intervention had set her affairs in order.

Competent students of this question will be invited to discuss it in ASIA during the Peace Conference. The American people, because of tradition and an innate feeling that a people comparatively safeguarded against outside aggression will find their own salvation, will not hesitate to refuse to have a part in the affairs of other peoples, if not strongly convinced of the necessity. Neither will they avoid the task if the facts prove it is in the interest of world peace, our own safety and the benefit of the peoples concerned. Let us get the facts.

L. D. F.



# THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

By LEON SIMON

*Illustrations by Abel Posen*

**I**N a sense the future of Palestine, like that of many another country, will be decided by the forthcoming Peace Conference. It will be for the Conference to decide what is to be Palestine—for at present the name "Palestine," familiar though it is to millions of men, denotes neither a political unit nor a strictly defined geographical unit—and also who is to be responsible for the government of Palestine in the immediate future. But in another and more fundamental sense the future of Palestine is independent of the Peace Conference. It is beyond doubt, humanly speaking, that Palestine is destined to be in the future what it was in the past, the national homeland of the Jewish people. It is true that the decisions of the Peace Conference may have a very important bearing on the question how long the accomplishment of that destiny is to take. If the Conference gives practical effect to the declarations of the Allied Powers in favor of "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People"; if it settles the questions of sovereignty and of boundaries in such a way as to create at once conditions which will secure to the Jewish people the maximum of opportunity to remake Palestine—then it will accelerate the process of development which is necessary before a Jewish Palestine can become a reality. If other influences prevail, and the Jewish people is robbed of the immediate hope held out to it by the Allied declarations, then the process will be retarded, perhaps for a very long time. But in either case the factor which will ultimately decide is the will of the Jewish people, and the will of the Jewish people is for a Jewish Palestine.

What, however, is meant by "a Jewish Pal-



A PALESTINIAN IN THE LAND OF HIS FOREFATHERS

istine?" The phrase is not free from the dangers which usually attach to convenient labels. There are some who seem to imagine that Palestine would become a Jewish Palestine merely by being handed over to some sort of Jewish government or government composed of Jews. That view will not bear an investigation that goes beneath the surface and looks for realities. Palestine has been under Turkish rule for some four centuries, but it has never been a Turkish country in any but a purely technical sense. It has remained throughout the period of Turkish rule what it was before that rule began—an Arab coun-

try, by virtue of its prevailing type of life and language. There are men of a hundred races and creeds in Palestine, but if you wish to see what is typically Palestinian you must look for it not in the hospitals and schools and monasteries founded by immigrants from the West, nor even in the Hebrew agricultural villages, but in the life of the Arab town-dwellers and the *fellahs* of the countryside. And that fact could not be altered in a year or in a hundred years by the mere establishment of a Jewish government in Palestine. Jewish government or no Jewish government, Palestine can become Jewish only through the gradual creation in the country of a large Jewish settlement, which, by virtue of its superior capacity for progress and the greater strength of its national attachment to the land will in course of time be able to give its own tone to the life of the country, so that he who wishes to see what is typically Palestinian will seek it naturally in the habits and the institutions, in the literature and the art and the drama and the scholarship of the Jews (or rather the

Hebrews) of Palestine. Then, and then only, will Palestine be Jewish in the full sense. It will be the home of the normal or typical Jew (Jews there will be outside Palestine, but they will be to a greater or a less extent deviations from the norm); and it will also be the country in which the normal manifestation of human activity, in whatever sphere, is the Jewish manifestation. That does not mean that there will be no room for other manifestations. On the contrary: Jews have no desire to dispossess the existing inhabitants of Palestine or their descendants, or to impose on them a belief or a culture which they do not want, or to exclude them from any rights or privileges that may at any time belong to inhabitants of Palestine as such. But Palestine is an undeveloped and under-populated country. It is the aim of the Jewish people, without encroaching on existing rights, to further the development and increase the population of the country in such a way that in time to come, however many non-Jews there may be in Palestine, the people of Palestine will be the Jewish people. The essential meaning of a Jewish Palestine is not expressed by saying that Palestine is to belong to the Jewish people. It is far better expressed by saying that the Jewish people is to belong to Palestine—to belong to Palestine in actual fact, as it has done for centuries in idea and aspiration.

It is possible already to forecast to some extent the main characteristics of the Jewish Palestine of the future. There are certain ascertained facts on which conclusions as to the future—some fairly certain, others more tentative—can reasonably be founded. First and foremost, it may be stated with certainty that the language of the Jewish Palestine will be Hebrew. The Jews are a people of many languages. But in modern Palestine, which is already a microcosm of Jewry, practical considerations have combined with a conscious nationalism to make Hebrew in actual fact the language

of the Jewish population. This renaissance of Hebrew in Palestine is of much more than linguistic interest. A nation's characteristic ideas can be fully expressed only in its own idiom. Particularly is this true of the Jewish people and Hebrew, a national language which has a history of three

thousand years and has been the original vehicle of some of the ideas which have most profoundly affected human life. The Hebrew language is charged with images and associations that recall to the Jew the great creative days of his past. It is for him not simply a means of expression which the prophets and teachers of old used to convey their message; it is a part of his national soul. Hence the return to Hebrew both symbolizes and promotes the return of the Jew to his true self, his escape from the shackles of alien modes of thought expression, which, however high their value, are not those in which his spirit can move and breathe freely. It is the first and most essential step towards that reinterpretation of the universe in Hebraic terms which is one of the primary functions of a Jewish Palestine.

What we call Hebraism is an elusive thing, not to be bound down by dogmas or formulas, yet of an unmistakably distinctive quality. It is an attitude of mind, a tendency, which can never rest satisfied with one of two sharply-contrasted antinomies—with blind faith or pure reason, with materialism or idealism, with worldliness or otherworldliness, with self-assertion or self-negation—but seeks always a way out which shall do violence to no side of man's nature. The Hebraic idea of God as an absolute, immutable, transcendent Being, who yet reveals himself and works out his will in and through the life of Israel his people; who is at once tribal and universal, at once a metaphysical principle and a very present help in time of need, at once independent of all human agency and in some way unable to fulfill himself except through the striving of men after goodness—that idea is typical of an attitude to the world which can defy logic without sinking into mysticism, and can insist on the application of abstract principles in human life without making human life the slave of abstractions. In every manifestation of the Hebrew spirit that attitude can be discerned. It has still something to say to the world, and in the Jewish Palestine of the future its new word will be spoken—not merely, perhaps not primarily, through literature or art, but through its particular way of molding the structure and handling the



HEAD OF BOHEMIAN JEWESS

practical problems of organized human society.

Towards this revival of Hebraism, this re-equipment of the Jewish people for the task of looking at the world through its own eyes and stamping its own corner of the world with the impress of its own spirit, the revival of Hebrew is already contributing. The special sphere of its contribution at present is education, and in that sphere its contribution is made in two ways. In the first place, the Hebrew schools of Palestine are already training up a generation of men and women in whom whatever they acquire of knowledge and culture will have the distinctive coloring that Hebrew gives, and will be organically combined with those elements of specifically Hebrew tradition which they imbibe from their teaching and from the life around them. For while it is true that Hebrew geometry does not differ from geometry in any other language, it is equally true that a mind which associates geometry with Hebrew as naturally as it associates the Bible with Hebrew will be able to find scope even in geometry for its distinctive Hebrew quality. And in the second place, the schools themselves occupy a position in the life of Palestinian Jewry which is different from the position occupied by schools in the life of any other nation. For the Jew, education has always been a matter of course, not an esoteric privilege of the select few. In Palestine, perhaps more than anywhere else in the world, the school is the great focus and fosterer of the corporate consciousness. European in its methods and to a large extent in its curriculum, the Hebrew educational system of Palestine differs from any European model in that it is closely knit into the fabric of a society which on the material side is still at an early stage of development. Among the Jews of Palestine the establishment of a complete Hebrew school system, with kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, a technical school and teachers' training colleges, has preceded the introduction of telegraphs and telephones and electric lighting. It has also preceded—and this is even more important—that sharp division of society into the "haves"



PATRIARCH OF THE OLD TYPE

and the "have-nots" which is the bane of European civilization, so that in Palestine there is not and never can be any question of a system of elementary schools for the masses and private and secondary schools for the select few. The Hebrew schools of Palestine know nothing of class distinctions. Their very atmosphere is inimical to the formation of a standard of social values based on wealth. The general adoption of co-education is another factor which should make for social solidarity, in so far as it promotes that understanding between the sexes without which sex equality may increase friction rather than promote harmony.



YOUNG JEW OF JERUSALEM

It is in no sense an accident that the Hebrew schools occupy a central position in the young Jewish national life in Palestine, or that they are developed to an extent which western experience would lead us to regard as disproportionate to the material development of the country. It is a perfectly natural expression of the character of the Jewish people. Jews have spared and will spare no effort to make the most of the material opportunities which Palestine offers. But a purely or even a preponderantly material development is unthinkable to the Jewish mind. It would not correspond to the position which the Jewish outlook allots to the things of the spirit—not exalting them above material things to the hurt of both, but taking them for granted, almost in a matter of fact way, as part of man's natural inheritance. This characteristic of the Jew explains the enormous importance which is attached to the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. In the enthusiasm which the University project has evoked there is nothing of a nervous desire to show that Jews appreciate and want "culture." Nor is there any "spirituality" in the European sense. The practical value of the university for the training of engineers and scientists to help in developing Palestine is as fully realized as is its value from the point of view of philosophy and ideals. It is simply regarded by Jews as a thing self-understood that the time for beginning agricultural and com-





A YEMENITE GIRL

mercial development on a large scale is also the time for establishing a university.

The Palestine of the future, then, may be expected to develop, principally through its Hebrew schools and university, a civilization in which Hebraism, the characteristically Hebrew attitude toward life, will be one of the molding forces. That involves, as I have suggested, a particular way of handling the problem of the place of the spiritual in human life—a way which is as far removed from religiosity as from materialism. It involves also a particular way of handling the problems of social organization. Already in the tiny Hebrew settlements of Palestine there are visible signs of a striving after the realization of that ideal of social justice which is the keynote of Hebraism on the ethical side. The Hebrews of Palestine are, of course, progressive in their political and social institutions. Equality of the sexes, graduated taxation, communal control in matters affecting health, co-operativism, trade unionism—all these essentially "modern" things are taken for granted. But this modernity blends in quite a new way with elements from ancient Hebrew tradition, and the individualism of the Jew, so strangely interpenetrated with a strong bent towards collectivism, gives a unique coloring to social experiments for which Europe

and America provide the model. One may hazard a guess that in the Jewish commonwealth of the future the fundamental ideas of democracy and socialism will find a new kind of expression, that here a new solution will be attempted of the problem of harmonizing democracy with respect for personality, and socialism with respect for individual freedom.

Progressiveness is equally the note of the Jewish contribution of recent years to the material development of Palestine. The Jews alone—apart from a few German settlements—have brought modern methods to bear on the cultivation of the soil. They use modern implements and machinery, while the *fellah* is content with the type of equipment which served his ancestors centuries ago. They have made swamps and desert places flourish again, have improved the yield of the soil twofold and threefold, and have successfully introduced new products, such as the almond. An Agricultural Experiment Station in Palestine has already made valuable contributions both to the scientific study of local conditions and to the general stock of agricultural knowledge. Palestine is likely, so far as can be foreseen, to remain primarily an agricultural country, and its conditions favor intensive agriculture. The experience of recent Jewish colonization justifies a belief that the Jews will make the most of its possibilities. Long neglected areas will be reclaimed and made fruitful, and Palestine will be turned from a largely barren land into one of the most productive countries in the world—a country which will support a population of some millions.

In commerce also Palestine has undoubtedly a great future. The commercial genius of the Jew will use to the full the advantages offered by its central position. Linked by railways with Europe and Africa, and possessing sea outlets on the Mediterranean and perhaps on the Red Sea, it will be on the high road of communication between East and West. Its own exports of wine and fruits and corn and its imports of manufactures from the West will be considerable; but its transit traffic will be of even greater commercial importance. And with this linking function in the world of commerce there will be associated a not less important function in relation to the deeper things of civilization. A Jewish Palestine, facing eastwards and westwards, will be in a unique position both to blend in its own life and thought elements from East and West, and to transmit between East and West the very diverse spiritual currents which at present make two worlds out of what should be one. The middle term between oriental faith and fatalism and occidental science and progress can be found in Palestine if anywhere, and by the Jewish people, born in the East and schooled in the West,

if by any people. In this harmonizing work the Hebrew university of Jerusalem will play a decisive part.

The future of industry in Palestine is probably a modest one as compared with that of agriculture or commerce, though one must beware of rating it too low. The sharp falls of the Jordan and other streams will afford motive power for electricity. The abundance of fruit and olives gives obvious scope for jam-making and soap manufacture, and the flowers in which Palestine is so rich will provide the raw material for the manufacture of scents. Paper of the finer qualities will be made from the papyrus of the Jordan valley, and cigarettes from locally grown tobacco. There are also the considerable and as yet largely unexplored mineral resources of the Dead Sea and its neighborhood. But Palestine is not marked out for industry on the large modern scale. It has probably neither coal nor iron. The fact is from some points of view a disadvantage, but it has weighty compensations. A sturdy peasantry is a far better basis for a new or renewed national life than a crowded and cramped industrial proletariat; nor is it to be regretted that Palestine offers few attractions to the type of settler or of capitalist whose motive is a desire to get rich quickly rather than that love for the land which induces a willingness to work hard and steadily for a modest competence. And in view of the enormous problems which industrialization has begotten in western countries, where it has created conditions which make a "back to the land" policy as difficult as it is necessary, one may renounce the prospect of a vast industrial development for Palestine without fear.

Any consideration of the future of Palestine would be incomplete without some mention of the influence which the revival of Palestine may be expected to have on the neighboring countries. It may be anticipated that the Peace Conference will ratify the creation of an Arab kingdom of Arabia and Mesopotamia. That kingdom will include vast territories no less capable of agricultural and commercial development than is Palestine itself. The existence of a progressive Jewish settlement in Palestine should greatly improve the chance for the Arabs to attain that development, which they are scarcely in a position to undertake at present without assistance. The Jews are marked out to play an important part in the restoration of these countries to their ancient productiveness, not only because of geographical proximity, but also through the fact that there is a kinship both of race and of spirit between Jew and Arab—a kinship which history has obscured but not destroyed by the temporary severance of the Jew from his native surroundings. Both Jew and Arab will profit from a renewal of close relations and the Jewish Palestine

will benefit itself in benefiting the Arab countries. There may even be another Judaea-Arab intellectual partnership like that which restored medical science and philosophy to Europe in the Dark Ages.

Such, then, are the broad outlines of the future of Palestine as they present themselves to the eye of a Jew who stands on the threshold of the revival of his nation. It may perhaps be thought that the forecast errs somewhat on the side of hopefulness; but assuredly it is no mere Utopian fantasy. That Palestine can again be made to support a population of some millions, with a strong agricultural backbone; that it can again become one of the highly productive portions of the globe; that the



A JERUSALEM SCHOOLBOY

Jewish people, wedded once more to its historic soil can create a civilization in which the Hebrew genius will find a fuller expression than it can find today; that Palestine thus Hebraized can become a link between East and West, spiritually as well as commercially; that the revival of Palestine can supply the necessary stimulus to the awakening of the whole of the Near East—these are propositions which, if they cannot be demonstrated, at least run counter to no principle of reason, and make no excessive demand on the faith of those who know

something of Palestine and the Jewish people.

It has been assumed throughout that the new Palestine is to be essentially a Jewish creation. That is true in the sense that the impulse to the making of a new Palestine springs from the unquenchable national longing of the Jewish people, and that the Jews must be the architects of the new Palestine and the Hebrew spirit must mold and direct the forms of its life. But it is not intended to suggest that only the Jews of today and their descendants can take part in the work. In their own interests and in those of Palestine the Jews will welcome the co-operation of the native non-Jewish population of the country. A truly healthy Palestine is unthinkable so long as a section of its present population remains backward and unprogressive, and Jews do not want a "native problem" to divert their energies and hamper their efforts. Time alone will show to what extent the *fellaheen*, oppressed for centuries by alien masters and absentee landlords, are capable of coming abreast of the times. The modern technical equipment of the Jew, his Hebrew schools and his democratic and collectivist institutions, should at least give these peasant inhabitants of the land the opportunity of realizing whatever capacity for progress they have. There are some who hold that Jewish blood runs in the veins of the *fellaheen*—that they are the lineal descendants of the ancient Jewish peasantry, which, though conquered by and intermingled with the Arab invaders, has never been entirely eradicated. If that is so, the gradual voluntary assimila-

tion of the *fellaheen* into a Hebrew society—not necessarily involving a change of religion—may turn out to be less difficult than it appears at first sight. But at any rate it must be the aim of the Jews of Palestine to make their civilization the common property of all the inhabitants of the country, so that all Palestinians, whether of Jewish stock or not, may participate fully in its benefits and contribute to its development. It should be unnecessary to add that in seeking that end the Jews must and will rely not on any kind of force, but simply on the attraction of a more efficient and more highly developed civilization.

There is one other point, albeit a negative one from a purely Jewish point of view, which is too important to be omitted. Palestine is for millions of men, both Christian and Moslem, no less a Holy Land than it is for the Jew. It contains a number of sites and relics which have a peculiar sanctity for the adherents of different faiths. Jews have no desire to control or to interfere in any way with the Holy Places of other religions. The Jewish Palestine of the future will be at least as worthy as Palestine has been hitherto of the religious attachment of the non-Jew, and at least as free a field for the legitimate manifestations of that attachment. Freed from its unhappy role of an apple of political discord, Palestine will be better, not worse, qualified to serve as a rallying-point for the highest human aspirations, as a concrete symbol of that identity of ultimate ideal which unites what is best in all nations and all creeds.



## The Shrine of the Lake and the Mulberry Tree

By BARBARA SPOFFORD MORGAN

*On winding footpaths through the hills  
That tier on tier rise toward Tibet  
A stranger may climb to a distant shrine  
Where God and ritual are met.  
Shrine of the yellow priests of Buddha,  
Shrine of the lake and the mulberry tree,  
Pilgrimage for curious travelers  
To smile at the heathen's idolatry.*

*The ash-consumed incense burns and glows  
And rising upward, wreathes a fragrant prayer;  
The god's white eyes surmount the candles' gloom  
And pierce the hangings with unceasing stare;  
The priests intone uncomprehended chants  
As yesterday, today, tomorrow goes:  
Afar from change and change-bred lust of change  
The finite meets the eternal's blank repose.*

*What though a form of earth and garish paint  
Creation's mighty story holds?  
What though in mystic half forgotten rites  
The vision of the Golden Age unfolds—  
Everlasting questions thrill the clumsy clay,  
The evening gongs invoke the spirit's tone;  
Bell tongued at evening in the pagan shrine,  
Faint echoes down the dusty noondays blown.*

# THE LAND OF THE WHITE ELEPHANT

By FREDERICK DEAN

A YEAR ago last July, Siam declared war against Germany. For a long time undercurrents of unrest, fomented by Prussian propaganda, had been felt in various parts of the kingdom; but, on that memorable twenty-second of July things happened. Early in the morning, there was brought to the King's ears the rumor of a German plot being hatched in the capital. By eleven o'clock, the rumor had become a reality; by twelve o'clock, noon, the King declared war against both Austria and Prussia; and at five o'clock in the evening he had arrested and put behind barred doors every Austrian and every Prussian in his domain. One of the largest clubs in the capital was the German Club. This His Majesty took over and made habitable for the women and children; a dismantled palace just outside the city walls was barricaded and put in order for the men. There were nineteen ships, bearing the German flag, lying at anchor in the river. These were manned by the King's sailors. When the dawn broke, the Siamese flag was flying from the German Club, the German Embassy, and the nineteen German ships. The plot had failed. Siam was at war!

This sudden transformation was no easy matter to accomplish. The manager of the largest bank in

Bangkok was a German; some of the officers in the Siamese army were Germans; even the King's brother was an officer in the German army; the ships that plied between Singapore and Bangkok and carried passengers and freight from Bangkok to Hongkong and the Chinese ports further north flew the German flag. But an American was found to take charge of the bank; French officers succeeded the Germans, and capable English seamen manned the coast steamers. Not a cent was lost by the bank depositors and the commerce of the country was delayed just six hours!

The German plot was aimed more at the foreigners within the boundaries of the little state than at the Siamese court and king. But, because it seemed the right thing to do, King Vajiravudh bottled up the Prussian mischief, declaring that he would "uphold the sanctity of international rights against nations showing contempt for the principles of humanity and respect for small states." His Supreme Majesty, Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Vajiravudh, Phra Mongkut Klao—for that is the name of this unhesitating little sovereign—is still under forty; he is one of the youngest of rulers and sits upon one of the most ancient of thrones.

Down in the southeastern corner of Asia, on



THE KING IN HIS BARGE DISTRIBUTING CORONATION GIFTS TO THE TEMPLES

The Royal Barge, Manned by 150 Rowers Using Gilded Paddles, Is Employed on All State Occasions. Attendants Hold Up Large Umbrellas in Front and Behind the Royal Seat, Which Is Covered with an Ornate Canopy

what is known as the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, or Further India, lies the Kingdom of Siam. It is a tiny state with a population of less than ten million souls; it is a weak state with an incommensurate army and navy. But for its size it is the richest commonwealth in the world. No country of its size is so rich in gold and precious stones—no community wears both with more reckless simplicity or love of glitter. But, with all this display, with all the riot of color and jingle of ornament, there is no vulgar ostentation. It is all as natural as nature herself—tropical nature—opulent in her splendor.

Siam is called the "Land of the White Elephant" with good reason. The White Elephant is the emblem of the Sun. The "Veda" are the four holy books of the Hindus. In the Vedic writings the possession of a White Elephant was the attribute of a "Universal Monarch." Consequently, there was great rivalry among the Indo-Chinese kings, each claiming to be the descendant of the Vedic kings and the rightful possessor of the emblem. Among all of the warring Indo-Chinese nations, Siam alone retains her sovereignty and her independence. She is the last stronghold of the White Elephant—the only kingdom which is the legal bearer of this insignia of supreme royalty. She has rightfully held and rightfully possesses the title of the "Land of the White Elephant."

The Indo-Chinese Peninsula was one of the ear-

liest of countries to be inhabited. Ethnologists call it the "Cradle Land of the Human Race," claiming that from here man was dispersed over the earth in Pleistocene times. Civilizations came and went; dynasties and kingdoms rose and fell. Babylonians, Persians, Egyptians, Chinese—each in turn—left their mark upon the country. The Greeks called it "The Golden Chersonese." About 600 B. C., a great kingdom arose, which history says that Buddha—who died something over 2,500 years ago—visited. Legend has it that this ancient kingdom had boundless territory: princes without number who paid tribute in gold, silver and precious stuffs; an army of seventy thousand war elephants, two hundred thousand horsemen and six million foot soldiers; and a royal treasure house covering "three hundred miles of ground." In 300 B. C., the kingdom was known as "The Land of Gold." Records show that Hiram, Prince of Tyre, who was commissioned by King Solomon to make the golden vessels for his temple, had found the metal in the mines that are to this day quarried down on the southern coast of the Kingdom of Siam. This was the caravan route to the Red Sea and to the Nile. The old Romans must have visited these shores. In the old Cambodian legends there are constant allusions to "white men" and, later, to a "Prince of Rome."

These Cambodians, the fore-bears of the Siamese, were the great builders of the world. There is a story in the Siamese "Book of the Kings" of a ruler

who, "hundreds of thousands of years ago" communed with Indara, the Sun God, and, from him, received a temple, not made with hands but erected and decorated with the assistance of a thousand angels, who came in the night, "while the king slept," and completed the splendid edifice before cock-crow. Centuries of work and war, of peace and plenty, brought forth a nation known as the "Thai," or the "Free." Their kingdom was called "Muang Thai," the "Kingdom of the Free." Early in the seventh century envoys from the Emperor of China visited this capital and found a country wealthy and powerful and a king in a "wonderfully great and royal state." During the reign of Louis XIV, the Grand Monarch sent an



THE PALACE BUILT FOR THE LAST KING OF SIAM

The Father of the Present Monarch Housed His Eight Thousand Wives Within the Palace. The Reigning Bachelor King Uses the Palace for Himself and His Ministers of State



THE FIRST MONASTERY GREETING THE VISITOR TO THE LAND OF YELLOW ROBES

"Shrine in the Middle of the Waters" at the Mouth of the River Menam, One of Ten Thousand Monasteries Lifting Their Graceful Tiled Roofs and Sharp-Pointed Spires in This Land of Buddha

embassy to the reigning sovereign—known then as the "King of Siam." The ambassadors on their return reported that they had found "a richer state and a sovereign in more regal surroundings than they had left in France." This word "Siam," here used for the first time in European records of the East, is an abbreviation of the name given to the people sometime in the eleventh century: the word *syama*, meaning "brown-colored," a corruption of the Sanscrit *śyāma* was found on an inscription dated A. D. 1050.

The Siamese are the most delightful Asiatics in the world, less given to hostility than to hospitality, an optimistic, courteous, gracious people, with an overflowing devotion for their king, who maintains his court in Bangkok. The gay little capital of Bangkok, which houses one-tenth of all Siam within her walls, is the Venice of the East. On the way up the gulf to the city walls luxuriously tropical scenes are unfolded. The eye is caught by kaleidoscopic surprises of oriental glitter and glory; palaces and temples set in stately groves and surrounded by broad courts, paved with tilings laid in rare and intricate patterns, and ornately decorated both within and without; mosaics of fine porcelain inlaid with ivory, gold and silver; lofty doors of royal teak wood and walls covered with sculptures of grotesque figures taken from the Buddhist and Brahmin theologies, all topped with graceful spires that gleam and glisten in the tropical sun like a

forest of jewelled trees. Bangkok lies twenty miles from the mouth of the river, the Menam Chow Phya, "Royal Mother of Waters." The Menam, with its dozens of canals connecting other rivers with it, has a complete system of travel over thousands of miles. And these primitive roads of transportation might have lasted far longer than they did had it not been for the jealousy of Siam's neighbors, England and France. Some thirty years ago, the French in Further India made a strong bid for the trade of the eastern part of the Peninsula and Southeastern China. The English, on the other hand, desiring to hold the trade and concentrate it with hers through Burma, agitated the construction of a railway that should reach up into the very heart of China. The matter was no sooner brought to the notice of the King than he started the railroad, not for the advantage of his neighbors but for himself. A line was opened and operated in short order. At the present moment, the Government Railway Department controls over fifteen hundred miles of well ballasted roads with palatial offices at Bangkok and with stations every few miles. One of the greatest assets to the commerce of the country was the opening last year of the Southern Line, running down the Malay Peninsula and connecting with the steamers at Singapore. Another spur of the road will soon open up more of the country.

His Majesty, Maha Vajiravudh, or "King Rama,"

has been on the throne of Siam only a little more than seven years. From his grandfather and his father he has inherited much of his desire for progress. His grandfather Maha Mongkut, the rightful heir to the Siamese throne, had been cheated out of succession in 1825 by one of the wives of his royal father. She had obtained possession of the state treasury and had bought a sufficient number of votes in the Senabawdee, a council of nobles without whose sanction no one could take office, to crown her son king. Prince Mongkut was forced to flee for refuge to a monastery, where he remained for twenty-six years. While he was a prisoner behind temple walls, Prince Mongkut grew in wisdom and grace and became the "Prince Priest" of the kingdom. He summoned the Jesuits to his cell to teach him Latin; he read and wrote English with the missionaries and corresponded with men of letters in England and America. By correspondence, by the acquisition of foreign languages, and by the reading of foreign books and periodicals, this hermit priest of Siam had become acquainted with the renaissance of thought and action of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. When, upon the death of the usurper, Mongkut was hailed as king and forced upon the throne, he brought with him realization of what his little, unknown state might become among the nations of the world. In the monastery, young Mongkut had come into daily contact with the most democratic of institutions—the Buddhist priesthood—and had there laid the foundations of those principles that were to guide him when called to the throne. Once in power, he inaugurated reforms making for a better and more progressive state. New treaties were framed; ambassadors were sent to England, France and America. When the king was a priest, he was at the call of all in distress. After he came to the throne, he had a bell hung on the outer wall of his palace and issued an edict that at sunset on two days of the week anyone with a petition might ring the bell, and he, the king, would answer it in person. Mongkut died like a philosopher, calmly soliloquizing on death and its inevitability. At a hastily called meeting of the council, his eldest son, Prince Chulalongkorn, was elected to succeed him. Called to the throne in his fifteenth year, King Chulalongkorn died in his fifty-eighth, with the longest reign in Siamese history to his credit.

Mongkut had wrested his country from semi-barbarism. Mongkut's son initiated his people into the material sciences of the west; he sent his sons and those of his nobles to European schools and colleges, and reformed the schools at home, building and endowing in his capital a full-fledged university, with departments of law, medicine and engineering. He also built and supplied with

foreign teachers and drill masters a military college and introduced for the first time in the history of Siam a number of schools and a university for women.

King Chulalongkorn was favorably disposed to all things western, not only for his children, but also for himself. He traveled widely and lived for a number of years in Europe, endeavoring to absorb personally much that would be of advantage to his little kingdom. There were many changes that Mongkut desired to accomplish in his reign, but which he left for his son to bring about. As king his person was so sacred that no native could approach him except on hands and knees. There were men and women in the service of Mongkut who never stood during their whole lives, and died with knees bent and backs broken. At the first assembly convened by Chulalongkorn, he commanded those in his presence to stand, and then and there did away forever with the abject crawling of his father's subjects. When Mongkut traveled by water, he rode in a golden boat, manned by an hundred men clad in scarlet, using gilded paddles. On land, he was carried by the same hundred men in a golden sedan chair. His son went up and down the river in a naphtha launch and rode over the new macadam roads of his cities in an English basket phaeton, drawn by twenty white ponies. The present monarch took back with him eighty-three different models of automobiles of American and European make for his jaunts through the country and commissioned a firm in England to furnish him with a number of small yachts for pleasure rides up and down the rivers. Retiring and unobtrusive by nature, King Chulalongkorn quietly and unostentatiously familiarized his people with western civilization and advancement.

Vajiravudh is the first and only Asiatic ruler who has studied in western schools. Vajiravudh, the head of the most ancient empire of the earth, has played football at Rugby, crossed swords with the dare-devils at Heidelberg, drilled as a private at Sandhurst, and won his spurs in competitive theses against the cleverest of Britishers at Oxford. He has even dabbled in play making and play acting. Not long ago, His Majesty had "Hamlet" and "She Stoops to Conquer" translated into Siamese and played before him in the palace—every role in each play being taken by a member of the royal household. Dramatic and poetic by nature, with strong literary tastes inherited and acquired, this earnest young Easterner is also possessed of definite views on matters of religion. Vajiravudh's first announcement after coming to his throne was that his reign was to be devoted to the upholding and strengthening of "Our Holy Buddhistic Faith." Siam's sovereign is in his sacred person the head of both Church and State. He has, by his vows to



AT HIS CORONATION KING VAJIRAVUDH SWORE TO UPHOLD THE FAITH OF BUDDHA

The King of Siam Entering His Coronation Chair, Borne by Lictors Chosen for the Ceremonious and Solemn Expedition Around Bangkok, the Capital City

serve and rule his people, also bound himself to "uphold, publish and live" the tenets of the religion of the realm. Like his father and his father's father, he has, with shaven head and unsandalled feet, begged from door to door for the one daily meal allowed the Brethren of the Yellow Robe. With other youths of the kingdom he has served his novitiate in the Temple of the Emerald Idol where he made thorough study of the precepts and principles of the state religion.

In the presence of numberless world-power representatives invited to see the crowning of a Buddhist king, the King of Siam placed upon his head the crown of his fathers and swore to rule "as Buddha's prince." He virtually said to his old friends from Europe and America: "I thank you for your western education and your western outlook. Whatever I may gain from the West, and there is much—I shall engraft upon the East; but I shall never forget that this is an eastern power and one that is in line with all that makes for the betterment of itself and of the world as an eastern power. And I shall strive for the advancement of my people, not as Englishmen, not as Americans, not as Frenchmen, but as Siamese."

Vajiravudh, impetuous and many sided, earnestly strives for the best in many lines of accomplish-

ment. He writes a poem or rehearses a play as zealously as he designs a navy or dictates a plan for the betterment of his realm. Over his shoulders is thrown a mantle that has descended from father to son for countless ages. It has been no easy task for the young monarch to choose a temperate course. As the head of an autocratic state possessing powers over persons as well as over property, he is immersed in a sea of adulation that has turned older and wiser heads than his. The climate precludes the possibility of northern energy, and the enervating customs of the court are such that he must have more than ordinary will power to withstand the seductions that are regarded not only as kingly prerogatives, but as kingly obligations. It is natural that one who has spent so much of his impressionable youth in Europe and England should long to carry out schemes for the betterment of his realm along the line of Western endeavor. From earliest times there has been no such thing as an hereditary nobility in Siam. Anyone could aspire to the highest official dignity. His Majesty has taken advantage of this old law in many minor appointments.

His father struck a body blow at slavery: it has remained for Vajiravudh to do away with a far worse form of slavery, the slavery of women. It





ELEPHANTS IN KRAAL AT AYUTHIA, THE ELEPHANT CENTER OF SIAM

At the Back of the Kraal is the Royal Box for the King, or His Representative, Who Always Comes to Choose the Elephants Worthy of Becoming Members of the Royal Herd

is a curious fact that while the women of the lower classes in Siam have always enjoyed the greatest freedom, participating and competing with men in the business and pleasure of life, the ladies of the royal household have been kept in the background, appearing at only the most private social gatherings and never at public or official functions. As all former sovereigns had in their harems the cream of the aristocracy of the country, and, as they inevitably felt a hesitant chivalry about exhibiting their "wives" in public, they barred all women of rank from sight. The sovereign is expected to have in his harem a member of every influential family in the country, for it is considered that in no other way could he be in such close touch with the people of his kingdom. Polygamy has, therefore, been considered an *obligation of royalty*. But, curiously enough, the present reigning monarch is a bachelor, the first and only bachelor who has sat upon the throne of his fathers in twenty-five hundred years. And thereby hangs a tale, for marriage by a Siamese sovereign has meant not the simple taking of one wife, or a dozen, or even a mere hundred, but the wholesale adoption of a thousand or more. The young king's father and his father's father, and each one of the long line of kings preceding them, had many wives. His father had between seven and eight thousand. And, when the young Crown Prince returned from his long stay in Europe—he had passed a third of his life there—he was told by

his royal father that there had been selected for him a number of court beauties from which he could take his choice of a hundred or two for his harem. The ladies of Siam are slender and small-boned; they carry themselves with exquisite grace; their eyes are large, luminous, and are half-covered with heavy lids and long, silken lashes; their voices are low and their hands and feet truly Andalusian. They are companionable and steadfast and make ideal wives and mothers; and, taken collectively, a few hundred of them will combine to please the most fastidious of husbands.

But the Prince would have nothing to do with this wholesale acquisition of a husband's holdings.

"When I marry," he declared to his astonished father, "it will be to one wife and to no more, and she shall be the one queen of my heart and the one queen of my realm." The present monarch, since he possesses no harem, and since his Queen Mother is in favor of greater freedom for women, is in a position to put into effect reforms that will in time change the entire social organization of his kingdom. Even at His Majesty's coronation fêtes, Siamese women were everywhere seen—in the stalls of the royal theatre, at the many receptions, and actually dancing at the inauguration ball.

Education has also been expanded by the king of Siam. The institutions opened by his royal father have been materially helped by larger endowments, the installation of better teachers, and

the setting of higher standards. The boarding-school for the sons of the nobility, now King's College, with a new building and an enlarged curriculum, is more popular than ever before: a school for the daughters of nobles measures up in standard to some of the better schools for women in the West. Special attention has been paid to law, medical, military, civil service, engineering, survey and agricultural schools. The Civil Service School is doing excellent service in training capable young men for the Department of the Interior. Today, the lower primary schools of the capital are giving instruction to over two hundred thousand pupils, the primary schools to over ten thousand, and the special schools to more than twelve hundred. Yearly scholarships of \$1,500 for four years are snapped up by ambitious young men who desire to study in Europe and America. Many of the prize men at Harvard, Cornell, and Columbia, as well as at Oxford and Cambridge, are Siamese youths who excel in athletics as well as in their studies. One of the king's brothers was a former coach of the 'varsity crew at Oxford, and many Siamese have won honors in football, cricket, baseball, and swimming contests.

One of the new institutions inaugurated by His Majesty is the "Wild Tiger Scout Corps." In ancient Siamese history the "Wild Cats" and the "Wild Tigers" were branches of the army known for their bravery in war. Vajiravudh, himself an athlete of no mean order and believing that an active outdoor life would be of direct advantage to the young men of Siam, resuscitated one of these old time companies and grafted upon it the discipline and precepts of the American Boy Scout movement. Starting with a volunteer enrolment of two or three hundred, the corps today contains nearly every young civil official in the kingdom. In all, there are fifty companies, of which His Majesty is the Captain General. The Bangkok company is mounted and under the personal eye of the king, who drills with them and takes them with him into the country on week-end excursions.

Under Vajiravudh, Siam has adopted universal liability to military service, on the European model. Youths between eighteen and twenty belong to the active army; those between twenty and twenty-five are enrolled in the First Reserve and those between twenty-five and thirty in the Second Reserve. On a war footing the army amounts to about eighty thousand horse and foot. At his coronation, the king held a review at which there appeared over thirty thousand well-drilled troops. Just at the moment, Siam is particularly interested in her aviation forces. From earliest times there has been a kite-flying season in Siam. Every one from the

king down was interested in his own kite. Old Mongkut used to take special delight in the flying of his huge silk "Star Kite." With a rope of silk, half the size of his little finger, he could be seen on any fine afternoon during the season, guiding his kite with his own royal hands. When Santos-Dumont first began playing with his balloon, among those especially interested in his endeavors to fly were some Siamese students then in Europe. As soon as war was declared by the Siamese king his soldiery became interested in this form of fight. French aviators were pressed into service as teachers. In October, 1917, announcement was made of the sailing of five hundred aviators from Bangkok to the war front. Since that time there has been a steady stream of flyers. Although not large enough to form their own *escadrille*, these Siamese boys have been glad to be absorbed into the French and Italian air squadrons.

The political history of Siam shows that, in its great crises, the people of the country have been stirred from above—never from below. Siam is probably the isolated case in history where no great commander has risen from the ranks. In all times of disturbance or strife the people have followed, not led. It has been a land of leaders and not a realm of revolutionists; the giants of the kingdom were not of the streets, but sat on thrones. It was Mongkut who forced the nobles against their wills to give up the best of their private holdings in order that they might benefit the state: it was the will of Chulalongkorn and not the desire of the underlings that raised the people from their knees and gave them standing audience with their king. The present king has revised where revision seemed best, and has made new where the old could no longer serve: he has chosen wise counselors and has pressed many new men into many new positions. Young himself, he has drawn about him the youth of the kingdom. He has planned and put into execution seemingly impossible improvements from the laws on the statute books to the trivialities of everyday living. He is a monarch interested in the forward march of his realm.

Siam's position, today, is one of unusual interest to the powers. The great world struggle has made strange bedfellows—none stranger than these three: England, France and Siam. For years France on the north and England on the south have watched with increased impatience the steady growth of the little kingdom lying between them, waiting their chance to crush like a giant nut-cracker the effete state of "old Siam" and divide the spoils. Today, fortunately for them and equally fortunately for Siam, their interests are identical—the protection of their united domain against a common foe.

# ENGLAND AND HER EASTERN POLICY

By H. SIDEBOTHAM

THE *motifs* East and West have been almost inextricably entwined in this war, but whereas our quarrel in the West has been instinctively understood by free peoples everywhere, the issues in the East, no less vital to the liberty of the world, are often ignored and sometimes even violently distorted. It is my object to correct that distortion and to present British policy in the East in a truer perspective. Francis Bacon, speaking of the power of words over men's thoughts, compares them to warriors shamming dead and stabbing the victors as they cross the stricken field. Something of that kind has happened to the judgments of many people on our eastern policy in this war. The word Imperialism, written large across it, has somehow tainted the judgments even of those who are in the fullest sympathy with us in our general war policy, and that not in Allied countries only, but in England itself. Yet the truth is that our Eastern policy, so far from being imperialistic in the bad sense of that word, is really an atonement for the mistakes of past British imperialism in the East, an attempt to bring our Eastern policy into line with the political ideals and aspirations that move us nearer home.

The dominant idea in our Eastern policy has always been to avoid land frontiers to the great military powers. The beginnings of democratic government in England, it must be remembered, were rooted in distrust of a standing army, which was regarded as the instrument of tyranny, and this fact as recently as the beginning of the war still exercised an influence, none the less real because people were only half conscious of it. A great number, perhaps the majority, of Englishmen, regarded their freedom from the obligation of military service as one element of their liberties with which they were only prepared to part under the impulse of sheer necessity. The Navy on the other hand presented itself to their minds as the natural expression of the will of a free island people in the world's affairs. A foreign policy which tended to increase military responsibilities was therefore considered to be bad and illiberal; on the other hand, a foreign policy which could express itself through sea-power was regarded as in the direct line of liberal progress. One way lay compulsion and the loss of insular privileges; the other way lay their vindication. These were the broad grounds of the very old objection to military frontiers with a European power. To avoid the formation of these frontiers became a prime object of our policy, and

as India was our only considerable land frontier, our system of defence required us to set up neutral and buffer states between us and any European enemy who might threaten India. That was the basis of our pro-Turkish policy, pursued with little deviation from the time of Pitt down to the time of Disraeli, and even afterwards. Turkey was not the only buffer state between Europe and India. Another was Persia, a third was Afghanistan. But Turkey was the most important, because in the Dardanelles she held the key of the Black Sea and so directly influenced our relations both with Russia and with France.

The real parallel to this policy of buffer states in Asia is the Monroe Doctrine of the United States. The Monroe Doctrine is an attempt to keep one hemisphere, at any rate, free from the dynastic rivalries and militarism that have marred the history of Europe. Similarly, our buffer policy in Asia is an attempt to preserve not only for ourselves but for India, too, the great advantages of an insular system of defence. Alike in the Monroe Doctrine and in the buffer system of our Eastern policy the ground idea is not selfish but essentially liberal. Is it not our object now to preserve as large a part of the earth's surface as is possible from the blight of militarism and all that that word implies? And are not the Monroe Doctrine and the system of buffer states of the Near and Middle East valuable, indeed, indispensable pillars of that liberal and enlightened policy? The fault of our old Eastern policy was not in its governing idea of establishing buffer states but in the application of this idea. As applied in support of Turkey, it brought us into armed conflict with Russia, and into a diplomatic conflict with France which gravely divided the progressive forces of the world; and, what was still more serious, it retarded the liberation of the subject nationalities from the oppressive tyranny of the alien Turkish oligarchy. It is one of the paradoxes of this war that the worst military disaster of our history—the failure of the Gallipoli Expedition—should have been incurred in an attempt to break the fetters on the freedom of the Dardanelles which we had ourselves forged. By the Treaty of London in 1840 England and Russia agreed to respect the “ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire in virtue of which it has been in all times prohibited for ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.” Bitterly did both countries pay for that Treaty. We succeeded in our object of keeping

Russia out of the Mediterranean, but at the same time we kept ourselves out of Marmora and the Black Sea. But for these provisions making the Black Sea a *Mare Clausum*, the British fleet would have followed the *Goeben* and *Breslau* up the Straits; Turkey might with a British fleet off Constantinople have thought it wise to keep her neutrality; and Russia would have had the full support of British sea-power, might never have made default, but, like France, have remained a loyal and steadfast pillar of the Alliance till the end of the war. Nor need Egypt have delayed for so long the establishment of the friendship with France which was instinctively desired by the best minds in both countries. The settlement of the East which was contemplated in 1916 gave Russia Constantinople, France Northern Syria and England an interest, at any rate, in Palestine and Mesopotamia. It was not by any means an ideal settlement, for it was not based on regard for the welfare of the populations, but was a mere adjustment of the rivalries of others. Still, such as it was, it could have been had in 1840, when England and Russia intervened to save Turkey from Mehemet Ali of Egypt. If, instead of making common cause with Russia against Mehemet Ali, we had left Russia to do what she liked with Turkey and joined France in supporting Mehemet's ambitions in Syria, we could have been in 1840 in exactly the same situation as we hoped to be in 1916: for the Egyptian Empire in Syria could never have endured and, when it fell to pieces, as it would inevitably have done, the natural division would have given Syria to France and to England, Egypt and Palestine. There would have been no Crimean War and no Russo-Turkish war in 1878. Russia would have been the acknowledged head of the Balkan Slavs. There would have been no opening for German ambitions in the East and this war would never have taken place, or, if it had, its subject-matter would have been very different.

But the prime cause of all our mistakes was stated quite bluntly by Lord Salisbury when he said in a memorable speech at the Guildhall after the Armenian massacres of 1895 that we "had put our money on the wrong horse." By that he meant not that our alliance with Turkey had no military usefulness but that she was incapable of reform and that in attempting to bolster her up as a buffer state we were placing ourselves on the side of reaction and opposing the development of the liberal forces in the Turkish Empire which should have been our natural Allies—in other words, that we were supporting the Near Eastern equivalent of Germany—the Turks—against the Near Eastern equivalent of France. If we had thought out our Eastern policy, not in the terms of the diplomatic chess played by European Chancelleries, but in terms of human freedom and progress, we should

have arrived at a solution of our troubles which would have secured the safety of our Indian Empire and at the same time have saved us from the disgrace of seeming to connive at the crimes of the effete and incompetent Turk.

There are three main routes of communication between the East and the West. The first is from the Black Sea and crosses the mountains of Armenia into Persia. On this route the natural guardians, alike of the gates to India and of the cause of domestic liberty and progress, are the Armenians. The second route is through Serbia and Bulgaria, and from Constantinople across Asia Minor to Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. On this route the natural guardians are the Serbs at the one end, the Arabs at the other. The Arab stands in much the same relation to the Turk in the East as the French to the Germans in the West. The third route is through Egypt, and here the natural protection of exposed frontiers is a new Palestine.

When Lord Salisbury declared that we had put our money on the wrong horse in backing Turkey, that was a clear intimation that the time had come to reconstruct our old Eastern policy on broader and more liberal lines, and the natural alternative in Asia to the effete and disloyal Turkey was a close alliance with three peoples—with the Armenians to hold the northern wing of the approaches to India, with the Arabs to hold the centre, and the Jews to hold the southern wing in Palestine. Yet the war came upon us and found us still clinging to the Turkish alliance long after it had ceased to represent the real objects of our policy in the East. Only on the anvil of war was a new and enlightened policy in the East hammered out. Only when Turkey had handed over the keys of the East to the enemy did we discover where our real interests lay, and that here as everywhere else in the world there is no opposition but rather a natural alliance between the ideals of liberty and a justly conceived "*real politik*." In the same sense in which Bishop Butler said that a cool, enlightened selfishness would lead men to virtue, in that sense, but in no other, a sane and tempered Imperialism in the East would find its truest realization in the championship of oppressed nationalities.

It may conduce to clearness if, in tracing the motives of British policy in the East, we keep these three main routes to the East distinct. The Eastern problem may be conceived as a great battle-front stretching from the Danube to the Persian Gulf and from the Caucasus to the Libyan Desert. On this front, the Armenian Highlands form the right wing. This right wing at the beginning of the war was in the keeping of Russia. Lord Salisbury once observed that the British fleet could not sail over the Taurus, thereby implying that the protection of this northern gate was a military, not a



naval problem. He was wrong. As it turned out, Russia was incapable of keeping up the struggle even with Turkey and the reason was that the closing of the Dardanelles deprived her of the assistance of British sea-power without which France herself, staunch though she was, could not have kept up the struggle for a year. All this is obvious now; but in 1915 only a few understood the importance of the free Dardanelles to the cause of liberty in the East, and fewer still were prepared to make the necessary sacrifices to prevent the slow suffocation of Russia. The long controversy between the Easterners and Westerners became obsolete in the closing stages of the war, when we learned to regard all the campaigns as a single battlefront, but there was a time when it was the most real issue in the whole war. The greatest strategical blunder made by the Germans in the war was the concentration against France and the invasion of Belgium. There was one way and only one in which they might have made this a short and easy war like their victories over Austria and Denmark. Had they refrained from invading Belgium it is doubtful whether England would have been in the war so soon. Had they in addition remained on the defensive against France, and offered, as they might have done, not only to abstain from attacking, but even to leave a neutral zone on the French frontiers, it is certain that England would not have been in the war at all, and that France would not have stayed in it. Had they, further, concentrated against Russia the war might well have been over by the first Christmas and the whole of the East would have fallen to Germany as a reward of victory. It would have been a veritable disaster to England, but as things were it would have been inevitable; for at the beginning of the war popular opinion in England was almost completely indifferent to the East. Our strategy never took sufficient advantage of this, the prime blunder of the German General Staff. The moment that the Allied line in France and Flanders had been made reasonably secure—say after the first battle of Ypres—our true policy was to fall on the defensive in the West until our preparations for a successful offensive were reasonably complete and to employ the interval in carrying the aid of our sea-power to Russia through the Black Sea, in securing our position in the Balkans, and in supporting the Russian campaigns against Austria. That was the true strategic counter-stroke to the colossal crime and blunder of the enemy in invading Belgium and attacking France. Our failure to see it with sufficient clearness in 1915 led to the ruin of Russia and to the breakdown of the right wing of our battle-line in the East.

The defeats of Russia had disastrous consequences for Armenia. Trusting to the power of Russia and loyal to the cause of the Entente, the

Armenians rendered great services to the Russian armies in the Caucasus. It would have been easy for them to purchase some sort of immunity by neutrality; but having committed themselves to the Allies they were exposed to the full fury of Turkish retribution. The facts are that some 600,000 Armenians were murdered in their own hills or died on their way to Aleppo whither they were deported; 600,000 more are (or were) still alive in their exile; and a third 600,000 are either in hiding in their mountains or have been forcibly converted to Islam.

When Russia made the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the effects of the Armenian sufferings on the safety of our Indian Empire became manifest. "The cession to Turkey of the districts of Batoum, Kars and Ardahan" wrote the *Magdeburg Gazette*, "has a bearing on vast political and economical designs. It opens up to us Armenia, the key not only of the sources and also of the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates but also, on the west, of the gulf of Alexandretta and, on the east, of Turkestan, of Afghanistan, and of the very heart of Asia, immense reservoirs of agricultural products and of raw materials." It was not until the war was nearing its end that the full gravity of the injury done to British interests by the Turkish conquest of Armenia became manifest, and it is to the credit of Sir Henry Wilson, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, that he realized from the first the importance of Armenia to British interests in the East and did what was possible to support the resistance of the Armenians at Batoum-Baku. His efforts were unsuccessful, but, fortunately, the surrender of Turkey made it certain that the Armenian people were at any rate secured of reasonable conditions of life and that the back door to India would not be left open to the enemy.

The centre of the eastern front was held at the beginning of the war by the Serbs. Behind them were the Bulgarians, behind them the Turks and behind the Turks, the Arabs. The capture of Constantinople, had the expedition to Gallipoli succeeded, would not have relieved the Serbs on the Danube front, though it would automatically have brought the Ottoman Empire in Asia to an end. And much the same result would have been attained by the occupation of Alexandretta which would have destroyed the Turkish power of resistance in Mesopotamia and Palestine by cutting the communications of the Bagdad railway. This was the grand trunk line of German ambitions in Asia; and if any still think that the motive of British operations on this line was the desire to extend the British Empire it is sufficient to recall the following facts:

(1) So sensible was England, Government and people, of the errors of its past policy in opposing Russia in Turkey that it was extremely reluctant to place any obstacles in the way of legitimate Ger-

man commercial expansion in Turkey. If it had been possible, Mr. Balfour would have been quite willing to join Germany as a partner in the Bagdad railway. It was only because the German proposals did not give an equality of interests that the idea of full British partnership in the railway was dropped. It was not English opposition that defeated the chances of agreement, but the opposition of the same anti-English clique in Berlin which was responsible for the invasion of Belgium and the concentration against France. At the same time, the average uninstructed Englishman before the war was absolutely indifferent to the European end of the great bridge-head between East and West and at the Asiatic end all that he cared about was the retention of the northern shores of the Persian Gulf. Provided that these were secured to our control, we were perfectly prepared to let Germany have her way from Constantinople to Bagdad. So far were we from entertaining any projects of imperialistic expansion in the Middle East that we were just before the war actually standing before the world in a white sheet for the former errors of our Turkish policy. Whatever else we did we were determined not to repeat the old dog-in-the-manger policy. Unwilling to take any further responsibility for Turkish administration, we were ready to surrender Turkey to any one who would secure tolerable conditions for the subject populations.

(2) The capture of Constantinople would have ruined German ambitions. Even after the failure of the great attack in Gallipoli in August of 1915, the capture of the Peninsula was still far from hopeless. What induced us to abandon the enterprise was purely and simply the obligation, under which we were, to succor our gallant ally, Serbia. Had we been imperialistically minded, our obvious policy after the Dardanelles expedition had broken down would have been to occupy Alexandretta, and so have caused the whole of the Turkish Empire in Asia south of the Taurus to fall like ripe fruit into our lap. Instead, the bulk of our effort in the East was diverted from the Dardanelles to Salonica and Serbia. We were too late to save her, but that does not alter the fact that so far from pursuing a selfish and aggressive policy, on this central route to the East, the dominant inspiration of our policy was the desire to do our duty by our Allies.

The British expedition in Mesopotamia was not an instance to the contrary. The chief motive of its inception was the desire to protect the oil pipe line to Mohammerah and not once but many times both the India Office in London and the Viceroy in India gave proof of our unwillingness to extend the area of our imperial responsibilities. The history of the Mesopotamia campaign is the history of constant conflict between the desire of the generals in the field to take advantage of our victories

over the enemy and the reluctance of the politicals to extend our rule over any part of Mesopotamia except the shores of the Persian Gulf, where it was part of our traditional policy to brook the presence of no rival whose enmity might menace the security of India from the sea.

The British campaign in Mesopotamia would never have been extended but for two reasons. The first attempt to capture Bagdad was a purely military gamble into which the Government was led against its will by the ambition of Sir John Nixon. But, when we had suffered the reverse of Kut, it became necessary for us to redeem our prestige. In the late General Maude, the Government was fortunate in discovering a military leader who combined audacity with prudence. His capture of Bagdad was the first unequivocal victory won by the British on the offensive in this war. But a more important reason for the extension of the Mesopotamian campaign was our discovery in the Arabs of a liberalizing force in the Middle East which we might oppose to the Germanizing and unprogressive Turks. This new development of British policy was due partly to the fact that the Coalition Government of Mr. Lloyd George was far more alive to the strategic possibilities of these eastern campaigns than its predecessor, but still more to the fact that the Arabs found a strong champion in Sir Mark Sykes. To him, more than to any one else, is due the development of the British plan of resuscitating the Arab nationality as a counterpoise to the Turk. We may search the history of this campaign in vain for any evidence of far-reaching imperialistic design. The motives were at one end of this eastern centre the rescue of the Serbian nationality, and at the other end the revival of the Arab. Both were genuinely liberal and emancipationalist movements.

Alike on the right of the eastern front and in the centre, we see British war policy passing through three stages: a first stage in which we were still clinging to the idea that it might still be possible to salvage something from the ruin of our old pro-Turkish policy; a second stage in which our solution of the difficulties made by the war was a scheme of partition, of the old-fashioned bad type; and a third stage in which we brought the reconstruction of our Eastern policy into attune with the ideals that commanded the sympathy of all neutrals in the west, and in place of the old imperialistic policy proposed to endow two great and ancient races—the Armenian and the Arab—with nationhood. In these new ideals there was no more Imperialism, in the bad sense, than in our determination to restore the Belgian nationality to full rights.

The same evolution of a liberal policy of reconstruction is to be seen still more clearly in Palestine, the left wing of our eastern front.

# RIDING WITH ALLENBY

By CLINTON SCOLLARD

*As I dream, it seems to me  
I have ridden with Allenby!*

On a day, in the time long gone,  
I rode into the heart of the dawn  
Out of Gaza. My desert steed,  
Son of a sire of the Nedjid breed,  
Took the breath of the morning sun  
With never a pause till we had won  
O'er rocky sweep and o'er sandy swell  
To the riven House of Gabriel.  
Then, ere the shut of the eve, we came  
Where the last red streamers lit with flame  
The mosque of Hebron set in the vale,  
With its towering minarets, and its tale  
Of Isaac's and of Abraham's tombs,  
Where only the Faithful in the glooms  
May bow, while faintly the crescents flare,  
And the swart muezzin calls to prayer,  
Thence on to Bethlehem we sped,  
With the dome of Allah overhead,  
And never a sign of a cloud in view  
To blur the breadth of its gold and blue.

*So he marched, and it seems to me  
I have ridden with Allenby!*

Then Jerusalem, and the hill  
Of Golgotha, and the sacred, still  
Church of the Holy Sepulchre!  
The Vale of the Mount, and the ceaseless stir  
Of pilgrim feet where the Christ once strayed,  
Under the cruel Cross down-weighed!  
I rode by Jenin with its palms  
Clear cut against the noon-day calms;  
I rode by Nablous, I rode by Nain,  
And over the wide Esdraelon plain  
Up the slope to Nazareth,  
Where out of the dim bazaars the breath  
Of the shaven sandalwood was blown.  
I skirted the snow-crowned mountain zone  
Of Hermon, and saw the morning star  
Silver the roofs of Kerf Hawar.  
And then I looked on the lovely loom  
Of orange, pomegranate and citron bloom,  
(A bower that to the Prophet's eyes  
Was a prescience of Paradise)  
And came to Damascus by the gate  
That leads to the ancient Street called Straight.

*So he marched, and it seems to me  
I have ridden with Allenby!*

Never again the Turkish blight  
On all this land of lure and light!  
Never again the brutal ban  
From far Beersheba unto Dan!  
Rather the beam of His promised Peace  
In this home of holy memories!  
His peace for all men under the sun  
From Nebo north to Lebanon;  
His peace through the hand that set them free!

*I have ridden with Allenby!*

# THE HOLY LAND OF MANY NATIONS

By MAJOR W. ORMSBY GORE

**T**HE name Palestine is a corruption of Philistia, the land of the Philistines. It first became applicable to the strip of country between the Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea under the Roman Empire after its final and complete conquest by the Emperors Vespasian and Titus. The history of Palestine goes back to the dawn of civilization. Successive migrations of different races swept down from Asia across the narrow bridge which connects Asia and Africa between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Our first records of Palestine are the records of the wars of the Pharaohs of Egypt, who sought to protect the highway to the Valley of the Nile by pushing out outposts in Palestine and Syria. Archaeological research in Palestine is still in its infancy, but even so some of the most remarkable and highly-developed remains of Neolithic civilization have been found in the foothills of Judaea. More remarkable, perhaps, than any historical record, is the fact that Palestine is the only country where the wild wheat plant still grows, and is almost certainly the land whence wheat was first introduced to the use of mankind.

Definite historical records regarding events in the country may be said to begin with the first detailed account of the battle in the Plain of Armageddon, when the army of Pharaoh Thothmes III, advancing up the Plain of Sharon, crossed the Carmel Range by the same route as that taken by General Allenby's cavalry in September, A.D. 1918, and defeated the Syrian Federation under the King of Cadash before the fortress of Megiddo in the year 1479 B.C. This historic plain has seen the march of the armies of the Hittites, the Egyptians, the Jews under Deborah and Barak, the Philistines on their way to the defeat of Saul on Mount Gilboa. Then came like a wolf Sennacherib the Assyrian, and after him Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. The Persian Cambyses swept through Palestine in the sixth century B.C., en route for his work of destruction in Egypt. After the fall of Babylon, Palestine saw the armies of Alexander the Great and Pompey. Vespasian, Titus and Hadrian all fought in Palestine. In A.D. 614, the Sassanian Emperor Chosroes, stretching forth from his capital at Ctesiphon, destroyed Jerusalem; once again the city was re-built, and within a generation was opened to the Arab and Moslem conqueror, Caliph Omar. In the twelfth century the Crusaders took Palestine, which then became the scene of the romantic struggle between Richard Coeur de Lion

and Saladin. Fifty years later, the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, known in the Middle Ages as "the Wonder of the World," crowned himself king of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1516, the armies of the Ottoman Turks under Selim the Grim marched down from Aleppo and seized the country on their way to the conquest of Egypt. Nearly three hundred years later, Napoleon marched from Egypt through the same pass of Megiddo to the fortress of Acre: and now the Allied forces of General Allenby have added one more link to this great historical chain wherein have been engaged practically all the greatest names in human history.

Palestine has thus formed part of the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Byzantine, Sassanian, Arabian, Mameluke and Ottoman empires, and during part of its history has formed an independent state under the Israelites and the Crusaders.

Today Palestine is a land both of tragedy and hope. For the past four hundred years it has been under the rule of Turkish satraps, alien in language and race to its inhabitants and still more alien in regard to their prosperity and progress. The population has declined in numbers, the very soil has been destroyed, the resources of the country lie undeveloped and, above all, the spirit of the people has been either crushed or diverted into the furtherance of internecine, religious and racial conflicts in order to justify the maintenance of the Turkish ruler as a policeman. In public life corruption and intrigue have been encouraged and have eaten deep into too many of the educated classes, while the cultivator of the soil has been ground down by tax collectors and oppressors. It is not surprising, therefore, that while the past is tragic, the future is full of hope. Every race and creed in the country rejoice in the defeat of the Turk by the army of liberation, and the only pro-Turks left are a small minority of place-men who battered financially and socially under Turkish misrule.

To the casual visitor or tourist, Palestine often appears as a land of disillusion. The invading sand dunes of the sea coast and the barren limestone uplands, which are historic sites, strike beholders with the same feeling of hopelessness which has been felt during present generations by so many of the permanent population. This view is, however, superficial. Palestine still contains considerable tracts of land which are among the most



fertile in the world. One has only to see the amazing profusion of wild flowers which seem to flourish everywhere in spring and autumn to realize that Palestine will once again become a land of prosperity. The flora is far-famed for its richness and variety. In spring one sees sheets of blood-

slaves left there by Mehemet Ali some eighty years ago. The rains fall between October and April, and though an occasional thunder-storm may burst in May, the summer months are rainless. The rainy season is divided into the "former" and the "latter" rains, in autumn and early spring re-



OLD STONE BRIDGE ACROSS THE JORDAN, RELIC OF THE DAYS OF ROMAN RULE

Everywhere the Broken Remains of Roman Aqueducts Recall the Former Cultivation of the Jordan Valley, Which Has Seen the March of Armies of Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans and Crusaders, as Well as of the Allies

red anemones and mauve irises, followed by clumps of blue anchusa and the pink cistus. Later come the wild hollyhocks, yellow single chrysanthemums, white marguerites, and in the summer all the spiky tribes of centaurea, echinops, and eryngium. The tulip, the crocus and the asphodel flourish wild, as well as the beautiful dwarf yellow campanula, which is peculiar to the country.

The rainfall of Palestine varies from about twelve inches a year in the south to thirty inches in Galilee, and with proper conservation and distribution it is ample for the needs of perennial agriculture. Further, there are the irrigation possibilities of the Jordan and its tributaries where, owing to the low altitude and protected nature of the country, sub-tropical conditions are to be found. The Jordan valley could become a miniature Nile. Everywhere one sees the broken remains of Roman aqueducts which recall its cultivation in the past centuries. Today the valley of the Jordan is for the most part a hot, dusty, arid wilderness uninhabited save by a few wandering tribes and a settlement of the descendants of black-skinned Soudanese

spectively. It rains with great violence, and owing to the steady disafforestation of the hills and the failure of the declining numbers of the population to preserve the terraces, the soil of the hills has been worn away, leaving bare rock and narrow fissures. The annual denudation resulting from this rapid disintegration of the limestone hills of Palestine could be effectively prevented by the planting of trees and the cultivation of terraces. On the hills the olive, the stone-pine, the acacia, the carob and the fig-tree grow easily. In some places there still remain a few oak-trees, but the last four hundred years have witnessed a process of stripping the country bare of timber, and few large trees remain. The acacia and the eucalyptus, which have been introduced recently from Australia, grow magnificently in the valleys and plains.

Almost as disastrous as the denudation of the uplands has been the invasion of the sand. The sea-currents of the Eastern Mediterranean carry the finer particles of sand brought down by the Nile from Central Africa to the coasts of Palestine. From Gaza to Mount Carmel a line of sand-dunes

one hundred and twenty miles long with a present average depth of over five miles is advancing into the country at the rate of about two metres a year. The tessellated pavements of the Roman villas of Caesarea now lie hidden under the dunes. Worse than the sand invasion itself has been the choking of all the rivers and streams which bring down the winter rains to the sea. Swamps and marshes have been formed all along the plains of Philistia and Sharon, where the malaria-bearing mosquitoes breed in thousands. The Romans kept back the sand-dunes by planting trees, which have all disappeared under the Turkish rule. The work of reclaiming the lost territory and draining the marshes will tax most severely the labors of modern science.

It is remarkable that in spite of these conditions a number of flourishing agricultural settlements still exist in the western plains. The most remarkable of these settlements are the Jewish colonies which have been established during the last generation. The colonists obtained small blocks of apparently barren land, bearing when they came there nothing but a profusion of wild flowers. By means of modern scientific methods, these sandy wastes have become flourishing centres of intensive cultivation. Their great success has been in the cultivation of oranges, vines and almonds. In spite of every political and economic difficulty which persisted under the Turkish régime, the Jaffa orange trade has in the hands of the Jewish colonists become world famous, and is steadily growing. The cultivation of grapefruit has been introduced from the West Indies, and several Jews who have had experience in fruit-cultivation in California, where the conditions are not dissimilar in regard to soil and climate from conditions in Palestine, have already produced astonishing results.

The Jewish cultivators go in mainly for the more highly technical cultivation of fruit and vegetables, and to a certain extent for dairying. The Mohammedan cultivators are chiefly engaged in cereal agriculture. The Mohammedan methods are most primitive, and the yield per acre is far below the modern scientific standards. The Mohammedan cultivator has yet to learn the use of modern agricultural machinery and modern implements, and his knowledge of manuring and of the necessity for



THE JORDAN FLOWS THROUGH A TROUGH-LIKE VALLEY

With its Irrigation Possibilities, This River Could Become a Miniature Nile and Turn Waste Lands into Green Fertile Fields

keeping his fields clean of weeds is quite undeveloped. There are considerable tracts of land which were formerly under the plough, and now lie fallow, and there are still more acres which could be brought into cultivation under a system of dry farming such as is being developed in the semi-arid districts of America.

Palestine contains no coal or iron, and though deposits of mineral oil have been located, they have never been developed. Consequently, the main industry of the country and the principal support of its inhabitants must always be agriculture. One is not surprised that the Turkish laws regarding land tenure, which are by no means bad upon paper, have resulted in the most hopeless confusion in practice. The whole system of land tenure requires simplification if agricultural progress is to be made. The Turkish system whereby practically the whole burden of taxation falls upon the actual

cultivator requires radical alteration. Under the Turk, the principle tax consisted nominally of a tenth of the produce of the land, the old tithe system of the Jews. In practice this tithe was first assessed by a traveling commission of minor government officials who billeted themselves upon the unfortunate villagers and extorted as much as they could. Following the assessors came the tax farmer, who bought the right of collecting taxes from the Turkish Government for a lump sum, and then went down to the villages to get what profits he could for himself. The government was cheated and the cultivator was cheated, and if the tax farmer cheated both in this transaction, he was probably cheated in turn by someone else in another transaction. The Turkish Government extracted as much money from the country as it possibly could, and spent as little as it could in maintenance, public services, or development. The Turks made no roads, and if the local inhabitants desired to make a road they had to pay for it themselves and also had to pay the whole series of Turkish officials for the privilege. Except for the missionary and the Jewish schools which were, of course, all provided for by the charity of the outside world, practically no money was spent on education. The bulk of the Mohammedan population can neither read nor write. Public health and sanitation have been utterly neglected. Even police had to be provided by the colonists or villagers themselves. All ideas of public and personal security were of the East Oriental. The Turkish Government would occasionally make displays of its authority, but most people gambled on being able to evade the law or in the event of being caught, relied upon getting off by bribery.

After the introduction of the Turkish régime, the cultivation of tobacco became a government monopoly. This, however, did not deter the

Palestinian villagers from the profitable cultivation of contraband. Occasionally the Turkish Government would send a policeman to enforce the law. The policeman descended upon the village, pulled up a quarter or a third of the tobacco plants, had the principal men of the village beaten until he extracted a sufficient monetary contribution in order to enable him to retire in affluence, leaving the remainder of the crop for the repetition of similar practices by his colleagues. Such a régime has left behind it a tradition of chicanery and distrust of all government which it will take long years to eradicate. Above all, the Turkish motto was *Divide et impera*, and the Turkish official sought to maintain his authority chiefly by setting creed against creed, race against race, and class against class.

Religious fanaticism and sectarian strife were encouraged, with the result that all sorts of traditional rivalries and feuds had become aggravated by the memory of disturbances. Travelers have

often recorded the scene of bloodshed and disorder that customarily took place both within and outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the Greek Easter Day. This was a Turkish "stunt" and the Turkish soldiery, armed with fixed bayonets, was stationed inside the Church nominally to keep order, but in reality to provoke violence. The ceremonies in connection with the Greek Easter of 1918 passed off quietly without the presence of a single armed British soldier.

Jerusalem is still the largest city in Palestine. It contained before the war a population of approximately 80,000 souls, which has been reduced by famine, disease and Turkish deportations to 60,000. Of these, the Jews number approximately 28,000, the Christians 14,000, and the remainder are Mohammedans. The city is situated on the two hills of Zion and Moriah, about



INTERIOR OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK

This Beautiful Jerusalem Mosque Is Built Over the Rock Said to Be the One on Which Abraham Offered Isaac

2,800 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. The country around is mountainous and barren in the extreme. There are few local industries or resources of any kind, and practically the whole population lives on money which comes into the city from the outside world. Consequently a very large proportion of the population of Jerusalem is pauperized.

The Holy City, that is to say, Jerusalem within the walls, remains one of the most picturesque and beautiful cities in the world. The buildings are entirely of stone, a beautiful pink or golden limestone quarried from the neighboring hills. For the last four hundred years, at any rate, Jerusalem has been dependent for its water supply upon rain water cisterns. This has developed a characteristic style of architecture of which the most striking features are the domed stone roofs, whence the water-supply is collected. The complete absence of clay in Palestine has prevented the rise of brick building or tile roofing on an extensive scale, and the red tiles of the Jewish and Mohammedan villages are all imported from Marseilles. The sanitary conditions of Jerusalem are almost indescribable. Drainage is non-existent, and the water-supply inadequate. The result is that 60 per cent of the population suffer from malaria and 30 per cent from trachoma or other eye-diseases. Periodic epidemics of typhus ravage the city. These epidemics seem to fall with the most deadly effect upon the adolescent and middle-aged sections of the population. The aged and the children are apparently more immune, or, if attacked, recover in large proportions. The Jewish population alone comprises today upwards of 3,000 orphan children under fifteen years of age.

The first proper public water supply to reach the city for centuries is the supply which has been brought by the British Army from springs near Hebron, some twenty miles south of Jerusalem. This new aqueduct, from the same source from which an aqueduct was begun but never finished by Pontius Pilate nearly nineteen centuries ago, brings several thousands of gallons a day to public stand-

pipes and fountains which have been erected in different parts of the city. The only other external water supply which was used in ancient days was brought from Solomon's Pools about three miles south of Bethlehem in stone aqueducts, the remains of which still exist. Solomon's Pools consist of three large rock-hewn reservoirs sunk in the bottom of a steep valley close to the monastic settlement known to the Arabs as *Ourtas*, a name undoubtedly derived from the Roman word *hortus*. Tradition places on this site the Garden of the Song of Solomon. The reservoirs still contain water, and one can trace the line of the aqueduct winding round the faces of the hills, and terminating in vast tanks under the pavement of the Temple area round the Mosque of Omar. The famous pool of Hezekiah still contains water in spring and winter.

As far as buildings are concerned, Jerusalem has suffered little during the war. General Allenby's advance was so rapid that the Turks had little or



A MOSLEM RELIGIOUS PROCESSION IN JERUSALEM

Large Numbers of Mohammedans from Many Lands, Accompanied by Fanatical Dervishes, Make Good Friday Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Nebi-Musa, or the Tomb of Moses

no time to carry out their threats of destruction. Even the treasures of the churches were left intact. The Armenian Convent, however, took the precaution to bury the magnificent possessions which they now are proud to show to soldiers of the Allied forces. These comprise, in addition to wonderful specimens of ecclesiastical art, the insignia of the



*Basin News Service*

#### CATHOLIC PROCESSION IN BETHLEHEM

Erected in Bethlehem Over the Traditional Birthplace of Christ is the Church of the Nativity, Joint Property of the Greeks, Latins and Armenians

last independent kings of Lower Armenia. The Christian shrines are rich with the votive offerings of successive generations and many nations. Of all the Christian shrines in Palestine, by far the most striking is the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The Church remains substantially unaltered since its erection by the Romans under the Emperor Constantine early in the fourth century A.D. Some mosaics and a font were added by the Crusaders in the eleventh century, and in the fifteenth century the Church was re-roofed with English oak, sent out to the Holy Land by Edward IV. Under the Turkish régime the Church was disfigured by the erection of an ugly wall, which separated the Greek choir and chancel from the nave of the basilica, which is common to Orthodox and Catholic alike. The British authorities have already secured the removal of the wall, and now the whole Church is open to view. Guardianship of the Christian Holy Places is shared by many Chris-

tian denominations. The greater number are in the charge of the Orthodox Church, but Catholic rights are still safeguarded by the Italian Franciscans, who have held them since the fourteenth century, when King Robert of Naples purchased the rights from the Mohammedan rulers. Jerusalem is also the city and residence of an autocephalous Greek Orthodox patriarch. There are an Anglican bishop and an English cathedral church in Jerusalem, and the Abyssinians, the Copts and other Christian denominations are also represented.

The Mohammedans as well as the Christians and the Jews regard Jerusalem as a Holy City, and the Mohammedans are in possession of the whole of the area of the ancient Jewish Temple. Over the rock which forms the foundation of the Great Altar of the Burnt Sacrifice, which is by tradition also the scene of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac and the place whence the Prophet Mohammed made his miraculous journey to heaven, rises the extraordinarily beautiful Mosque of Omar. It consists of a circular drum supported by two concentric rings of marble columns, with Byzantine capitals inside an octagonal containing wall. The whole of the interior is brilliant with seventh century mosaics and marble dadoes. Outside, the Mosque is covered with brilliantly colored tiles, yellow, green, red and blue, blue predominating towards the top, so that

the effect is obtained of a building rising out of the grey pavement into the blue sky. From the south side of the Mosque the eye is carried down across the open Temple area to the magnificent twelfth century façade of the Aksa Mosque. The façade was built by the Christian Order of the Templars when the present Mosque formed the headquarters of their order. It is in the purest and severest Gothic style of France and England. The Aksa Mosque contains Saladin's pulpit and a shrine which, according to Mohammedan tradition, encloses the footprint of *Nebi Isa*, that is to say, of Jesus Christ.

The Jews have many synagogues in various parts of the city, but the Holy Place which they frequent with the greatest fervor is the so-called Wailing Wall, which consists of the bared substructures of Herod's Temple, built with great blocks of stone and covered with Hebrew inscriptions. The Jewish population of Jerusalem, like the Christian, is drawn from all parts of the world—from Russia,

Poland, Salonica, Constantinople, Bokhara, Samarkand and Yemen. A considerable proportion of the Jewish population dwell in Jerusalem from religious motives, and employ their time in the study of the Talmud and Jewish religious learning, under conditions of squalor and poverty which are deplorable. But they, too, are beginning to look to the future with renewed hope and vigor, and are infected with the contagious influence of the recent Hebrew National Revival in Palestine, which is the outcome of the Zionist movement. Whatever may be the fate of Palestine at the Peace Conference, it is clear from the declarations of all the Allied governments and from the response received thereto from large sections of the Jewish people scattered throughout the globe, that the Zionist ideal and its aspirations will play a large part in the future of the country. Hitherto the Jews in Palestine have been allowed to exist on sufferance by the Turk; their activities were restricted by the Turkish authorities in every possible way. The Hebrew Nationalists in Palestine are fully alive to the economic and political difficulties and to the social prejudices which they have to overcome; but even a short experience in the country confirms a belief that they will "make good."

As to the future government of Palestine, which is to be determined by the statesmen of the world, it is perfectly clear that a strong and sympathetic administration must be provided by one of the Great Powers. In a country where there are so many different religious and international interests, it is essential that there should be no condominium that would give opportunities for sectarian strife, political intrigue and exploitation by foreign concessionaires. Above all, a condominium leads to a division of responsibility, and the responsibility for the administration and development of Palestine is no small one. Further, it is essential that the Power entrusted to the task of administration and of assisting the inhabitants of the country towards unity and progress must be a Power welcome to the majority of the inhabitants and possessing that degree of authority and prestige which can alone enable it to enforce its decisions. It must be a Power acceptable to Moslems, Christians and Jews alike, and must be free from any suspicion of partiality or racial and religious animosity. Such an administration would, of course, be required by the other Powers to act in a disinterested manner for the creation of better conditions and a brighter future for this historic land.



WAITING ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES FOR THE BRITISH ZIONIST COMMISSION

Jewish School Children of Jerusalem Carried Banners Bearing in Hebrew the Inscriptions of the Boys' Hebrew School and the Bezalel Institute of Arts and Crafts and Enthusiastically Welcomed the British Mission Which Symbolized Freedom from Turkish Tyranny

# BORIS ANISFELD: Colorist

By MARJORIE KINKEAD

**I**NDIVIDUALITY and style in the arts compel at once a decided reaction from the observer.

Russian graphic arts, painting, the theatre—not only the ballet, but such an institution as the New Theatre at Moscow—do this as well as the better known novel and music. The paintings of Boris Anisfeld now on exhibition in America emphasize this statement. To like this art and to grasp its forward tendency is to praise it. Free verse, with its colorful words and movement, suggests itself as a medium of praise. But I do not write free verse, and so must transmute into the black and white of cold prose these fantasies in color, bind into the even decks of the printed page the variety of their rhythms.

Anisfeld's small water-colors and large canvases make one glad, stirring a gaiety to match the festival of their color. The art of this challenger of the past is a sensuous art, an emotional one, in keeping with Alfred Steven's truthful description of all art as nature seen through the prism of an emotion, though not necessarily a religious or a patriotic one. When the color in this world of the senses stirs most an artist's fundamental chord of beauty and reality, his resulting work will be decorative, whatever his intellectual ideas add for content.

Of himself, Anisfeld says, "Nature has been my great teacher. All the colors that I paint I found in nature. All that I could want whatsoever I shall find there. . . . I always see a thing first in color. It comes to me as a complete conception and I rarely have to alter the essential character of any of my initial impressions. It is my habit to put down these visions of color and form, such as they are, quite rapidly, and to amplify and intensify the scheme at some later time when I am so disposed. With me art is a matter of feeling and I paint, as a rule, that which I feel, not that which I see." Through an analysis of color in nature, Anisfeld has evolved gamuts of colors, distinct progressions, any one of which can form the scheme of a composition. The translucency and the splendor of his effects gained by this scientific juxtaposition of colors is the marvel of his work; while the depth and strength of the color are in the clear pigment, which is not built up in masses to attain them.

The needed influences and opportunities came at the right time in Anisfeld's youth, spent on his father's estate in Bessarabia, Russia, where he was born in 1879. His first student years were spent under Ladijinsky and Kostandi at the Odessa

School of Art, the final ones at the Imperial Academy at Petrograd. Here he found himself, and in a small rebel group stood against academic realism, not only its form, but its dead thinking, its imitation of the brutal and cynical facts of Czaristic Russia. That Anisfeld crossed this "shadow-line" to emerge a romantic, decorative painter, instead of a sentimental one, is the key to the valuation of his place in Russian life.

Several years later Igor Grabar, the leading exponent of Impressionism in Russia, introduced Anisfeld to Serge de Diaghilev. Immediately de Diaghilev held exhibitions of Anisfeld's pictures in Petrograd and Paris. Their success in both cities was marked, and in the latter Anisfeld was elected an officer in the *Salon d'Automne*. The same winter he made his first stage set for Mme. Vera Kommissarjevskaya's Dramatic Theatre, in Petrograd. It was for the *Marriage of Zobeide* by Hugo von Hofmannstahl. Succeeding decorations made for de Diaghilev's Russian Ballet included *Islamey*, *The Sylphides*, *Egyptian Nights*, *The Seven Daughters of the Ghost King*. His idealistic and coloristic treatment established a new style of stage setting, the school to which Bakst belongs. Anisfeld attains a striking and able effect both in scenery and pictures by using a brilliant background with either higher or lower keyed figures in the foreground. The perspective is worked out according to his color science, in rhythmic masses of the background's own color, and is not carried by lines. *The Blue Statue* is such a picture with the added interest of a reversed technical problem, the weight of the dark statue against the bright distance on one side, and on the other the light colored nymphs against the dark foliage. Here I am most concerned with the other phases of Anisfeld's art, but it can be noted in passing that conservative criticism, admitting its power, still thinks that the brightly lighted stage is the most suitable place for this style of art.

Forth from his atelier Anisfeld often fares to the highroad, the one that tapers East to the sun and West to the moon, and there he gets his colors from that mysterious vendor who for centuries has sold them to the truly Oriental in spirit: lapis lazuli and emerald, the vermilion of lacquer and pomegranates, purple of Syria, and crimson of Tyre. Anisfeld has also journeyed to such actual places as Finland, Brittany, Switzerland, Spain, Austria, Italy and now even America, painting them in stunning color. Since he has been in this country,



he has undertaken the scenery for "*La Reine Fiammette*," opera by Xavier Leroux, which the Metropolitan Opera House in New York plans for immediate production. He says that the music, and not the libretto, always furnishes him with the color schemes for the settings.

The dramatic quality of Anisfeld's work springs surely from its color and treatment, and not at all from the fact that stage sets happen to represent an important part of his production. He is deeply preoccupied with the vividness of nature, and his landscapes, neither scenes nor scenery, transcribe her changing moods: the mood dictates the color gamut; the painter selects only the elevation and lays the pattern. For always Anisfeld's subjectivity must shape a pattern. What souvenirs! *The Grey Day on the Neva, September, Melting Snow, The Alder Grove*. The portraits show the same idea of mood (the sitter's this time, not nature's), and in them the drawing further

arouses interest. It is an integral part of the characterization. In many of the pictures it is conventionally correct. In others, under a sensitive response to the demands of the subject, it becomes primitive, free, fantastic. It is a magician's device to bind together digests of color broken from the spectrum of the world of fancy. Of such are the Biblical studies *Rebekah, Rebekah at the Well*, the water-color *Emerald*, and *The Garden of Hesperides*, this last the superb jewel of the collection. Even in the black and white reproduction the intensity of its glowing lights, the flush of its shadows, are discernible. Only the unconquered Hercules would dare this enchanted spot, where peacocks, feathered in dazzling gold, bar the way as effectively as flashing swords.

So measure after measure the pulse and beat of these sonorous colors summon us to the enjoyment of their product. It is a simple and unthinking one? It has the simplicity of essentials, but its

scientific basis, that assures results in three mediums of oil, tempera and water-color, must be full of thought. Its imagination, more certain of itself than the story-telling kind, leaves room in its domain for the onlooker's imagination also. Still there

is a definite content in the pictures, a subtle symbolism. It emerges from the interaction between color and mood, drawing and subject, already commented upon. A precise fitness controls them. Such intention draws in diminutive scale the hosts of Egypt dashing by the mass of piled up waters in *The Exodus*; dresses in gorgeous yellow stuffs the worshippers of Kwannon, the *Golden Goddess* whose mystical substance outshines them all.

Generally, Anisfeld is described as a fantasist. He says: "I am a fantast-mystic." The personal impression Anisfeld makes is that of a poised, serious nature. "I paint myself as I take myself, seriously," he remarks when the self-

portrait with the sphynx-like cat is being discussed.

The fantasy of the Orient and its color and that mysticism that Russians attribute to their race, these, then, have been Anisfeld's heritage from that confluence of the East and West which is the Slavic genius. Anisfeld's work cannot be classed as extreme any more than it can be separated from the prevailing innovators, Zuloaga, Cézanne, Gauguin, Syerov, Picasso. That his work represents a real contribution to contemporary art has already been attested by the European critics. To call it Bolshevism in art is to adopt a provincial point of view in order to turn a clever phrase. This inspiration toward decorative painting comes to America from stricken Russia. A modern art through its changed point of view helps in the changing order. It is both vision and achievement. Its concrete expression of ideals foreruns their embodiment in actual life. The soul of Russia is not dead because Russia's art is alive.

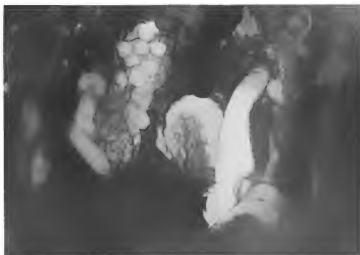


SELF-PORTRAIT WITH SUNFLOWER BY BORIS ANISFELD



THE GOLDEN GODDESS

BY BORIS ANISFELD



THE GARDEN OF THE HESPERIDES

BY BORIS ANISFELD



THE BLUE STATUE

BY BORIS ANISFELD



THE EXODUS

BY BORIS ANISFELD

(Photos Courtesy Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences Museum)

# PALESTINIAN IMPRESSIONS

By SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN

SINCE the days of war, now happily ended, a traveler coming from the West reaches the Holy Land, not by the former eastern route from Alexandria or Port Said to Jaffa or Haifa, but over the new military railroad from the Suez Canal to Lud, the ancient Lydda, the site of a great Jewish academy during the Roman occupation of the land. At Lud a junction is made with the old railroad running from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The railroad itself is one of the marvels of military construction under the pressure of war needs. After the failure of the Turkish attacks, directed against the Suez Canal, the British began their offensive northward into Palestine, crossing the Sinai Desert, fighting for the possession of every yard of ground under almost insurmountable conditions of desert heat and total absence of water, building the railroad foot by foot, laying pipes to transmit a water supply from Egypt—aqueduct, railroad and military advance all keeping pace with one another. Today the completed aqueduct can be traced for miles through the wilderness where it parallels the new railroad, which during the war transported men and supplies, safe from the menace of the submarine, directly to the Palestine front.

The land, as one first sees it by this desert approach, is unattractive and disappointing. The miles of sandy desert are succeeded by a flat, arid plain in the neighborhood of Lud and Ramleh. But if one journeys from Lud to Jerusalem by automo-

bile, as one may today, since the war has introduced the Ford car even into Palestine, one may escape the tedium of the long wait for the train connections at the hot, unprotected railroad junction, and soon reach the Judean hills. A few miles farther on a steep ascent of over twenty-five hundred feet brings one to Jerusalem. At first sight the hills also, despite their rocky outline and the interesting succession of mountain and valley, dotted here and there with picturesque Arab villages, seem singularly bare and sterile to an eye accustomed to the grass and tree-covered slopes of our temperate zone, but the fascination of the Palestinian landscape increases as it becomes more familiar. Marvelous sunsets and glorious nights, brilliant with moon and stars, hover like a dome over the hills and valleys. Often there is a flash of the blue Mediterranean, flowing beyond, bordered by a frame of the brilliant yellow sands of the tremendous dunes, stretching for miles along the Mediterranean coast. It is difficult to believe that these great piles of rock, relieved by no vegetation, except by an occasional hardy olive tree and some sparse shrublike growth, colored by the dust to the same hue as the rocks from which they spring, could have been a part of a land once described as "flowing with milk and honey." Yet a sudden turn in the road will bring into sight a beautiful tract of green, where the zealous labor of man has wrung fruitfulness even from this forbidding soil.



RECHOBOTH, ONE OF THE JEWISH AGRICULTURAL COLONIES OF PALESTINE

The Colony Founded in 1890 by Russian Jews Has Flourished in the Production of Almonds, Olives and Oranges in Spite of the Obstacles Offered by Turkish Officials. This Was the First Colony to Introduce Jewish Workmen with Success

Even a short acquaintance with Palestine reveals the luxuriousness of its products. Within its narrow boundaries are found many changes of climate, making for equal variation of products. Agronomists declare that in conditions of climate and soil Palestine more nearly resembles California than any other cultivated part of the globe. The oranges of Jaffa compare in size and sweetness with the best of our American crop. Palestinian olives give a heavy yield of good oil. The peaches are grown most successfully in the pleasant vale of Urtass, from an original American progenitor. Figs and pomegranates and melons are present in great abundance and in good varieties. Most of our own garden vegetables and others, unfamiliar to us, are commonly produced. Almonds and walnuts add to the wealth of the land and, during the past decade, the Jewish colonists have introduced the eucalyptus, properly known as the "Jew's tree." The eucalyptus absorbs a great deal of moisture and, consequently, when planted in marshy regions, it becomes a factor in reducing the malaria prevalent in such districts. In addition, however, it is capable of furnishing shade, medicinal oil, material for boxes in which to ship the oranges and other exports of the land, and, if sufficiently extensively cultivated, will in time furnish a source of fuel, one of the greatest needs of the country. Cereals are cultivated in almost every part of the country. The Hauran, the region across the Jordan, was one of the granaries of the ancient world and still bears rich crops of wheat.

As I drove along the sandy roads, I missed the familiar birds and flowers of the West. It is true that there are few, but it is possible to find many varieties of flowers in the gardens in the interior courtyards of the homes of those who can afford to see that they receive sufficient water and attention. In the springtime, I am told that even the bare hills themselves are covered miraculously, almost overnight, by a brilliant carpet of wild flowers, once the rainy season has begun in real earnest.

The war has despoiled the land of most of its live stock. In the south, at least, one sees very few horned cattle of any kind, except in the coastal plain where some have been imported from Egypt. Similarly, the herds of sheep and goats have been very much reduced but some still survive. The sheep have fleeces of long coarse, yellow-brownish wool which, freshly clipped, in the relief workrooms



IN THE VALLEY IS NABULUS, THE BIBLICAL SCHECHEM

Abraham, Jacob and His Sons All Encamped in the Plain Near Schechem. Later the Town Was a Samaritan Center, and Today a Handful of the Sect Still Preserve Their Ancient Customs and Rituals and Their Age-Long Hostility to the Jews

established by the American Red Cross, was washed and spun by methods primitive as those of patriarchal days and then woven into cloth on hand looms almost as ancient in design. The hair and skin of the goats frequently reappears after the death of their original owners in the form of black tents occupied by the wandering Bedouin of the desert, and the hides, without the hair, are omnipresent as containers for the precious water supply of the villages.

These villages are most depressing. They are squalid and dirty, without architectural beauty, and offer no opportunities for anything beyond the poorest kind of shelter. They are usually constructed of mud-plaster, without windows and with a single entrance, very narrow and so low that the tall Arabs who occupy them are compelled to bow their heads in order to enter their homes. The

houses consist usually of a single room with an earthen floor and at one side a raised earthen platform which forms the family sleeping apartment at night, when a few dirty rags or rugs are unrolled to form the bedding. In the daytime the bedding, unaired, is rolled in a dingy bundle and tossed into a dark corner of the room. There is neither furniture nor table utensils; the family meal, so much of it as is cooked, is prepared in the open air or perhaps in a shed outside, by the women of the household, squatting close to the ground or bending over low fires of charcoal. The meal is served in a



CISTERNS ON ROOFS COLLECT PRECIOUS WATER SUPPLY FOR ARABS

This Bedouin Village Near Damascus with its Windowless Mud Huts is a Squalid Contrast to the Well Paved Streets and Modern Homes of the Jewish Colonies

single large container from which the entire family eats with its fingers. The bread of the country consists of very thin, large, round cakes. In its best form it is very flexible and can be rolled up like a napkin and, when well prepared, is palatable and nutritious. The ordinary life of the village appears very limited to the superficial observer, and the educational facilities in the great majority of the villages are nil, though in a number of places, missionary organizations have established elementary schools. These reach only a small fraction of the population. One of the imperative needs of the country is a system of common public education—academic, manual, agricultural and commercial.

In striking contrast to the average Arab vil-

lage, with its untidy squalor, are the settlements of the new Jewish colonization. Here the houses are of modern type, and while too infrequently attractive, from an architectural point of view, they are at least substantial, commodious, clean and in good repair. Every house has its own plot of land surrounding it and the villagers appear prosperous and enterprising. Each village has its tested water supply and possesses local autonomy and self-government. There is a rich community life, centering about the *Bet Ha'am*, or People's House, the synagogue and the school. The colo-

lists have come chiefly from Russia, Poland, Rumania and other Jewish settlements of eastern and southeastern Europe in order to lead a free, untrammelled, spiritual and physical life in the ancient home of their fathers; to rebuild Zion anew. And they are doing it by the sweat of their brows with zeal and devotion and now, at last, thanks to the British liberation, with hopefulness of great accomplishment in the days to come.

It was my good fortune to make a tour of the southern Judean Colonies during the week of Sukkoth, the ancient Biblical harvest festival, when all the villages were in a state of comparative relaxation because of the end of the ingathering of the harvest which they were celebrating in vine booths constructed on the porches of

their houses, in accordance with the commandment. We were overwhelmed by their hospitality. Each village served us with its wine and tea and cake and even with its honey. The honey of Palestine is of many flavors. An interesting fact in connection with the honey culture is that a settler from Alsace introduced the custom of moving with his hives from place to place so that, as each season brought its change of fruit and blossom, the same bees might produce honey of different flavors in widely scattered places.

At Gederah, a colony celebrated for its large flocks of doves which are the common property of the village, the knowledge of the fact that one of our company was the agricultural expert of the Zionist Commission brought to the village inn, in

the evening, a group of some twelve or fifteen farmers who, seated about the table, discussed in scientific spirit and with a knowledge of the best scientific methods in a way to suggest an agricultural college seminar rather than a group of peasant farmers, the problem of citrus fruit-raising. Nor were they ordinary peasant farmers. These men had all, in their youth, been university or gymnasium students in Russia and had foregone opportunities for professional or business activities in their Jewish nationalistic ideals and their own spiritual development in the land of Israel. One

cert, our hostess drove home, arriving at five in the morning, to begin the work of preparing our breakfast and the luncheon which we were to take with us. She declared that, if the opportunity offered, she would return at once to Jaffa for another concert without resting, so great had been her enjoyment of the previous evening's program. At Castinieh, another of the colonies, we found a group of young men and women of the laboring class who had established themselves on a communistic basis. Though the colony is still young, they showed with great pride a eucalyptus grove, well along in



Photo by Edmonth Haxington

A LAND FLOWING WITH MILK AND HONEY—NOT A LAND OF DESOLATION

Some Portions of Palestine Are Barren Desert Wastes; Elsewhere the Country Has Yielded to Cultivation and Is Fruitful in Orchards and Fields of Grain. Wheat Was First Introduced to the Use of Man in Palestine

had a son in the agricultural department of the University of California; another in Cornell University; and all were keen to learn from our expert how they might improve their methods and increase the yield of their farms. As evidence of the æsthetic life of the community I might add that our hostess had left early in the afternoon for a long drive to Jaffa in order that she might attend a concert, a rare treat during war time, made possible by Colonel Storrs, the military Governor of Jerusalem, who had secured a furlough for a young Russian Jewish violinist, serving in the English army, in order that he might raise funds for the establishment of a school of music in Jerusalem, by giving a series of concerts in the cities of the land. Immediately at the conclusion of the con-

its third year, and fields from which an abundant harvest of grain was being gathered in. At Ruchamah, far to the south, amid the most barren, deserted wilderness, I found a stockaded group of buildings, designed to protect the inhabitants against the incursions of nomad Arabs. Its groves of almond and eucalyptus, while very young, showed good development; but the fact that lingers in my mind about this colony is not its productivity but the spirit of its men. Only three, out of more than thirty, remained there, not by their own choice, but by the election of their comrades, that they might stay behind to watch the property and to attend the crops, while all the rest enlisted en masse in the Jewish battalion of the British army in order to avenge the injuries inflicted upon them



THE MINERAL WEALTH OF THE DEAD SEA MAY BE DEVELOPED UNDER A WISE ADMINISTRATION

The Historic Lake Which Has Lain Dormant for Centuries Is a Rich Unexplored Store of Mineral Wealth. The Supply of Chloride of Potassium Is Inexhaustible, and There Are Rich Deposits of Bitumen, Bromides, Asphalt, Salt, Sulphur and Petroleum—All Formerly the Private Property of the Sultan

by the Turks and to do their share in the liberation of the land from under Turkish misrule.

Life in the cities of Palestine is similar to that of other oriental lands where Islam has ruled. The bazaars of Jerusalem and Jaffa resemble those of Algiers, Alexandria or Cairo. The mosques are of the same type, but in Jerusalem they must compete in number with the religious edifices of Christian and Jew. No structure can compare in beauty or dignity or solemnity, however, with the great mosque of the Dome of the Rock, commonly called the Mosque of Omar. It occupies the site of the ancient Hebrew temples and takes its name from the rock over which it rises, traditionally reputed to be the scene of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac, and from which Mohammed is believed by the Faithful to have made his ascent to Heaven. Jerusalem has all the color and variety of oriental life with, in addition, not only the usual occidental population of monks and priests and nuns and merchants and laymen of every class and race, but also the many military representatives of France and Italy and, chief of all, the British—from the Homelands, the Dominions, the Colonies including the picturesque Indian troops and the supremely useful Egyptian Labor Corps. According to one English officer without the Egyptian Labor Corps and the Ford car, Jerusalem never could have been taken.

The land is so full of memories wherever one travels that one is always tempted to linger over historic associations; but, after all, it is the life of today that is of chief concern. The results of centuries of Turkish misgovernment are everywhere in evidence. The ruined and deserted terraces of the countryside find their counterpart in the absolute lack of proper water supply and sanitation in the cities. After centuries, during which Jerusalem was dependent upon the annual rainfall of the winter season for all its water during the entire year, the British, within six months of their occupation, introduced a constant supply of portable water to a large part of the city. The streets were made absolutely clean and the beginnings of a sewage system were instituted. Justice for the first time in centuries reigns throughout the land. The courts are administering the old Turkish law, with which the people are familiar, with an impartiality hitherto unknown. All classes have learned that the administration of justice is absolutely certain. The average village official, accustomed to Turkish habits of bribery and laziness, has learned to his great regret, by means of prosecution and imprisonment, that such methods will no longer be tolerated, and the villagers no longer fear the approach of the tax-gatherer. The future of the land, if present conditions of government can continue, is bright with hope and promise.



## STORIED PAGES FROM THE SACRED EAST



A BEAUTIFUL LITTLE FIFTEENTH CENTURY WELL STANDING CLOSE TO THE  
DOME OF THE ROCK

Sacred alike to Jew and Moslem is the Temple Area of Jerusalem, the site of the ancient Temple of Solomon and of the present Mohammedan structure, dating from the end of the seventh century, known as the Dome of the Rock.



THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF ABSALOM, IN THE ENVIRONS OF  
JERUSALEM

The ancient Semitic emphasis on death is an ever-present influence in Palestine. Everywhere in this land of tradition are shrines erected to the memory of the dead, rock-hewn tombs encroaching on the dwelling places of the living, wayside, nameless graves that creep up to the summits of the hills. The Graeco-Roman tomb attributed as Absalom's burial place in the sixteenth century is first mentioned in A. D. 333.



LOOKING SOUTH THROUGH THE PERISTYLE OF THE DOME OF  
THE ROCK TOWARD THE AKSA MOSQUE

There are many traditions regarding the Holy Rock, over which rises the blue-tiled Dome, like a great bubble blown against the sky. According to the Talmud, it covers the mouth of an abyss in which the waters of the Flood may be heard roaring. The Moslems maintain that beneath the Rock is the well of souls. In Jewish tradition, it is the spot upon which rested the Ark of the Covenant, and the altar where Abraham sacrificed

## ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

ASIA MINOR, by Walter A. Hawley. John Lane Company, New York, 1918, pp. 327. Price, \$3.50.

The scholarship of the author in dealing with the past of Asia Minor may not be quite up to date, but that is a very small portion of the task he has undertaken. To any one who desires to know all that is worth knowing about the Asia Minor of the present—its natural resources, its means of communication, its productive possibilities, the character and aptitude of its people—Mr. Hawley's book may be confidently recommended. The author never allows himself to be diverted from the exposition of the facts with which he is conversant by the temptation to speculate about the future of these historic regions and their curiously compounded nationalities. He does not condemn the Turk to future internment in Anatolia or deliver over to the Greeks the control of Smyrna and the adjacent isles. But he affords a sufficiently accurate measure of the potentialities of the various groups who have mostly had a severe struggle for existence in these broad lands extending between the Black and Mediterranean Seas to the easterly shore of the Aegean. The maps inserted in the book are of no particular value, but the illustrations made from photographs taken by the writer while traveling through the country are exceedingly interesting, and, as a rule, extremely well done. Mr. Hawley is a well known authority on Oriental rugs and this little note which he makes on the floor coverings of the mosques will interest amateurs in such matters:

Contrary to the popular impression in Europe and America, there are very few fine antique rugs in the mosques of Asia Minor, as they have been almost entirely removed to Constantinople. The floor of the Hissar Jami, (Smyrna) which has a breadth of one hundred feet and a depth of only sixty-six, is almost entirely covered with modern, poorly-colored rugs and kilims. One of these is a woven strip containing thirty-four separate patterns, each similar in drawing to the patterns of old Ghiordes prayer rugs. Among other pieces of less importance, I noticed not less than a dozen much worn Persian Feraghans and two or three Ghiordes hearth-rugs; but apart from their association, they merit little consideration. This absence of Oriental splendor in the floor coverings is apparent in all the surroundings, for besides a picture of the Kaaba at Mecca, a few precepts from the Koran on the walls, and some

brass candlesticks near the mihrab, there is little to attract the eye.

THE EYES OF ASIA, by Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Page & Company, Garden City, New York, 1918, pp. 101. Price, \$1.00.

Rudyard Kipling's India is usually a white man's India. The reactions of the Occidental to a strange and alien environment, the transformations, struggles and characteristic persistence of the Anglo-Saxon in a land tenaciously rooted in traditions and customs totally different from those of the West furnish the themes of some of his most interesting stories. Sceldom has he considered the oriental point of view except where it clashed with preconceived harmonies west of Suez. One cannot easily forget the white man's burden and the centuries of magnificent conceit that lie back of the conception of a Caucasian Atlas. Now inspired by the brave work of the Indian soldier in the war, Kipling has attempted to show a cross section of the world through "The Eyes of Asia." It is the wounded Sikh convalescing in England, lost in petrified admiration of English ways, English heroism, the accomplishments and courage of Englishwomen, the marvelous inventions of English life. Bishen Singh Saktawut, Rajput, writes to his friend in India: "We have been deceived by the nature of the English. We are not even children beside them. Nothing is known in India of the great strength of this people. Make that perfectly clear to all fools."

It would not be quite fair to Kipling to say that he makes all his soldiers devote their convalescence to bursting eulogies of English life. One Sikh writes to his brother in the little Indian village of the interesting methods of agriculture he had observed in "Franceville." Most touching was the commission to his brother to send a beautiful rug to the old French lady who had been so kind to him. The trooper of horse writes tenderly to his mother: "Oh, my mother, if I could now see you for but half of one watch in the night or at evening preparing food!" He tells his mother in India of his adopted mother in France, who is worried when he is out too late and treats him like a son. He has learned other things in Franceville, and urges his mother to give his little son boiled water to drink and to have the Lady Doctor Sahiba come to vaccinate him against smallpox. The Eyes of Asia have seen in England and Franceville that the charms

of sanitation and hygiene work. There is no question that the Indians who went to France to help fight for the great victory of the Allies have learned much and come in contact with many wise things in the West that will be of value to them in their country. But it is doubtful whether their admiration for occidental life is as unqualified as Kipling fondly would have us believe.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A RUSSIAN DIPLOMAT, by Eugene de Schelking, formerly Secretary of the Russian Embassy in Berlin. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1918, pp. 327. Price, \$2.50.

A book whose interest will be rather enhanced by the post-mortem character of many of its previsions, and the translation of most of its conclusions into the tense of the historic past. Mr. de Schelking was no common observer of the events which culminated in the tragedy of the war, and few men of his generation have enjoyed his opportunities of intimate converse with the dominant personalities of recent European history. His reading of these events is singularly accurate, and his estimate of the characters of the emperors and statesmen who figure in his pages will be accepted as in the main adequate by unprejudiced investigators of the great historic movements of our time. The chapter on the Kaiser, while not adding much to the world's knowledge, is one of the most interesting and intimate studies that have been attempted of this somewhat elusive personality. To Nicholas II and his surroundings, he does impartial justice, tempered by sympathy for a man caught in the toils of circumstances too strong for him. "The Fox of the Balkans" is pilloried as he deserves: "Immensely vain of the result of the war with Turkey, he had himself photographed in the costume of a Byzantine emperor! The livery of a footman to the German Emperor would suit him ever so much better!" Albeit an experienced Russian journalist, as well as a trained diplomatist, Mr. de Schelking adds little to our knowledge of the underlying causes of the Russian Revolution, and still less to the probable issue of the conflict of forces that it liberated. It is in dealing with the social aspects of European diplomacy, and the personal traits of its most prominent representatives, that Mr. de Schelking is at his best. Judged simply by its title, the book is calculated to make a strong appeal to the general reader, and it is not one that can be lightly dismissed by the serious student.

# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION



MARCH, 1919

China: Colony or Nation?

Present-Day Government in Japan

A Fair Chance for China



CHINA  
AND  
JAPAN  
NUMBER



Price 35 Cents



# ASIA

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Area	44,000,000 sq. miles
Population	2,000,000,000
Capital	London
Language	English
Religion	Christianity
Government	Monarchy



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### Contributors and Contributions

The writer who signs himself "ASIATICUS" is an American business man who lives in China.

PUTNAM WEALE, one of the foremost writers on Chinese affairs, in this number contributes the second of a series of three articles.

WALTER WALLACE McLAREN, now professor of politics at Williams College, was for six years professor of politics in Kelo University, Tokyo, Japan. He was editor of the publications of the Asiatic Society of Japan for two years, collecting and editing a volume of Japanese Government state papers relating to central and local governments issued from 1867 to 1889.

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL is one of the British experts on the Near East at the Peace Conference. He was for a number of years foreign editor of *The Times*, London.

S. FYZEE-RAHAMIN is an Indian painter whose work is attracting much interest in this country at the present time. Mr. Rahamin was at one time a pupil of John S. Sargent. He is a devoted student of the purest tradition of Indian art, and was for a number of years court painter to the Gaekwar of Baroda, one of the most progressive of Indian native rulers.

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# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

VOLUME XIX

NUMBER 3

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ARTICLES and pictures on matters of Oriental interest are invited, but the responsibility is not assumed for the safe return of material submitted. Return postage should be enclosed.

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"To contribute to a satisfactory adjustment of the relations between Asiatic countries and the rest of the world by the removal of sources of misunderstanding and the dissipation of ignorant prejudices; and to co-operate with all other agencies, religious, educational and philanthropic, designed to remove existing obstacles to the peaceful progress and well being of the peoples of these countries."—*Section 5, Article II, of the Constitution.*

In publishing ASIA it will be the policy of the editors to regard with sympathy the attitude and activities of all Eastern countries. Nevertheless, the independent privilege of criticism will be steadfastly retained. No hampering restrictions will be placed on contributions on important subjects, regardless of the source from which they may come, Asiatic or American; and articles considered able and having value, whether they tend to inspire controversy or not, will be considered as beneficial to the promotion of knowledge and the removal of misunderstandings, and will be published in spite of the fact that the editors may not agree entirely with the opinions expressed.

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## ASIA ENTERS ITS THIRD YEAR

**T**HIS is the second anniversary of ASIA. As the magazine enters its third year, the world faces in China and Japan, Turkey and Asia Minor, Russia and Siberia, intricate problems. Two years ago we had not entered the war. For us, the world was as it had been. Today, there is something new.

Then, division of the spoils, the best to the strongest—the spoils being the lands and peoples which lagged in the world race of material progress—was the standard of international settlements. Jealousy, suspicion, double-dealing, war, lurked under the cover of diplomacy, the more insidious for its very respectability.

There will still be jealousy, suspicion, double dealing, and even war, in international affairs.

But at least this has been accomplished as the minimum of what the League of Nations is likely to attain with the backing it deserves from a strong American opinion—a court, not of diplomats, but of informed public opinion, to which complaints may come and force a hearing.

The nation which would profit at the expense of the weaker by the underhand, unfair, illegitimate, immoral will have to justify its act at the bar of growing public opinion. The settlement of international affairs has been taken out of the private control of diplomats. Responsibility in international as well as national affairs is back where it belongs—on the judgment and force of character of the plain citizen.

ASIA then, as one informer of public opinion on international affairs, has a peculiarly stimulating part to play. "Responsibility" is a forbidding, unpopular thing. The plain American citizen doesn't want any more of it than he has. But it is the genius of American spirit to accept all the word implies in terms of virile action, without assuming its lugubrious solemnity, whenever in the natural course of the joy of living, he learns enough about things to be interested in them.

So why need we sit in solemn conclave and discuss too many abstractions in our international responsibilities? Let's get into the heart of the peoples whose affairs it is unfortunately apparent we are called upon to enter. Underneath the day-to-day and year-to-year problems of the nations, there lies this fundamental—the individual human being, what he thinks and how he acts. To understand his affairs and sympathize, one must see him, live with him—and even his ancestors, in the lands of the East.

This is the spirit of ASIA.

You have showed you like it so far. You proved that decisively the first year. But more than this. In this second year, you showed us convincingly that you *continued* to like it. And this was the crucial test.

You have thus established ASIA—on this one condition—

That now, in this year, you give success in the third big test—*rapid growth*.

The membership can be doubled this year, *but only with your active help*.



A. N. Blinn

#### THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN AT PEKING

The Temple of Heaven, One of the Most Perfect Monuments Ever Dedicated to Man's Dream of the Beautiful, Stands as a Significant Milestone on the Ancient Highway of World Culture. Modern China Has Now Thrown Overboard Most of the Traditions of Her Old Civilization, but Has Not Yet Been Able to Adapt Herself to the Pressing Demands and Changed Conditions of a New Age

# CHINA: COLONY OR NATION?

By "ASIATICUS"

[The writer of this article, on the Far East, who signs himself "Asiaticus," is an American of close observing power and judicial temper, who has lived for almost two decades in many parts of China in business and official posts. He has known, intimately, not only the Chinese and Japanese people, but their government officials, and has been in a position to study at first hand the methods and practices of both nations in business and in official life. He is a representative American of sound standing, who knows the faults and virtues of both peoples concerned in one of the greatest world problems now demanding settlement.]

THE Sino-Japanese question is simple to state. For China: colony or nation? For Japan: conqueror or leader of the Orient? But Simplicity ceases with the prologue thus pronounced, and gives way to Tragedy to stage one of the most momentous dramas in world politics.

To almost all the great audience the crucial shaping of China's future patently stands out as the major motif, with the Peace Conference or the League of Nations as the uncertain element that will keep alive the interest until the curtain of decision falls. But to some there appears a more deeply veiled theme, secondary only in name—the effect upon Japan herself of a continuation of her military policy in the East. To trace the vagaries of these elements through the incidents of the drama is no easy task; yet, after the clearing of our political thinking by the terrible lightning strokes of war, certain facts stand out plainly enough to receive confident emphasis and, when the future welfare of so many lives and of so many decades depends upon the clear vision and just decision of the present, sober criticism and plain speaking should go hand in hand to the rostrum of the world's forum and there be given a serious heading.

You shout back at once, "*quo warranto*" to anyone arrogating to himself the role of expositor and you demand to know what experience the writer has had to assume it. A fair question, to which the writer submits this answer. He measures his residence among both the Chinese and Japanese by decades, he has had intimate business relations with both nations, admires many qualities in the individual and national lives of both peoples, and believes each has too important and desirable a part to play in the great twentieth century Pageant of the Pacific for the democratic peoples of the earth to permit, by lack of strong decision at this time, the strife that must ensue if Justice is not now allowed to swing her scale beam unfettered. The mental alchemy of propaganda he does not wish to enlist in the cause, but seeks only the fair judgment and reason of the reader on the facts to be collected and correlated. His purpose is to try to make more clear the application to this great Far Eastern question of the principles of reason

and justice as opposed to "interests" and war, and particularly:

To seek to save Japan from the ruin that the continued domination by her Teutonic military party will inevitably bring upon her. To save China from the present manifestations of that party's policy.

To save both countries with the Occident as well from the war, either immediate or future, that may follow a failure to make now a just settlement of this problem.

First, what are the claims which China is presenting before the Peace Conference, and on what grounds does she make these claims? She is asking specifically that Tsingtao and Kiaochow and all that Japan under the guise of inheritance from Germany has taken in Shantung—that province which the Germans for many years before the war paternally referred to as *unsere Schantung*—be returned to her; that the Treaties of May, 1915, regarding Shantung and other subjects be annulled, inasmuch as her "declaration of war against Germany involved the cancellation of the treaty relating to Tsingtao and of all rail and mining concessions to the Germans in Shantung and revested them in China" and on the further ground that "the Chino-Japanese treaties of 1915 were null and void, because, besides being the fruit of a Japanese ultimatum, threatening war against China, they are a war settlement demanding review by the Peace Conference on precisely the same principles applied by America and Europe to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest." In comment the statement of one of the Chinese official ministers adds: "The Chinese further assert that the present claim of the Japanese to be the beneficiaries of German ruthlessness in Shantung is a vital feature of the Japanese policy which has already found expression in the annexation of Korea, in the gradual Japanization of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, in the Japanese control of the large iron areas in the Yangtze Valley, in the establishment of Japanese police centers in the province of Fukien, and in the growing grip of Japan on the political, military and economic life of China."

In addition to these two major matters, China advances the further claims for the voiding of the Ishii-Lansing Agreement on the ground "that it was entered into secretly in Washington by Baron Ishii and Secretary Lansing without consulting the Chinese Minister to America or the government in Peking" and that the letter and spirit of President Wilson's Fourteen Points demand its cancellation; for the removal of extraterritoriality in China; and for freedom of action in the determination of her own customs tariffs.

To appreciate the significance to China of the control of Shantung by a foreign power one should recall that its coast embraces the promontory which forms with the Liaotung Peninsula held by Japan under lease—the southern and northern lips of the mouth to the Gulf of Chihli, which in turn guards the roads to the capital and the great trade routes into the interior behind Tientsin. It is as though England had taken from us lower Virginia and Hampton Roads and the coast up to some point in New Jersey after having previously won from us the littoral of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The parallel is not geographically exact but figuratively very close. Shantung counts 30,000,000 of souls, carries considerable mineral deposits, is widely known for the thrift of its agricultural, mercantile and industrial population working at times under the stimulus of great handicaps, has fair rail and water transportation and stands as the southern bulwark of the metropolitan province. For China to be without control here means a very definite curtailment of her power toward the rich Yangtze and an easy base from which at any time the invader may advance on Tientsin and Peking. The leased territory of Kiaochow, taken by the Germans under duress in 1897, embraces the commercial port of Tsingtao which they had developed into a well appointed trade mart and watering place

as well as a strong naval base for their fleet and military forces kept in the Pacific.

It was this port of Tsingtao with the ports around Kiaochow Bay which Japan, in conjunction with British land and sea forces, invested and captured in the early stages of the war; and it was at the surrender of these Germans that her officers administered to the British commandant a biting snub, which indicated clearly Japanese impatience that she had not been allowed to do the task alone and thus left freer to follow her planned course of prompt appropriation. For immediately the action ceased she set in motion behind the thin camouflage of a military achievement for the Allies her diplomatic machinery to secure to herself by so-called treaty right the lien on Shantung which Germany had held; and once the seizure had this cachet upon it, she hurried forward a studied program of public and private development until now she can place before the Peace Conference a schedule of great vested interests and a show of some twenty-odd thousand of her nationals in the port, according to recent figures, with the argument of "vested rights" to back it all.

To give the reader opportunity to review for himself the documents on which these Chinese claims are based and by which the Japanese have sought to close discussion of the questions, there is inserted below<sup>1</sup> the texts, or the essential parts thereof, of the Treaties of May 25, 1915, into which the Twenty-one Demands of January 18, 1915, were finally molded, together with that of Group V of the Demands, and also that of the Ishii-Lansing Agreement. Do not allow the forbidding appearance of dry text deter you from reading these agreements. They give, in the words of the defendant himself, a vivid sense of the blunt force of military strength demanding and taking from the powerless what it wants.

<sup>1</sup> The treaties and agreements were signed on May 25, 1915, Lou Cheng-Hsiang, then Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, now one of China's representatives at the Peace Conference, and Eki Hioki, Japanese Minister to China, acting for their respective governments. The original twenty-one Demands with the famous Group 5 articles, which were withdrawn from this final treaty, were presented January 18, 1915. The documents follow:

#### THE FIRST TREATY—RESPECTING SHANTUNG

His Excellency the President of the Republic of China and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, have resolved to conclude a Treaty with a view to the maintenance of general peace in the Far East and the future strengthening of the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood now existing between the two nations.

"Article 1—The Chinese government engages to recognize all matters that may be agreed upon between the Japanese government and the German government respecting the disposition of all the rights, interests and concessions which, in virtue of treaties or otherwise, Germany possesses vis-à-vis China in relation to the province of Shantung.

"Article 2—The Chinese engage that in case they undertake the construction of a railway connecting Chefoo or Lungkow with the Kiaochow-Tsinan railway, they shall, in the

event of Germany's surrendering her right of providing capital for the Chefoo-Weihsien railway line, enter into negotiations with Japanese capitalists for the purpose of financing the said undertaking.

"Article 3—The Chinese government engage to open of their own accord as early as possible suitable cities and towns in the Province of Shantung for the residence and trade of foreigners.

"Article 4—The present treaty shall take effect on the day of its signature."

Following the signing of the above treaty the Chinese Foreign Minister made the following written declaration to the Japanese Minister at Peking:

"The Chinese government will never lease or alienate, under any designation whatever, to any foreign power any territory within or along the coast of the Province of Shantung or any island lying near the said coast."

The Chinese Foreign Minister made also the following formal declaration:

"I have the honor to state that the cities and towns to be opened in accordance with the stipulation of Article 3, of the treaty, respecting Shantung Province, signed to-day, will be selected, and the regulations therefor will be drawn up by the Chinese government, and will be decided upon after consultation with the Japanese Minister."

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Through each clause it should be remembered that China agreed solely as the result of force, never with a view to "the further strengthening of the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood now existing between the two nations." These words of the preamble one cannot pass as simply "diplomatic." They are mockery and derision, like the kick of a hobnailed Hun's boot on the body of a helpless peasant he has tied until it be his pleasure to return.

But, it may be said, Japan has promised to return Kiaochow. In answer, in annotation of the note containing the terms on which Japan would restore Kiaochow,<sup>2</sup> it is relevant to cite these paragraphs from a formal statement by the American Chamber of Commerce of China at Shanghai to the American Minister. The officers of the Chamber are J. Harold Dollar of the Robert Dollar Company, ship owners, president; W. C. Sprague, Standard Oil Company, vice-president; J. W. Gallagher, United States Steel Products Company, treasurer; J. B. Powell, *Millard's Review*, secretary. The statement is:

"We submit that in view of actual developments there, these terms would amount in reality to the absolute control of Tsingtao and its hinterland by the Japanese and would in effect be equivalent, from a business point of view, to outright annexation of the Port and to virtual annexation of the Province by the Japanese Government. For the concession which the Japanese intend to demand is that part of Tsingtao in which the commerce of the Port is

inevitably centered, namely, the districts surrounding the harbor, the Custom House, and the proposed new railway goods station. The part of the town left for an international concession would be the present residential district, and this could be rendered valueless from the point of view of revenue by such 'disposal' as is proved in clause 4 of the terms quoted above, which would even include the public slaughter house and the electricity station.

"The evidence for this view of Japanese intention is unmistakable and patent. It meets the eyes in business houses, banks, schools and tea-houses, and private residences, all the outcome of an adroitly conceived and rapidly executed program designed entirely to occupy and effectively enrich the district essential to trade and commerce. What Japanese control of wharves, railways and Customs Houses would mean has, we submit, been amply illustrated in Dalny and Manchuria, where there are practically no prospects whatever of American or other 'foreign' participation in business which should be open to all.

"Accordingly we urge that, if non-Japanese subjects are to have equal opportunities with the Japanese for business in Tsingtao and the Province of Shantung as a whole, the whole port should be either internationalized or restored to the Chinese Government; and further, that in either case, if the Japanese be given the choice of location for their concession, all wharves, railways and the Customs House should be kept from their control."

Turning to the Manchurian Treaty<sup>3</sup> we find in

#### <sup>2</sup> RESTORATION OF KIAOCHOW

The Japanese Minister made the following declaration to the Chinese Foreign Minister:

"When, after the termination of the present war, the leased territory of Kiaochow Bay is completely left to the free disposal of Japan, the Japanese Government will restore the said leased territory to China under the following conditions:

"1. The whole of Kiaochow Bay to be opened as a Commercial Port.

"2. A concession under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan to be established at a place designated by the Japanese Government.

"3. If the foreign Powers desire it, an international concession may be established.

"4. As regards the disposal to be made of the buildings and properties of Germany and the conditions and procedure relating thereto, the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government shall arrange the matter by mutual agreement before the restoration."

#### <sup>3</sup> TREATY RESPECTING SOUTH MANCHURIA AND INNER MONGOLIA EXTENDS PORT ARTHUR LEASE

The second treaty, respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia follows:

"Article 1.—The high contracting parties mutually agree to extend the terms of the lease of Port Arthur and Darien, and the term relating to the South Manchurian Railway and to the Antung-Mukden Railway, to a period of ninety-nine years, respectively.

"Article 2.—The subjects of Japan shall be permitted in South Manchuria to lease land necessary either for erecting buildings for various commercial and industrial uses or for agricultural purposes.

"Article 3.—The subjects of Japan shall have liberty to enter, travel and reside in South Manchuria and to carry on business of various kinds—commercial, industrial and otherwise.

"Article 4.—The government of China shall permit joint undertakings in Eastern Inner Mongolia of the subjects of Japan and citizens of China in agricultural and industries auxiliary thereto.

"Article 5.—With respect to the three preceding articles the subjects of Japan shall produce before the local authorities the passports duly issued for the purpose of registration, and shall also submit themselves to the police laws and regulations and taxes of China.

"In civil and criminal suits the Japanese consular officer, where a Japanese subject is the defendant, and the Chinese official, where a Chinese citizen is the defendant, shall, respectively, try and decide the case, both Japanese consular offices and the Chinese official being permitted each to send his agent to attend the trial of the other to watch the proceedings; provided that, in civil suits arising out of land disputes between Japanese subjects and Chinese citizens, the cases shall be tried and decided by the joint tribunal, composed of the properly authorized officials of the two countries, in accordance with the laws and local uses of China.

"In the future, when the judicial system in the said regions shall have been completely reformed, all civil and criminal suits involving Japanese subjects shall be wholly tried and decided by the law courts of China.

"Article 6.—The government of China engage to open of their own accord as early as possible suitable cities and towns in Eastern Inner Mongolia for the residence and trade of foreigners.

"Article 7.—The government of China agree to a speedy fundamental revision of various agreements and contracts relating to the Kirin-Changchun railway, on the basis of the

the first clause an extension of the lease which Russia, through the Russo-Asiatic Bank, held on Liaotung Peninsula and the Manchurian line, to that ominous "99 years" which must be given the dignity of a euphemism in this case, for no one who has ever visited Darien, be he Japanese or other nationality, would admit that there *could be* any intention to restore it to China. Just for good measure the Antung-Mukden Railway is thrown in. Already the land lease privilege and the general treatment accorded the Chinese by the Japanese in Southern Manchuria has sent many Chinese families trekking northward to Heilungkiang. Then in the supplementary note<sup>1</sup> the privilege of China for redeeming the railway is canceled. Perhaps this could not have been included in the treaty be-

cause it would not strengthen "good neighbourhood."

But the subtlety is deeper. Many of the clauses granting apparently innocent privileges have been used to create actual conditions that work out discriminations in various ways. For example, foreign merchants have been unable to ship to stations on the line, goods which their Japanese customers could readily distribute. These incidents would not be cited were it not for the fact that repeated statements by Japan's highest statesmen categorically deny all such actions. On the note regarding the mines,<sup>2</sup> the list of specified places stands as comment eloquent enough.

"Group V,"<sup>3</sup> which, as stated in the Tokyo official communiqué, "the Japanese Government, taking

terms embodied in railway loan agreements which China has heretofore entered into with various foreign capitalists. If in the future the Chinese government grant to foreign capitalists, in matters that relate to railway loans, more advantageous terms than those in the various existing railway loan agreements, the above mentioned Kirin-Changchun railway loan agreement shall, if so desired by Japan, be further revised.

"Article 8—Except as otherwise provided in this treaty, all existing treaties between Japan and China with respect to Manchuria shall remain in force.

"Article 9—The present treaty shall take effect on the day of its signature."

"The following note was exchanged:

"I have the honor to state that, respecting the provisions contained in Article 1 of the Treaty relating to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, signed this day, the term of lease of Port Arthur and Dainy shall expire in the 86th year of the Republic or 1997. The date for restoring the South Manchuria Railway to China shall fall due in the 91st year of the Republic or 2002. Article 21 in the original South Manchurian Railway Agreement providing that it may be redeemed by China after 36 years from the day on which the traffic is opened is hereby cancelled. The term of the Antung-Mukden Railway shall expire in the 96th year of the Republic or 2007."

#### <sup>1</sup> TOWNS AND MINES, SELECTED; PREFERENCE TO JAPANESE IN LOANS AND ADVISERS

The Chinese Foreign Minister made the following declarations:

"I have the honor to state that the cities and towns to be opened in accordance with the stipulation of Article 6, of the treaty respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, signed this day, will be selected and the regulations therefor will be drawn up by the Chinese government and will be decided upon after consultation with the Japanese Minister.

"I have the honor to state that Japanese subjects shall, as soon as possible, investigate and select mines in the mining areas in South Manchuria specified hereinunder, except those being prospected for or worked, and the Chinese Government will then permit them to prospect or work the same; but before the Mining regulations are definitely settled, the practice at present in force shall be followed.

"Fengtien

Niu Hsin T'ai.....Coal  
Tien Shih Fu Kou.....Coal  
Sha Sung Kang.....Coal  
T'ieh Ch'ang.....Coal  
Nuan Ti T'ang.....Coal  
An Shan Chan region.....Iron

"Kirin (Southern Portion)

Sha Sung Kang.....Coal and Iron  
Kang Yao.....Coal  
Chia P'i Kou.....Gold and Iron

"The Chinese Government will, when it is proposed in future to build railways in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, employ Chinese capital for the purpose, and if foreign capital should be required they will negotiate first with Japanese capitalists for a loan; and further, when the Chinese Government proposes to raise a loan abroad on the security of the taxes on the above mentioned regions (excluding, however, the salt gabelle and customs duties which are already made securities for the loans of the Chinese Central Government), they will first consult Japanese capitalists.

"If, in the future, the Chinese Government desire to employ foreign advisers and instructors on political, financial, military and police affairs in South Manchuria, preference shall be given to Japanese.

"I have the honor to state that the term 'lease by negotiation' contained in Article 2 of the Treaty respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia signed this day shall be understood to imply a long-term lease of not more than thirty years and also the possibility of its unconditional renewal."

#### FINANCIAL CONTROL OF HAN-YEH-PING STEEL WORKS

"In view of the very close relations subsisting between Japanese capitalists and the Han-Yeh-Ping Company, the Chinese government engages to approve the agreement that may be concluded in future between the company and Japanese capitalists for its joint undertaking, and not to confiscate it, to nationalize it without the consent of the Japanese capitalists, or to permit it to contract any foreign loan other than Japanese."

#### AGREEMENT REGARDING THE FUKIEN QUESTION

"I beg to inform you that the Chinese Government hereby declares that it has given no permission to foreign nations to construct, on the coast of Fukien Province, dock-yards, coaling stations for military use, naval bases, or to set up other military establishments; nor does it entertain an intention of borrowing foreign capital for the purpose of setting up the above-mentioned establishments."

This declaration was occasioned by a statement by the Japanese Minister saying: "It has been reported that the Chinese government intends to permit a foreign power to build a shipyard, military coaling station, naval station, and all other military establishments, on the coast of Fukien Province, or that China herself intends to build the above-mentioned establishments with foreign capital," and he requested the Chinese Foreign Minister to inform him whether the Chinese government "has, in fact, such intention."

<sup>2</sup> THE ABOUT FIVE DEMANDS OF JANUARY, 18, 1915, WHICH WERE WITHDRAWN

"Article 1—The Chinese Central Government shall employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs.

fully into account the wishes of the Chinese Government, decided with great forbearance to leave out of the present negotiations and reserve for future discussion," epitomizes tersely the Japanese policy in China, especially when one knows what "influential Japanese as advisers" mean, through the intimate experience of having been compelled to carry on negotiations with Chinese officials in the presence of their Japanese assistants, kindly supplied by the Japanese consulate to help run the affairs of the Chinese Yamen. To have succeeded, as Japan easily might if the foreign criticism had not been so poignant, in forcing through Group V, would have given her practically an absolute control of all the economic life and indirectly the trade of China while her competitors were vied in a death struggle with the Hun.

And at the door of our responsibility be it laid that it was our own Government which later injected an element of approval into this course of

action which has cost us much in the eyes of many of our own and of other nationals. When in the Ishii-Lansing agreement<sup>1</sup> our Government put its hand to the words: "The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of the Imperial Japanese Government that while geographical position gives Japan such special interests, they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other Powers," it stultified itself on the basis of whichever of the two possible hypotheses you assume. If it did not actually believe this, it subscribed to an untruth, cover the naked figure with whatever diplomatic veiling you select: if it did believe as it wrote, it discredited its services in the Orient whose members had supplied its archives with ample evidence to the contrary.

"Article 2—Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.

"Article 3—Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese police which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese, so that they may at the same time help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese Police Service.

"Article 4—China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50% or more of what is needed by the Chinese Government) or that there shall be established in China a Sino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material to be purchased.

"Article 5—China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang and Kiukiang and Nanchang, another line between Nanchang and Hangchow, and another between Nanchang and Chaochow.

"Article 6—If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways and construct harbor-works (including dock-yards) in the Province of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted.

"Article 7—China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China."

#### THE MAY, 1915, ULTIMATUM TO CHINA

Relative to this Group V and to the general attitude of the Japanese in these negotiations, the Official Communiqué issued by the Japanese Government from Tokio on May 7th, explaining the ultimatum of the 6th, closes with the following sentences:

"The Japanese Government deeply regret to perceive from the attitude of the Chinese Government that it is no longer any use to continue the present negotiations. Nevertheless, being desirous, with a view to the maintenance of peace in the Far East, to make every effort to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion and thus to avoid complications in the situation, the Japanese Government, taking fully into account the wishes of the Chinese Government, decided with great forbearance, to leave out of the present negotiations and reserve for future discussion all items specified in Group V of the amended draft, except that relating to Fukien, about which an agreement has been reached. The Japanese Government instructed their Minister at Peking on May 6th that, in conveying this decision to the Chinese Government he should earnestly advise them to give due regard to Japan's sentiment of accommodation and conciliation and express after careful consideration their assent without delay to the

Japanese amended draft and at the same time announce that the Japanese Government expect from the Chinese Government a satisfactory response to this advice not later than six p. m. on 9th May."

#### <sup>1</sup> THE ISHII-LANSING NOTE

The despatch of the Secretary of State of the United States embodied in the State Department announcement of November 6, 1917, of the Ishii-Lansing agreement read as follows:

#### "DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

"Washington, Nov. 2, 1917.

#### "EXCELLENCY:

"I have the honor to communicate herein my understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Governments relating to the Republic of China.

"In order to silence the mischievous reports that from time to time have been circulated, it is believed by us that a public announcement once more of the desires and intentions shared by our two Governments with regard to China is advisable.

"The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and consequently the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

"The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of the Imperial Japanese Government that while geographical position gives Japan such special interests, they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other Nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other Powers.

"The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China, and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called 'open door' or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

"Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any Government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

"I shall be glad to have your Excellency confirm this understanding of the agreement reached by us.

"Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

"ROBERT LANSING."



Like two physicians appointing themselves attendants upon a sick man, our Government joined Japan and anesthetized China with this agreement without the latter's knowledge or consent. If, as has been conjectured, we had to buy Japan's continued aid in the war in this manner, two queries arise. On our own part, could we not have done it without betraying China and stultifying ourselves? On the part of Japan, if she pleads the parallel of the British-Italian secret agreement, will she renounce and cancel as is proposed by them?

And in this connection the plea is also being made that this is but a recognition of the "Monroe Doctrine" of Asia as founded on our own. True, the outer shell looks the same, but the meat is different. However high-handed our declaration has been through the decades, it has had as its foundation the protection of our own and South American borders from dangerous military movements from Europe, whereas Japan's exemplification of her ideas on the subject has revealed the clear intention to keep Korea and China for her own selfish, corrupt and immoral exploitation regardless of the interests of others or, in many instances, of the welfare of the subjects exploited.

Now let us turn to the answers which Japanese official and unofficial representatives are making to these Chinese claims and then draw our conclusions.

Before examining the other arguments in rebuttal, it were well to clear one point, that is, China's attitude toward the Allies and toward the Allied cause during the war. Speaking at a meeting of the Japan Society at the Bankers' Club late in February, Dr. Iyenaga, Director of the Japanese East and West Bureau of New York, said:

"The only noise heard nowadays is the noise made by China. Now that the war is over, China, which during the war was warned by the Allies for her failure to serve efficiently the allied cause, seems to have started on a venture to captivate the world by her tongue and pen. Her delegates and agents in Paris, Washington and elsewhere are industriously engaged in setting up her claims. Were words without the backing of deeds sufficient to capture the world, what a cheap job it would be! It is well to remember that the words of President Wilson, eloquent as they are, derive their driving power from the immortal deeds of 100,000,000 Americans who contributed to the winning of the war."

No one who has lived in the Orient during the war and encountered the attitude of the Chinese Government on this question would admit that China deserves commendation at the hands of the Allies for the part she has played. After being forced into a seemingly reluctant declaration, she had to be brow-beaten by foreign perseverance into stopping the propaganda and other active work of the Germans in her ports by internment of them. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Allied ministers at Peking presented a joint protest to China

on her failure to do what they considered her duty in the prosecution of the war. Her defenders have sought to point out how much she contributed to the Allied cause in the supplying of large amounts of raw material needed in the war and in the furnishing of large numbers of laborers for service behind the lines in France. These were in no wise services entailing any sacrifice on the part of her government or people as the Occident has come to know the meaning of this word. It was rather the opposite; for through the labor corps thousands of Chinese received more clothes, food and money than they had ever had before, which, together with the income received from increased exports, provided her with just so much more on the credit side of her balance of trade. She reaped material benefits, just as America did before entering the war, without giving anything of importance that cost her dear, except some military service in Northern Manchuria against the Bolsheviks; but, if the truth be told, the opposition of her Northern governor to the passage of that intrepid force of crusading Czecho-Slovaks across Chinese soil and his handling of the Manchurian border question tended largely to nullify the favorable work that had been done.

Also, her civil war and its resulting chaos of strife and disorder have but thrown into high relief the dominance of the idea of personal greed that has ever honeycombed her government with corruption and brought it rapidly down under the loosened control of a republic to the point of bankruptcy and impotence. The military governors, a Teutonic caste, have combined to work their will upon the masses, ministers have sold their country's resources for the millions that have been divided between themselves and these military autocrats; the currency is demoralized; order is an accident rather than an imposed condition; and out of it all there looms a problem for whose solution some of the oldest and ablest authorities in the East see little light.

As the Japanese are supporting their case by emphasizing this failure of China to play her part in the war, it is necessary to segregate carefully the issues involved in the major question and to observe critically Japan's share in this chaos. First, the issue hangs not upon the attitude of China toward the Allies and the war, with all her admitted deficiencies; nor upon Japan's attitude, complicated as this was by her reputed bargaining over the Siberian expedition, as well as her conduct in North Manchuria, the open evidences in her ports of confidence and sometimes pride in her German tutors. These are separate and distinct problems, important and involved as they are. The question is simply the attitude of Japan toward China and through China toward the rest of the world, as

viewed in the light of justice, and of the principles for which Japan declared herself to be fighting.

And in passing it is pertinent to observe just how Japan is making capital out of this confusion in China which there seems sufficient evidence to show she has herself increased and abetted to her utmost ability by financing both sides in the struggle through her series of loans during the past few years, and by making these loans without control of their expenditure, under the guise of consideration or faith in China's ability; whereas this apparent liberality is but the means of bringing her victim into certain chaos and bondage.

To appreciate the gravity of this to China one need but run through the appended list\* of her recent loans from Japan and be told that of the sums of between \$200,000,000 and \$225,000,000 loaned, much has gone into the hands of corrupt officials and the military governors and by them wasted instead of being used for the demobilization of the troops and for the constructive purposes declared. The pity of it all is emphasized when it is seen that for a paltry \$15,000,000 loan China has signed away a lien on all her forests in the two northern provinces of Heilungkiang and Kirin, equal in area to the combined area of all the states of the United States touching the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to, but not including, Florida.

Pass now to Japan's further answers to the Chinese statement. Viscount Uchida's speech in the

Japanese Parliament of January 21 contained the following passage:

"It goes without saying that Japan has no territorial ambition in China or elsewhere, neither does she contemplate any action which might militate against the development of the legitimate interest and welfare of the Chinese Nation. We have solemnly pledged ourselves to respect the territorial integrity of China, and to abide faithfully by the principle of equal opportunity and the open door for commerce and industry.

"We are particularly anxious to deal in a spirit of justice and friendliness with all the questions which may come up before the Peace Conference affecting the Chinese interests. Upon acquisition of the right of free disposal from Germany of leased territory of Kiaochow we would restore it to China in accordance with the terms of the notes complementary to the treaty of May 25, 1915, regarding Shantung Province. At the same time we have to rely, in a large measure, upon rich natural resources in China in order to assure our own economic existence."

The only comment of anyone who has lived long in the East would be that no hand could make the jigsaw puzzle of Japan's acts in China fit down over this diagram of words. Japanese spokesmen have also taken the position that, if there is anything to revise in the treaties, it is a matter solely for China and Japan.

"We believe," writes Mr. Iwanaga in the *New York Times* of February 3, "If China really desires the revision of the treaty, that it would be simpler and easier for her to negotiate with Japan directly and frankly. To submit the problem to the Peace Conference may result, we fear, in provoking a neighbor who wishes to be friendly and helpful."

The chance China has to negotiate "directly and frankly" with Japan instead of submitting the

\* List of loans made by Japan to China from beginning of war, as published by *Mitford's Review*, Shanghai:

	Yen
Yokohama Specie Bank to Ministry of Communications, for construction Supinkai-Chengchiatun Railway, 1915.....	5,000,000
Okura Co. Advance, \$1,000,000 Security Feng Huang Shan Iron Mines, 1915.....	1,000,000
Asiatic Development Co. Loan to Central Government, general purposes, secured by uncertain mining concessions in Hunan and Anhui and by profits of brass cash smelting scheme, 1915	5,000,000
To Province of Shantung, for military purposes, 1916 .....	1,500,000
To Kwangtung Provincial Government, which gave as security the monthly instalments of \$50,000 paid to them by the Central Government through the Salt Commissioners, 1916.....	1,500,000
Japanese banking group to Bank of Communications, for redemption of notes of Bank; secured by \$1,500,000 shares of bank stock and \$4,000,000 Treasury bonds, Japan obtaining privilege of appointing adviser to Bank and option on future loans, 1917.....	5,000,000
Bank of Chosen to Fengtien Province for relief of Chinese banks in Mukden, 1917.....	2,000,000
Yokohama Specie Bank, second loan to Ministry of Communications, construction Supinkai-Chengchiatun Railway, 1917.....	2,600,000
Japanese Syndicate to Kwangtung Provincial Government, secured on revenues and property of cement factory and customs lands at Tashatou, guaranteed by Provincial Government, 1917....	3,000,000
Japanese Syndicate to Bank of China, for redemption of bank notes, secured by \$15,000,000 Bank of China Notes (repaid), 1917.....	5,000,000
Yokohama Specie Bank, advance on Second Reorganization Loan for reimbursement of advances made by Bank of China to Central Government; secured by surplus salt revenues, 1917.....	10,000,000

Sino-Japanese Industrial Co. and 10 Japanese Banks to Central Government for relief of Chihli flood sufferers; secured by revenues of three native customs houses, including Dolonor, 1917 .....	5,000,000
Loan on Kirin-Changchun Railway by South Manchuria Railway Company; secured by revenues and property of road, 1917.....	6,500,000
Grand Canal Loan (part of Siema-Carey loan) of total \$6,000,000 gold, 1917. Americans take \$3,500,000 and Japanese \$2,000,000 equivalent to Yokohama Specie Bank's share of Group Bank advance for Flood Relief, 1918; security Salt \$100,000, say.....	200,000
Mitsui Bussan Kaisha to Central Government on Bureau of Engraving & Printing. Agreement provides that all material shall be bought from M.B.K., if prices are not higher than competitors', 1918.....	2,000,000
Supplement loan for Kirin-Changchun Railway, 1918 .....	630,000
Mitsui Bussan Kaisha to Tsao Kun, Tuchun of Chihli, for military purposes, secured by Chinese shares in Lanchow Coal Company, which forms part of Kailan Mining Administration, 1918 .....	1,000,000
Yokohama Specie Bank second advance on Second Reorganization Loan; secured by surplus salt revenues, 1918.....	10,000,000
Japanese syndicate, for use of Hunan Provincial Government; said to be secured by right to co-operation in working iron mines at Taiping-shan, Anhui, and antimony mines at Shuikoushan, Hunan, 1918.....	2,500,000
Loan to province of Fukien, for general purposes; secured by sundry taxes. (Unconfirmed, but from good authority), 1918.....	1,000,000
Mitsui Bussan Kaisha to Chihli province for purchase of cotton yarns for Chihli spinners, 1918 .....	1,000,000

question to the Peace Conference can probably be best gauged by readers in the Occident from the Associated Press telegram of February 5 from Peking:

"Attempts are being made by the Japanese to induce the Chinese Government to disavow the action of its delegates at the Peace Conference because they are seriously embarrassing Japan, according to semi-official Chinese sources here.

"This development has caused depression in Government circles, which had previously been jubilant over the strong stand taken by the Chinese in relation to Japanese claims. This depression is intensified by the fact that the Government is hard pressed for money and may, it is said, yield to the Japanese wishes in order to obtain needed funds."

In amplification of this demand by Minister Obata, it is also reported that he has "informed the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs that if China chose to regard Japan's wishes in the matter, the unpaid balance of 17,000,000 taels of the loan of 20,000,000 signed by Tuan Chi-Jui last September for the War Participation Bureau would be handed over. On the other hand, if China continued recalcitrant, Japan would cancel the loan and demand repayment of the 3,000,000 taels already advanced." As the Chinese exchequer is known to be empty, the despatches indicate that through the Japanese control and hold on the corrupt Chinese leaders subject to their wishes, the government may end by giving way to their demands and restraining its representatives in Paris. The best evidence of Japan's intention in these acts at Peking and of her general policy in carrying through the negotiation is the fact that Mr. Obata, now filling the post of Minister to Peking, is the Japanese diplomat who forced through the Treaties of 1915.

A further paragraph of Dr. Iyenaga's speech psychologically reveals much of the Japanese position. It runs:

"It is reported that Mr. Wellington Koo has asserted at the Peace Conference that the China-Japan treaty of 1915 is nugatory; for, he argues, it was concluded under duress. Does Dr. Koo mean to intimate that China is so weak, so helpless, that she could not help signing the treaty under compulsion, and that the treaty which she, after eliminating what she considered objectionable, namely Group V, had signed in good faith is today, after four years of operation, to be thrown into the waste basket?"

Any tyro on Oriental affairs could answer that China, indeed, was "so weak, so helpless, that she could not help signing the treaty under compulsion" any more than Belgium could stop the same form of aggression as it rolled over her borders in August, 1914; and any person familiar with the laws of evidence could see at a glance the weakness behind such a specious argument based on a fallacy in fact.

Following these earlier *apologia* for her acts, there now comes, under date of February 9, the outline of Japan's ideals of peace by Baron Makino, acting head of the delegation to the Peace Conference, in which he admits clearly the economic pressure of Japan's increasing population and states:

"When, however, in obedience to these progressive impulses, they (the Japanese people) turn their attention overseas they seem to find the door closed against them everywhere—east, west, south and north. But they have not so far allowed themselves to take a morbid view of the situation, nor will they in the future. They have imagination and understanding enough to take a sympathetic view of the attitude of their friendly neighbors, although at the same time they are not unmindful of the maintenance of the dignity and pride proper to the people of a world power.

"With these limitations imposed upon her, Japan has naturally turned toward China as an outlet for her necessary expansion, where, on account of the conditions prevailing, her activities are bound to be no less beneficial to native interests than to her own. She has always maintained this standard of mutuality, believing that one could not permanently enjoy without conferring benefit. Japan knows that self-centered egotism is not the best policy, and that in the nature of things her welfare and prosperity are bound up with those of her great neighbor, whose enormous resources await development."

In this we have a fair exposition of Japan's aims in China, but knowledge of the facts would compel one to take issue with the statement of the manner in which these are being accomplished. Contrast the viewpoint of the editorial in the *China Press* of Shanghai, as quoted by the *New York Times* of February 9, wherein the editor gives a most succinct and forcible presentation of the gravity of the major issue. It runs in part:

"... We have the naked question, Is China a Japanese colony?"

"Can there be any other meaning of Minister Obata's demand? If China is denied the right to present its case before

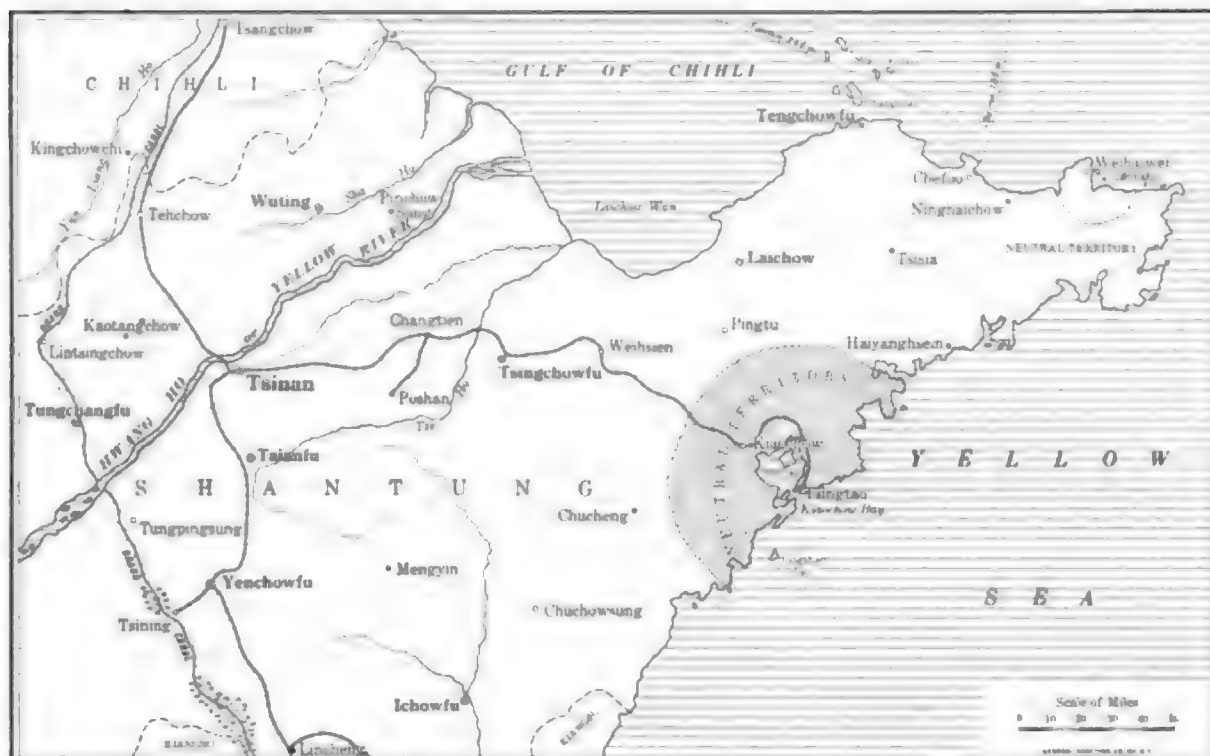
Tai-hel Kumel syndicate to Central Government for purchase of arms, 1918.....	14,000,000
Second Loan to Bank of Communications; secured by \$25,000,000 in Treasury bonds, 1918.....	20,000,000
Chosen Group of Banks to Telegraph Administration, for extension of land lines; secured by all telegraph property not previously pledged, 1918	20,000,000
Wireless loan, amount not known but probably Yen 3,000,000 for construction of wireless stations, materials to be purchased from Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, 1918.....	3,000,000
To Ministry of Communications, for continuance of Kirin-Changchun line to Korean border, 1918	20,000,000
Bank of Chosen to Fengtien Province for Redemption of small coin notes; secured by stock in Penhsihsu collieries owned by Fengtien Province, 1918.....	3,000,000
Yokohama Specie Bank to Province of Hupeh; security provincial revenues. (Unconfirmed, but from official sources), 1918.....	1,000,000

Okura Group to Province of Shensi; secured by Provincial revenues. (Unconfirmed, but from official sources), 1918.....	1,000,000
Okura Group to Central Government for military advance against Canton; security, mines of Canton province, 1918.....	2,000,000
Industrial Bank of Japan and Chosen Group of banks; security all forests of Kirin and Heilungkiang, 1918.....	30,000,000
Second Reorganization Loan, Third Advance, 1918	10,000,000
To Yunnan Government; security, Government Revenues from Ko Chiu Tin Mines, 1918.....	3,000,000

Total: Yen 248,100,000

Supplementary list from August, 1918, to fall of Terauchi ministry; prepared by G. Charles Hodges, Far Eastern Bureau.....Yen 164,080,000

Total: Yen 412,180,000



#### SHANTUNG, KIAOCHOW AND TSINGTAO

The Map Illustrates the Dominance of the Province Given by Control of Kiaochow and the Railroads Linking the Interior. The Degree of Control of North China By Sea Through Occupation of the Liaoting and Shantung Peninsulas is Better Illustrated on the Full Page Map

the Peace Conference, if its delegates can speak only by and with the consent of Japan's delegates, then it has no identity as a nation. Then it is a Japanese dependency.

"It is for the Allies to answer, and the answer will be implicit in the spirit that shall dominate the Peace Conference and in the form of the peace treaty. If President Wilson's ideals are really to prevail, if old-world politics are to go, if the league be a vital force, then now, once and for all, we must set our face against this sort of imperialist Far East.

"It is for the Allies to accept Japan's challenge. The whole noisome Chino-Japanese relations of the last four years must be aired. The Chinese delegates must be fully heard. The twenty-one demands must be re-examined, the secret treaties scrutinized, the illegitimate ones canceled. That to which Japan is justified by the test of the new international ethics, for which millions of us died, let it have—nothing more.

"China's interest is not the primary concern. It is the future peace of the world. Balking Pan-Germany will avail us nothing if Pan-Japan raises its head in Asia. Japanese dominance of China would create a new Balkans, a Balkans in which half a continent would be the theatre of intrigue, diplomatic jugglery and commercial rivalries. The key to the world's peace is the integrity of China, its complete independence of Japan as of every other power.

"Such an independence is impossible unless the powers assembled at Paris freely examine every question affecting China. Such an examination is impossible unless Minister Obata's demand receives a flat and unqualified negative, not from China, but from the world."

With this epitome of the whole question, the matter might well be left for individual and national judgment were the simple measure of justice to be made the final arbiter of the facts as presented. But it is desirable to go one step more.

Japan's statesmen know better than we of the West how minutely her government organizations

and doctrines were derived directly from Bismarck and the German model under the schooling of the '80s. Her military party has ever followed closely both the forms and tenets of the martial caste of Berlin. "Frightfulness" she has used in only less aggravated form than Germany, though, until recently, she has not often brought Occidental residents in the East face to face with its manifestations. Yet this past summer and autumn when her military occupation of parts of North Manchuria, in coöperation—so-called—with the Allies, threw her soldiers into contact with those of other nations the doctrine was bared and, on several occasions and in many ways, she sought to make the places she controlled uncomfortable for others. From their own mouths the writer has heard accounts by sober-minded residents of long experience in the Orient of the short shrift they had at the hands of her men. Within a few weeks Japanese soldiers had scrimmages with Italians, French and English soldiers, and, in the case of the American guard at one station, they nearly staged a small battle, averted only by a purely fortuitous circumstance.

To all this Japan may demand by what right the Occident suddenly applies to her and her acts newly phrased laws for national conduct, when



there hang in the national closets of the West skeletons quite as gruesome as any in her own. The American colonies and later the states overflowed the Indian lands of their westward borders; the Texas incident is less than half a century behind us; South America, Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands bear ample testimony of the accession of lands by other nations beyond their own borders. In China itself the Occidental Powers had made and still hold spheres of influence and more formal liens upon the commercial and economic life of certain parts.

And Japan does so argue at times. These are mentioned in the same breath with the statement that there is, however, a moral in it all which she seems reluctant to see; namely, by her entry into the war against this doctrine of might run wild under the German form of development with all its damning, horror-breeding train of savagery, she joined the world in a new crusade whose principles she subscribed to for Europe and then turned right around and lived out the greatest of Teutonic tenets, that she was above the law, that it did not run for her acts in Asia.

We all know how terribly her pride suffered at the hands of the powers when they took from her part of the fruits of her victory in the China-Japan war of 1894-5, which she went back to recapture in her war with Russia ten years later; but few have questioned by what measure of justice she initiated that earlier war of conquest on the mainland, done when the old laws of might had more favor in the world's eyes.

Will she not see that the glories of war as her fine old fighting samurai knew them have now been relegated as the horrors of a devil's creed which have wracked decades of progress and happiness out of mankind? Will she not go further and galvanize into action the writing on the wall in the mingled blood of myriads of souls that *militarism brings inevitable ruin*?

Her military leaders today know as well as do the experts of the West that in a modern war her country could not last for weeks, let alone months, against any one or any combination of the western powers. Her cities are of wood and could be destroyed by incendiary bombing planes in a few raids; submarines could cut her connections with the mainland, depriving her of iron and steel; and her material resources, if she were isolated by successful naval action, would soon prove unequal to the task.

What is her alternative? Can she return from her declared policy, redeem her position and live and grow? That is not so easy to answer as is the question regarding the effects of militarism upon her; but again this much is sure. She has great resources of industrial labor; she possesses un-

rivalled commercial advantages in her proximity to markets, in the wonderful shipping facilities of her island empire, and in the ease with which her people can work on the mainland in successful competition with the Occident. So that the conclusion seems fairly general in the minds of many who have struggled over this great problem that, were she today to make a really genuine *volte face* in her whole attitude toward her mainland neighbor and her Occidental friends, really play fair by them all and work *with* both her Western and Eastern neighbors instead of *against* the whole world as she is doing today, she might easily make a conquest by her arts of peace which would leave her economic position in the Pacific secure; and she might raise on the ruins of her Teutonic militarism, burned by her own purifying hand, a permanent Temple of State done in the white marble of truth and fashioned in the modern style of architecture which builds its structures on foundations of frankness and square dealing.

With this the case might well be rested. But always in any serious discussion of the Far Eastern question there looms up the issue of China's reconstruction. So it is in keeping here just to point out some of the concrete fastnesses of the old régime of thought in Chinese affairs which have been bombed out by the force of new ideas. Obviously the old method of China's finance must go. This many of her best thinkers at last see and some of them have advocated asking for international control before this be forced upon them. With expenditures many millions per month beyond income the Government cannot last for weeks without foreign aid. In order to bring China out of her present helpless chaos the measure of control might range from the mere supervision of her currency and finances, which cannot be much longer deferred, up to practical administration of her political and economical development, modeled on the lines of the Chinese Customs, the Salt Gabelle or the Tientsin Provisional Government, which, in the two years from 1900 to 1902, gave a most effective demonstration of what commission government could do for China. The task is colossal but not impossible.

A Chinese writer has suggested a 20-year control by such an international commission of finance. Some such working plan were necessary, wherein the reorganization of the whole national machinery would have to be worked out and followed by years of training of men to take over gradually the control. To achieve its goal of real freedom and independence, based on its ability to maintain itself in the modern world, the Chinese people must remold many inherited traits—including those of corruption in public office and absence of any broad sense of public duty in its masses—seared deep into its

soul by the centuries of pressing poverty and of tradition. This means the education of its new generations, a slow and difficult task.

To meet the practical problems of establishing some such outside control in conformity with new world ideas of international coöperation, "spheres of influence" must go and with them whatever tendency there has been to exploit China for the benefit of others regardless of her own interests. Her railways must be built and administered ever with a view to real mutual benefit to her financial backers and herself. Her tariff must be remodeled, casting out the archaic export, coast trade and inland duties which impose such delays and handicaps upon the simplest commercial transactions. Most of all, her brigandage and disorder must be put down and her internecine war quashed by the withdrawal of funds, the proper disbandment of the troops and the use of such force as is necessary. The nations cannot expect peace until this problem has been fairly met and solved.

But to any plan or proposal to give Japan direction or control of Chinese affairs, either in the chairmanship of an international commission or in the form of a mandatory from the League of Nations, a plebiscite among those who have known her work thus far in handling the peoples of the Orient would bring back the unmistakable dictum that Japan has forfeited her chance to expect such a trust at the hands of the Allies.

From "The Japanese Occupation of Tsinan" by Upton Close, *Millard's Review*, Shanghai, January 18, 1919:

"Let us turn to the actual Japanese occupation of and enterprise in the city. (Tsinan, capital of Shantung Province) which, however, as we shall see further, can hardly be called commercial. . . . The first three years of the war, the Japanese population segregated itself near the railway station under their administration, and in residences and buildings taken away from the Germans. The past year, however, their policy has been to decentralize over the entire settlement, and even into the principal sections of the old walled city. It is evident that when they get ready to map out their 'settlement' here, as in Tsingtao, they will rebuild the 'whole thing.' Besides the large number of Chinese firms financed by Japanese money, there are, situated on every length-wise and cross street of the settlement and in three principal sections of the city under the direct operation of Japanese, 194 enterprises classified as follows: (This list is not guaranteed against omissions or mistakes, but was compiled with great care for accuracy and thoroughness.)

## SUMMARY

Drug Shops .....	63
Houses of Prostitution.....	22
Notions (Miscellaneous small goods).....	38
Hotels and Inns.....	13
Banks—Actual Banking Business.....	3
"Banks" .....	3
Hospitals .....	3
Miscellaneous [Itemized by writer].....	49
Total Japanese Enterprises.....	194
Without Residences.....	168
Percentage of total without residences: Drug Shops and Houses of Prostitution.....	50%
Percentage Small, Miscellaneous Shops and Enterprises.....	32%
Percentage Military, Government and Railway.....	7%
Percentage, Actual Commercial Enterprises.....	8%
Remaining Percentage.....	3%

If concrete support of this indictment were demanded, one would need but to apply to her pledge as a signatory to the international convention regarding opium and morphia in China the test of her subsequent actions as revealed in the excerpts from *Millard's Review*<sup>9</sup> and *The North China Herald*,<sup>10</sup> which are printed below. On the other hand, were she ready to enter fairly with her Allies into this joint task, she would still have economic and commercial advantage of her co-workers and be able to obtain her raw materials as many other nations obtain theirs—through the ordinary channels of commerce; and she could easily become permanently the "leader of the Orient," instead of risking the role of "conqueror," which has never remained the part of any one nation indefinitely and which promises in the limelight of the new world dramatics to be more fleeting than ever before.

And thus there is repeated here the purpose of this appeal, to Japan and to others alike, to crave present clearness of vision and present justice in the solution of the problem that touches the lives of every one of us in order "to save Japan from the ruin that the continued domination of her military party will inevitably bring upon her; to save China from the present manifestations of that party's policy; and to save both countries with the Occident as well from the war, whether immediate or future, that may follow a failure to make now a just settlement of this problem of the East."

"Although Japan is a signatory to the Agreement, which forbids the import into China of morphia or of any appliances used in its manufacture or in its application, the traffic, inasmuch as it has the financial support of the Bank of Japan is carried on with the direct approval and encouragement of the Japanese Government. In no other country in the world has there ever been known such a wholesale contraband traffic. Literally tens of millions of yen are transferred annually from China to Japan for the payment of Japanese morphia. The chief agency in the distribution of morphia in China is the Japanese Post office. Morphia is imported by parcels post. No inspection of parcels in the Japanese Post offices in China is permitted to the Chinese Customs Service. The Service is only allowed to know what are the *alleged contents* of the postal packages as stated in the Japanese invoices, and yet morphia enters China by this channel by the ton.

"But while the morphia traffic is a large one, there is every reason to believe that the opium trade, upon which Japan is now embarking with such enthusiasm, is likely to prove even more lucrative. One must emphasize that this opium is not imported to Japan. It is transhipped in Kobe harbour to Tsingtao, from which point of vantage, assisted by the Japanese-controlled railway to Tsinanfu, it is smuggled through Shantung into Shanghai and the Yangtze Valley. Opium purchased in Calcutta for Rs. 3,500 per chest—about Tls. 1,000—costs delivered in Kobe Harbour, all told well under Tls. 1,200 per chest. This opium—Tsingtao opium—is sold in Shanghai at \$500 a ball of 40 balls to the chest—a total of \$20,000 per chest. China's failure to sell (for medicinal purposes) her opium at \$27,000 per chest, the price asked by the opium ring, is thus explained. The price is undercut by the Japanese. The dimensions that the traffic has already assumed are noteworthy. There is reason to believe that between January 1 and September 30 of the year 1918, not less than 2,000 chests of opium purchased in India were imported into Tsingtao via Kobe."—*The China Herald*, December 21, 1918.

# A CONSTRUCTIVE PLAN FOR CHINA

[NOTE—The Final Settlements Committee of the New York Peace Society has approved a report prepared by one of the Committee for an international policy in the Far East. The Committee was organized to study and discuss the basis of final settlements of issues involved in the war. Professor John Bates Clark of Columbia University is chairman, Dr. Charles H. Levermore, secretary. Other members are Frank C. Bray, J. P. Chamberlain, Stephen P. Duggan, Samuel T. Dutton, Sydney L. Guhck, Paul Monroe, Frederick Moore, F. J. Pollay, E. C. Stowell, Calvin Tomkins and William English Walling. We publish herewith parts of the report through the courtesy of the Committee, and "The Messenger" of the New York Peace Society.

UNLESS provision is made by the nations voluntarily to grant adequate opportunity for the expanding life of China, this people will constitute an increasingly grave problem for the whole world. China should not be left to be in the future as she has been in the past, the field for rivalries between strong and enterprising nations, each planning exclusively for its own special interests. . . . China should be gradually opened for development by foreign capital and skill, yet she should be protected from foreign domination and from harmful exploitation. She should be given fair play and opportunity to become a great self-governing democratic nation—one of the coördinate nations of the world. She should be protected from the blunders and misdeeds of her own inexperienced, and too often, unprincipled officials. China must be saved from becoming either a chaotic or a militarized nation, a menace to the whole world. . . .

The dangers in the Far Eastern situation lie almost exclusively in the political and commercial rivalries of the various nations interested in China. By organizing the present political and commercial competition of the various outside nations under a form of international control (China being unable to control this competition) that country can be safeguarded and protected from further aggression, permitting her to develop her republic along her own lines. International control will at the same time protect the interests of all foreign nations that have relations with China. . . .

## TENTATIVE GENERAL TERMS OF POLICY

1. The underlying and controlling principle of the new International Far Eastern Policy should be priority of rights and interests of each one of the Far Eastern peoples in the integrity and unhampered development of its own state and nation.

2. In order to secure the coöperative, constructive and helpful activities of all the principal nations in solving the problem of China, it is desirable that that country, Japan, Great Britain, France and the United States should establish at the earliest practicable date an International Far Eastern Commission. . . .

In case some kind of a League of Nations should be organized, it would undoubtedly be desirable that the proposed International Far Eastern Com-

mission should either be established by the League or brought into suitable organic relations with it.

3. It is hoped that one of the ultimate purposes of the Commission might be the restoration to China of all Chinese territories and intrinsic rights, some of which are now impaired by interferences or control of foreign governments. Such restoration could not be made until China herself had fulfilled certain essential and specified conditions, such for instance as the establishment of a stable and truly representative government, the codification of civil and especially of criminal law on modern principles, the development of a system of courts provided with lawyers and judges able to administer justice with probity and safety to all the parties concerned, and the inauguration and practice of a system of equitable taxation.

4. As soon as practicable after the Commission has been formed, it would seem desirable that all treaties granting special or monopolistic privileges in China proper should be submitted to it for its full information and, if needful, for advice in regard to such adjustment as shall be fair and equitable to all the parties concerned.

5. The ideal would also require that all the nations holding territories or spheres of influence in areas formerly a part of China proper should mutually agree to restore such territories to China at some suitable time and under appropriate conditions, whether those territories may have been acquired by so-called leases and concessions or by military conquest. The administrative control of such territories might well be intrusted temporarily to the care of the proposed Far Eastern Commission with a view to their ultimate and complete restoration. Such action would of course involve the withdrawal of all foreign troops and other forms of separate foreign control. Such withdrawal, however, should not take place until the proposed International Far Eastern Commission is ready to substitute its own International Constabulary.

6. The proposed Commission might control or absorb the Consortium already organized, and become the agency for providing China with such foreign capital as may be needed for her best industrial and economic development on terms safe and profitable for China and also for foreign investors.

The report suggests that a committee of experts



in Far Eastern affairs might prepare a plan for the Commission—its practicability and value depending on the skill in drawing the details. It is suggested that the Far Eastern Commission consist of two Chinese, one Japanese, one British, one American, one French representative and representation of other countries having important trade relations with China—the commissioners to serve five years, to be paid by their own governments.

#### FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE PROPOSED COMMISSION

1. The proposed Commission might create an *International Constabulary*, to consist, so far as practicable, of Chinese, not only as privates but also as officers, all wearing the uniform and insignia of their international functions, this Constabulary to replace, as soon as practicable, all the military and police forces of various nations in the territories and compounds now held severally and jointly.

2. Prompt consideration should be given to China's financial problem. The Commission might supervise international financial activities exceeding (say) \$100,000.00 between the Chinese Government or private Chinese groups on the one hand, and the Governments or corporations of other lands on the other. Contracts, loans, leases and other financial arrangements exceeding (say) \$100,000.00 between Chinese and foreigners (governmental or private) might be made subject to the approval of the Commission. . . .

3. All loans, leases and contracts that already have been made in the past, might be examined by the Commission. The Commission might be empowered to advise the recasting of the terms of such loans, leases and contracts as justice to both sides may require, providing, on the one hand, for a fair return to foreign investors, and on the other for the final ownership by China herself (through methods of amortization) of the public utilities and enterprises that have been developed by foreign enterprise and capital.

4. All foreign corporations undertaking business in China, having a capital of (say) \$1,000,000.00, and all Chinese corporations or business enterprises whether wholly or only partly Chinese, having a capital of (say) \$100,000.00, seeking funds from foreign investors, might be required to incorporate under appropriate laws approved by the Commission and enacted by the Chinese Government.

5. [Provides for payment of Commission expenses by governments concerned.]

6. The Chinese Government might agree to contract foreign loans, make leases and give grants, only upon terms approved by the Commission. The Commission on the other hand, while free to make suggestions and recommendations to the Chinese Government, should not have the independent right

to authorize loans, leases, contracts or enter upon any financial or other obligation on behalf of the Chinese Government.

7. The proposed Commission might be empowered to provide for adequate supervision of the expenditure of all moneys paid over under its sanctions by foreign investors to the Chinese Government, a procedure which is now one of the functions of the Consortium.

8. The proposed Commission might provide that no nation or national group that secures leases or contracts for the building and running of railroads, opening of mines, establishment of steamship lines or any other enterprises of a nature constituting natural monopolies, shall grant preferential rates, rebates or service for the benefit of its nationals.

9. In regard to the administration of justice, in general, the present extra-territorial arrangements might well be continued until China shall have qualified herself to administer justice according to modern principles. To replace, however, the present confusing system of consular courts established by the various nations with their various laws and procedure, the proposed Commission, in consultation with the Chinese Government, as soon as practicable might well establish a system of International Courts. All cases involving foreigners might be tried in these Courts.

10. As soon as the Chinese Government shall have established throughout the land a judicial system and shall have trained expert, responsible, and trustworthy judges for the administration of justice, complete judicial autonomy might be restored to China.

11. It might become the policy of the Commission to provide in all its departments for the employment and promotion of Chinese, and to train a staff of Chinese experts who might become eventually competent to perform all duties under the Commission.

12. When a sufficient body of expert Chinese officials shall have been developed and the general Government of China shall have become well established, and the other conditions specified have been met by the Chinese Government, the proposed Commission might recommend to the cooperating governments the discharge of the Commission.

13 and 14. [Provides for right of Chinese Government to appeal to cooperating Governments from commission and for full publicity.]

ADVANTAGE TO CHINA. By these means and probably by them alone can China hope to secure complete recovery of her sovereignty, of her territories and of her judicial and tariff autonomy. . . .

ADVANTAGE TO JAPAN. All the justifiable objectives that Japan has been struggling for in the Far East would be guaranteed to her by the joint action of the nations.



# A FAIR CHANCE FOR CHINA

By PUTNAM WEALE

*Author of "The Fight for the Republic in China"*

**I**N an initial article on the Far East the writer traced the general outline of the problem as it appeared to him from an intensive study conducted on the spot; and although exception may be taken to some of his conclusions, it should be carefully noted that these conclusions are today the common possession of every unbiased political student in Eastern Asia who is able to think of the Chinese as normal human beings and who does not deny that they are entitled to international justice.

Two major facts should emerge from the analysis made: first, that although China has officially and publicly thrown overboard not only her ancient civilization but her system of government, she has not yet succeeded in substituting anything more solid than the theory of western practice; secondly, that Japan, following the path of empire that other virile nations have pursued in the past, and believing that the world war has entitled her to a certain local primacy, is pushing deeper and deeper into continentalism and aspiring more and more openly to the political, commercial, industrial and military hegemony of all Eastern Asia. The question which at once arises is—can these two facts be reconciled; that is, is it possible for the rebirth of China to be consummated in the face of the imperialistic ambi-

tions of her neighbor? The answer is both yes and no: yes, if the dominant factor in the situation, the maritime Powers, adopt the right policy; no, if instead of enforcing an honest and well balanced judgment on an admittedly complex and exasperating situation, they follow Pontius Pilate and wash their hands of the whole business.

We have said the maritime Powers—why the maritime Powers?

All the world knows that the British Treaty of Nanking of 1842 and the Perry Expedition of 1853 broke up the ancient seclusion of China and Japan and introduced these two countries anew to one another, besides introducing them to western civilization. But all the world does not know that from this period of seventy years ago the action of the whole group of maritime Powers, including even the smallest western nations, such as Portugal and Denmark, followed more or less consistent lines under British-American leadership, until the collapse of China in the Korean war destroyed what was sound and creditable in the past record, and by putting the maritime Powers ashore in leased territories and spheres of influence, in a vain effort to combat Tsarism and Japanese imperialism, gave policy a wrong twist, and produced general dis-



THE IMPOSING FRONT GATE OF THE KEIFUKU PALACE IN SEOUL, THE CAPITAL OF KOREA  
The Korean Peninsula, Over Which Japan Assumed a Protectorate in 1905 After the Manchurian War and Formally Annexed in 1911 on the Basis of Its Strategic Necessity as a Buffer State, Has Been Used Primarily by Japan as a Highway for Further Penetration into the Asiatic Continent



WORKSHOPS OF THE SOUTH MANCHURIAN RAILWAY NEAR DAIREN

In the Involved Politics of the Manchurian Railway Lie the Unfolding Drama of Japanese Expansion in Manchuria and the Closing of the "Open Door"

array. The conditions which we now face have their origin, then, in events exactly twenty-five years old. They all come by direct descent from the Korean war of 1894-95; and if we are to find a radical and lasting solution for all the perplexing ills of the day it is from the Korean period that the work must commence.

Let it first be understood that the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1911 was an intolerable and unnecessary mistake. The acknowledged Protectorate which had existed in that Peninsula as a result of the Manchurian war of 1904-5 was all that was necessary to safeguard Japan's strategic interest: and anything more than a Protectorate constituted an international danger. For if England requires in Egypt no more than paramountcy to guarantee a vital waterway in her water-empire, certainly Japan has satisfied strategy when she has secured that no hostile forces can seize this hilly promontory which reaches out to within a hundred miles of her coasts. Had that unimaginative statesman, Lord Lansdowne, really known anything of the history of Asia, he would never have indited his famous despatch to the Russian Government in 1905, in which he declared that Korea was a region which fell naturally under the sway of Japan, when there was voluminous history since the days of the T'ang Dynasty (A. D. 600-900) to prove that Korea fell naturally under the sway of China, and that whenever another power seized control it was really for the purpose of using

it as a highway to attack Cathay.

The annexation, we say, was an intolerable and unnecessary mistake because of its immediate non-Korean consequences. It made Japan formally and perpetually a continental power—that is, gave her an actual stake on the mainland of Asia, a state of affairs which had never previously existed. It committed her to maintaining a large garrison to overawe the Korean population, which was violently hostile. It incited her to extend this land-empire under thinly concealed forms into Southern Manchuria, by giving the railway system which she had captured from Russia a special character, later accentuated by the connections established with the Korean railway system, thus

making a Chinese railway and a Japanese railway one and the same entity. It encouraged her to adopt, on the outbreak of the Chinese Revolution and the disappearance of the Manchu Dynasty, the doctrine Germany had adopted regarding the Anglo-German understanding of 1900—because Germany had then a secret agreement with Russia—that Manchuria must be held as outside the scope of any agreement regarding China, China meaning China Proper; although this western geographical distinction is unknown among the Chinese themselves, who for many hundreds of years have treated all Chinese-settled territory precisely on the same footing. Finally, with the outbreak of the European War, it awakened in her the ambition of openly acquiring dominant rights northwards to the Amur river, and westwards to the Gobi Desert—the whole original empire of the Manchus—a project her military officers declared easy of accomplishment. The complications and irritations which have attended Japanese participation in the Allied intervention in the Russian Far East are the natural children of this strange *misalliance* between an island-empire and the Asiatic mainland; and the almost savage manner in which Japan has tried to seize sole control of the Ussuri Railway and the Chinese Eastern Railway—deliberately wrecking all American attempts under the Stevens Commission to better Russian communications, and starving millions of people in Siberia in consequence—form a sermon on political morality as

eloquent as the Sermon on the Mount.

## II

These events have a close and intimate connection with the Chinese question: they are in the nature of the necessary introduction to a settlement. For unless they are closely and intimately associated in the mind as a very large part of the reason why China makes no progress, it is impossible to convey to those who live far distant from these scenes an adequate appreciation of the reality of the difficulties. The presence of Japan in Korea as lord of the soil; her holding of two fortified areas on the Chinese coast, with their connecting railway systems; her advance into Trans-Baikalia and Inner Mongolia with important military forces—all these things are

every whit as paralyzing to Peking as the German occupation of Belgium and the Northern French railways was to Paris; and it is the refusal to recognize the absolute analogy in such matters which makes discussion of China's improvement illusory.

The first and most essential step in the building up of the new Chinese State, if that is really desired, is to have it accepted categorically by all the Powers alike that all railways on Chinese soil are a vital portion of Chinese sovereignty and must be directly controlled by the Chinese Government: that station-masters, personnel and police troops must be Chinese citizens, technical foreign help being limited to a set standard; and that all railway concessions within the territory of the Republic *without exception*, from the Amur River in the extreme north to the Red River in the extreme south, must henceforth be considered as Chinese national property to be handed over as soon as circumstances permit to the National Railway Board.

The test case which will come immediately before the Peace Conference is the German Shantung Railway, a system of under five hundred kilometers, very valuable extensions of which Japan has claimed as an inheritance from the original German concessionaires. This state of affairs, if left untouched by an International Act such as has been proposed, will gradually create a railway *enclave* on the Manchurian model in the heart of old China. For along the course of such railways new railway towns inevitably spring up, bringing all the com-



RAILWAY STATION AND JAPANESE HOTEL AT MUKDEN, MANCHURIA

As the Junction Between the Chosen (Korean), South Manchurian, Chinese and Siberian Railways, Mukden is a Pivotal Point in Manchuria

plications which conflicting jurisdiction creates. In solving such conflicts the stronger power first employs force; then, to give its authority a deeper meaning, it sets up its own courts, administrators so-called justice, and sends its police officers far from the zone of the railway to satisfy its judgments. This is already what has happened in Shantung: it will happen wherever Japanese railways go.

Here, then, is international business of the first importance which cannot be brushed aside. It is absolutely essential that when this test case comes up stout defenders be found who will realize that a drama as real to the Chinese people as Kaiserism has been to the European peoples is in process of being enacted, and that beneath the surface every principle for which the war has been fought is at stake—to be honored or disavowed.

For in the economics of modern communities communications have acquired such vast significance that it may be truly said that they constitute today the most tangible evidence of sovereignty; and that if they are left in the hands of aliens, surrounded by their own troops, what you have is a *de facto* military occupation, which can be followed only by more war or by open annexation. No one possessing any acquaintance with recent history can deny this proposition. All arguments that the Chinese administration is unfitted to assume control are placed out of court, seeing that the number of foreign railway experts employed in the National Railway Board is constantly growing and that



THE PORT OF AMOY IN THE PROVINCE OF FUKIEN

Amoy Was One of the Five Original Chinese Treaty Ports Opened to Foreign Commerce in 1842. A Large Part of Its Trade Consists in Commerce Between the Rich Hinterland and the Neighboring Japanese Island of Formosa. Fukien Constitutes One of the Special "Spheres of Influence" Claimed by Japan.

British-constructed railways in China have for a generation been peacefully administered on a system which has never brought the slightest conflict. No matter what attitude is officially adopted by the great Powers at the Peace Conference,—no matter how much they may wish to avoid any discussion at all, the issue will be irrevocably forced on the world's attention in the near future, because there are 10,000 miles of delayed railways to be built, and ten thousand troubles will spring from them unless obscurity is cleared away at once.

### III

Not lagging far behind the urgency of this railway matter is the whole question of Chinese trade taxation, a question which has never been more than hastily touched upon and as hastily dropped by foreign negotiators because it has been beyond their ability and vision to deal with it. Viscount Grey, in a recent speech which referred to the League of Nations and the good one nation can do another, instanced the Chinese Maritime Customs as an example of successful alien administration, showing by his citation that he was ignorant of the real facts. The late Sir Robert Hart, the originator and organizer of this system, which in the popular imagination is supposed to insure the merchant and the manufacturer a successful entry into China, was something of a philosopher and a good deal of

a diplomatist; and consequently he was discreet enough not to reveal to the world that he was not doing what he was supposed to be doing. For his administration was simply an accountancy which was able to justify itself because it was dealing with a foreign thing—the steamer—and because it made bondholders believe that their interest coupons were in charge of an institution as solid as the Bank of England.

Yet as a matter of fact the Maritime Customs has never touched Chinese life or economics in the slightest degree, nor has it greatly facilitated trade. True, it has enabled merchants to load and unload on a water-front against a fixed tariff; but ten minutes beyond that water-front barriers as high as mountains may and do exist, with the markets irrevocably hidden behind them. To those who know that China's foreign trade still amounts only to four silver dollars per annum per head of population (the lowest percentage in the world for the greatest nation of small dealers that has ever existed) the Chinese Maritime Customs is a mere make-shift; a monument to the fierce fight which the maritime nations carried on in the early part of the nineteenth century regarding their inherent right to ports of entry along river and coast; a record of the fact that the Dying God—the Emperor—could not find officers to collect his duties

during the Taiping Rebellion; and that the maritime nations were honest enough to do it for him.

Yet at the same time that the Maritime Customs came into being as a quasi-foreign creation the Taiping Rebellion and the loss of great revenues created *likin*, a system of petty levies by means of barriers placed wherever trade passes, which because it accentuates provincialism undoes all the good the Maritime Customs might do with its fixed tariff; and until some Power does for all China what Prussia once did for all Germany—creates a Chinese *Zollverein*, making absolute free trade within the territories of the Republic a fact—commerce will remain a mediaeval enterprise, inviting mediaeval diplomacy suitable to the courts of petty princes and amounting in the gross to little more than the trade of Switzerland.

Sixteen years ago England attempted to be that Power, and in the Mackay Treaty, signed by Lord Inchape in Shanghai, she agreed to a large tariff increase, abolishing *likin* in the famous Article VIII, on the strict understanding that the Treaty was to be inoperative until all the Treaty Powers had signed identical instruments. In 1903, largely because Russia in Manchuria was then such an international peril, America and Japan followed suit, making the same reservations whilst they in-

roduced the same clauses, thus securing that one more pious hope was enshrined in the dust of Chinese archives to be left there indefinitely like an Egyptian mummy. Since then nothing has been done—nothing for sixteen years—and in the routine decennial tariff revision which has just taken place Japan has introduced every obstacle even in the matter of China's acquiring an effective five per cent levy, which has been her treaty right for sixty years.

As in railways, so in customs matters, it is again Japan that renders so difficult the task of real reform. At all ports where Japanese commissioners of Maritime Customs hold office it is undeniable that centres of the contraband trade have been established, opium and its derivatives being so openly smuggled that the annual net import of Japanese morphia (although this trade is forbidden by International Convention) is now said to be something like 20 tons a year—sufficient to poison a whole nation. In the case of Tsingtao, it has been proved beyond a doubt that since the Japanese military occupation opium has been introduced as military stores on such an immense scale as to give the authorities a royalty of several million pounds sterling, with which immense tracts of land around Kiaochow Bay have been purchased; so that, no



CHINA'S MOST PRETENTIOUS INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE, THE HANYANG IRON AND STEEL WORKS  
Sited in the Heart of the Rich Yangtze Valley Region, This Great Modern Plant Forms the Basis of a Tremendous Industrial Life in the Centre of China Upon Which Japan Has Secured a Heavy Grip Through the Forced Treaty of 1915

matter what the Peace Treaty may say regarding evacuation, Japan will absolutely control this outlet to a crowded hinterland, and thus secure her commercial supremacy for all time.

Now, if the free nations of the world desire that a vastly increased Chinese trade shall assist in wiping out the ill effects of the cataclysm which has destroyed the accumulated wealth of half a century, the establishment of a Chinese *Zollverein*—that is, complete free trade within the limits of Chinese territory with a complete abolition of all provincial and coastwise duties and a complete checking of all present abuses—must be secured. At a time when Japanese trade, in spite of a heavy protectionist tariff, has risen nearly to two thousand million gold dollars a year, or more than thirty gold dollars per head of population, it is monstrous that Chinese trade should amount to little more than three dollars gold per head of population. That the Japanese people on a *per capita* basis should have a commerce a thousand per cent larger than the commerce of the Chinese people—born traders, be it remembered—proves conclusively that the whole Chinese fiscal system is radically wrong, and as the commercial nations hold China in thrall with their commercial treaties, it is they who must make the first move to liberate the purchasing power of the Chinese people. Statisticians are agreed that a legitimate basis of calcu-

lation is the assumption that China could immediately do a trade per head of population amounting to half the amount of the Japanese unit, if all obstructions were cleared away. On this assumption a China liberated from provincialism and militarism should have an annual turnover of six billion gold dollars—an amount which would place her in the front rank of trading nations. Assuming that imports and exports roughly balanced, and that the twelve and a half per cent Mackay Import Tariff was the average levy, China would have an annual revenue of 375 million gold dollars from import duties. This would provide interest and sinking fund on four times the present amount of the national indebtedness, including every loan made for no matter what purpose during the past thirty years, and adding in all the reckless borrowing of the past quinquennium.

## IV

If, and when, this matter of Chinese trade comes up for consideration another matter which is closely allied to it cannot be forgotten.

This is the question of extraterritoriality.

To most people who have lived under their own laws and accepted such a condition as natural all the world over, the idea of extraterritoriality—that is, that in a given territory you are not liable to the jurisdiction of the local authority, but come under that exercised by officers of your own country



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#### VLADIVOSTOK. THE EASTERN TERMINUS OF THE GREAT TRANS-ASIATIC RAILWAY SYSTEM

Recent Months Have Witnessed a Remarkable Growth of This Ameba-like Port of the Far East, Where All the Allied Armies Have Had Their Headquarters Since the Summer of 1918. One of the Minor Issues Involved Has Been the Purchase of Large Blocks of Real Estate in the Interest of Future Japanese Business



*Publishers' Photo Service*

**TSINGTAO, IN THE GERMAN-LEASED TERRITORY OF KIAOCHOW IN SHANTUNG PROVINCE,  
TAKEN OVER BY THE JAPANESE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR**

*One of the Questions Before the Peace Conference Relates to the Disposal of This Territory Wrongly Acquired by Germany in 1897. Japanese Statesmen Have Proclaimed That Japan Will Restore it to China Under Conditions, but Would Resist Coercion in the Matter from Any Outside Foreign Power*

—must seem an unusual condition of affairs.

The origin of extraterritoriality is, of course, to be sought on the shores of the Mediterranean, where in the period of transition from the age of Rome's Universal Empire to that of independent territorial sovereignties it was held necessary by the maritime cities and republics to appoint officers to take charge of the depositaries of merchandise and exercise jurisdiction over their citizens. This practice, which was well established by the eleventh century, received a great impetus when the Near East fell under the domination of the Mohammedans.

It was on this Turkish precedent, then, that practice in the Far East was based. In the first commercial treaty ever entered into between China and a western power—the British Treaty of Nanking of 1842—the word extraterritoriality does not occur and no provision was made for the exercise of jurisdiction by consular officers. In a supplementary treaty for the regulation of trade signed the following year extraterritoriality, however, begins to take shape. It is agreed, for instance, that British merchants and others residing at or resorting to the Five Ports opened to trade "shall not go into the surrounding country beyond certain short distances to be named by the local authorities in con-

cert with the British consul and on no pretence for purpose of traffic"; as for seamen and persons belonging to the ships, they shall only be allowed to land under special rules. Another clause in the same treaty provides that at each of the Five Ports opened to trade "one English cruiser will be stationed to enforce good order and discipline amongst the crews of merchant shipping and to support the necessary authority of the consul over British subjects."

Here extraterritorial jurisdiction emerges, not precisely as it has developed, but as then seemed necessary. It was a police authority over unruly persons of alien race who had forced their way into Chinese anchorages and were so determined to trade that the right to do so had been granted them by the Emperor. All the rough-and-tumble history of the Canton delta during the generation preceding these formal treaties looms up from these clauses; drunken English seamen rowing off from their sailing-ships and indulging in riotous conduct; opium dealers slipping away in fast boats to hidden creeks where their traffic could be carried on concealed, Chinese authority unable to cope with these heavy-fisted men, and only occasionally, when murder or manslaughter was involved, getting hold



of the culprit, who was strangled in accordance with the *lex loci*.

Nearly twenty years pass with practice in this inchoate state, during which a more precise American Treaty of 1844 is generally used as a guide to consular authority. But in the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858, which was not ratified until Peking had been captured in 1860 and the Son of Heaven had sought safety in flight, Article XVI lays down specifically and absolutely that British subjects guilty of crimes "shall be tried and punished according to the Laws of Great Britain"; and similar clauses being inserted in all the treaties of all the Powers, extritoriality is fully enthroned.

That was exactly sixty years ago, and in sixty years there has been no change save to scatter extritorialized persons by the thousand over the length and breadth of the land, often without any consular authority within a week's journey. For the right of residence in the interior which all missionaries possess by virtue of the French Treaty of Tientsin and "the most favored nation clause" which is found in all similar instruments, having long ago been annexed not only by countless Japanese but by many other foreigners as well, an entirely new situation exists which urgently calls for drastic reform. Since the Revolution of 1911 and the proclamation of the Republic, China has indeed tacitly accepted this condition of affairs only because she believes that when her case is properly presented no reasonable person will deny that she is entitled to justice.

That is why Young China demands the summary abolition of extritoriality, and cries aloud that inasmuch as in the inoperative Shanghai Treaties of sixteen years ago it was specifically stated that so soon as a reform of the judicial system was accomplished this foreign jurisdiction would be relinquished, the hour has come for the pledge to be redeemed. For a new code has been adopted under the Republic and a new system of courts; and although there is more theory than practice, the independence of the judiciary forms an integral part of the draft constitution.

Now, as no questions are so thorny as questions of law and jurisdiction, it is obvious that if this one matter is to be handled successfully it will require a special conference of all the Treaty Powers. The vast and complicated interests which have grown up in China since the Boxer period necessitate a special practice being grafted on to the Chinese administration step by step rather than any dramatic relinquishment of old rights. It is not possible to refuse to deal with this matter, any more than to refuse to deal with the railway question. For since her declaration of war against Germany and Austria China has had virtual charge of all persons of German and Austrian nationality, in

spite of the efforts of the Dutch Legation (temporarily in charge of German and Austrian interests) to assume jurisdiction. A number of important Germans and Austrians are at the moment of writing held interned by China in special camps; and that China in the Treaties of Peace with the enemy Powers will insist on retaining at least police jurisdiction over citizens of these nations is quite certain. The Chinese police system has in any case made such advances during the past decennium that there can be little doubt that so long as appellate courts with foreign accessories are provided for it should be possible to erect a system which will be a half-way house to the desired abolition of extritoriality.

The precise methods are already matters of dispute and can certainly not be settled in any casual manner. Some have proposed that there shall be a probationary ten-year period during which China shall be given a trial. Others have declared that the only method is an extension of the Mixed Court system. Yet another class maintain that no modification is possible until conditions throughout the land have been entirely revolutionized. But it is obvious that the complete throwing open of China, with a universal right of trade and residence, cannot be satisfactorily conceded by the Peking Government if a favored class is removed from police control—particularly such men as Japanese peddlers, who in thousands roam the land retailing great and increasing quantities of morphia and opium in defiance of the law of the land.

Tariff and judicial autonomy go hand in hand: they are the necessary prerogatives of the sovereign state. Until this dual problem is settled in accordance with ordinary world-practice China will be an international cripple.

## VI

We have traveled in this discussion the whole road which it is possible to travel in one stage. To proceed further would be to entangle issues in the minds even of those who are keen to understand. Chinese currency, the Chinese debt, the Chinese civil and military administration and the question of parliamentary government are best considered separately as the Problem of Peking. They belong to a different category from the semi-foreign issues which we have just discussed, because they are of a different ancestry. For the moment what should be seized upon as the heart and essence of the imbroglio is that it is necessary to hark back to 1895 and the Korean war, and to deal with the four big questions of leased territories and spheres of influence, railways, tariff and judicial reform, from the point of view that since Russian imperialism has been eliminated from Eastern Asia the maritime nations of the West can push off from the land and settle the issue on the basis of sea-power.

# PRESENT-DAY GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN

By WALTER WALLACE McLAREN

*Author of "A Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867-1912"*

WITH the signing of the peace treaty we expect that at least western Europe will have been made safe for democracy. Can we entertain the same expectation as to the Far East? The answer to that question depends upon Japan. With the same form of government that Prussia had, is Japan a dangerous autocracy? Whether autocratic Japan is a menace depends not so much upon her institutions as upon the policy she pursues. Even a military despotism might conceivably be innocuous to neighboring democracies, but it is also possible Japan might be as great a source of danger to us, as Germany was to Europe, if she should pursue a policy of conquest in China and successfully carry it through. To put our minds at rest upon such matters as these we propose, first, to make a careful study of the existing institutions of government in Japan with a view to locating the actual seat of power, and second, to review the political history of our neighbor on the Pacific during the past few years for the purpose of defining her policy.

## THE EXECUTIVE

The legal basis of the Japanese Government is to be found in the constitution and other organic laws, but, as in other countries, the exercise of the powers of the state can only be understood by considering not merely the laws but the customs of the constitution. The project which terminated in the promulgation of the constitution was announced in an Imperial rescript issued October 12, 1881. In order to connect this rescript with the circumstances that attended its publication it may be said that the political agitations of the years immediately preceding culminated in 1881 in a demand for the establishment forthwith of a representative assembly elected by the people. The language of the rescript leaves no doubt of the fact that the promise of change was made under pressure, and it shows equally plainly that the governing group intended to retain complete control of such changes as were deemed necessary.

In due time the government set about to prepare for the constitutional changes promised for the year 1890. Ito Hirobumi (afterwards Prince) started in 1882 on a tour of America and Europe for the study of constitutional government. While in Berlin he came under the spell of Bismarck, the Chancellor of the German Empire. Bismarck, himself a constitution-maker, the master-builder of

the Imperial German Government, was in the midst of his remarkable career. In addition to the glamour surrounding him, which Ito would have been more than human entirely to resist, the Prussian theory of monarchy resembled that which was traditional in Japan, and the compromise between autocracy and popular government which Bismarck had worked out in the Imperial Constitution doubtless led Ito to conclude that he had found in Berlin the guidance he had been sent abroad to seek. Prussia and the German Empire thus furnished the models which were used in Japan in drafting the constitution and the laws that accompanied it.

This choice, as we judge the matter from the standpoint of today, was unfortunate, although we can appreciate the motives which led Ito to make his decision in favor of Prussia rather than any of the other European monarchical countries. The British constitution could not easily have been copied for much of it was unwritten, and remains unwritten today, and those parts of it which have been reduced to writing are scattered here and there in treaties, bills of rights, statutes and decisions of law courts; moreover, the Japanese ruling class desired above all to avoid responsible government, which is the main principle of the British constitution. Hence not only the elusiveness and lack of portability but the very spirit of the British system militated against its adoption by the Japanese as a model for their own. Nor were the written instruments of the various European republics of more than passing interest to Ito and his suite. Of the continental monarchies, Belgium, Holland and Italy had developed institutions that too closely resembled those of Great Britain to be acceptable; Russia had had no experience with constitutionalism, and Austria's experience, while interesting, did not throw much light upon Japanese problems. It is not easy to see, therefore, how Ito could have come to any other conclusion than that Prussia furnished the model best suited to Japan's needs. Republican institutions were out of the question, and a constitutional monarchy of the British type was politically impossible, for it was a settled conviction of the clan statesmen of Japan that a continuation of their power for an indefinite period of time was essential to the welfare of the nation. Nor was this point of view adopted wholly upon selfish grounds, for the subject of government by the people versus oligarchy



MARQUIS MATSUKATA, AN "ELDER STATESMAN"

The Genro or Elder Statesmen, an Extra-Constitutional Body, Are the Power Behind the Imperial Throne

had been threshed out in an interesting controversy between the advocates of popular government and its opponents. Kato Hiroyuki, the President of the Imperial University of Tokyo, proved to the satisfaction of the members of the ruling class that there were no natural rights under the theory of evolution, and therefore the whole question of who should manage the affairs of state was not one of principle but merely of expediency. Believing that the masses of the people were too ignorant to understand the business of the state, the *samurai* of the great western clans into whose hands the powers of the government had fallen at the time of the Restoration easily persuaded themselves that expediency demanded a continuation of the régime they had instituted in 1868. Besides, the British theory of monarchy, as announced in the Act of Settlement at the beginning of the 18th century, was a complete contradiction of the cherished myths of the divine descent and unbroken lineage of the Japanese Imperial House.

Determined upon the course to be followed, Ito returned to Japan in 1883, and almost immediately thereafter the transformation of the Japanese system was begun. He was transferred to the post



PRINCE YAMAGATA, LEADER OF THE GENRO

Responsible for Reorganizing the Japanese Army on Modern Lines, He Has the Backing of the Military

of Minister of the Imperial Household and in his new department erected a bureau for the study of constitutional changes. The principal officers attached to the bureau were Inouye Ki, Ito Myoji and Kaneko Kentaro, all three members of Ito's mission during his recent tour abroad. The following year the nobility was rehabilitated by creating five orders of peers in the Prussian manner—princes, marquises, counts, viscounts and barons. By this means Ito furnished a large part of the personnel for an upper house in the Diet strictly comparable with the Prussian *Herrenhaus*. In 1885 a change of fundamental importance was brought about, a change which indicated the complete abandonment of the Japanese tradition in favor of that of Prussia. The organ of the central government, the Council of State (*Daijokwan*), was abolished, and in its room was placed a cabinet composed of a Minister-President and the heads of the nine administrative departments. Rules for the conduct of affairs by the cabinet government were issued, and it is to these rules that we must look for the details of cabinet government under the constitution subsequently promulgated. With the creation of the cabinet, the main features



MARQUIS OKUMA, EX-PREMIER OF JAPAN

Among the Members of the Genro, He Boasts the Most Extended Political Career



MARQUIS SAIONJI, ANOTHER FORMER PREMIER

Saionji and Okuma Are the Only Members of the Genro Not Belonging to the Choshu or Satsuma Clan

of the executive government of Prussia had been transferred to Japan. The Emperor, combining in himself the rights of sovereignty by reason of his direct descent from the gods, appeared as a personal despot, exercising his absolute powers in accordance with the advice of a Minister-President through the members of the bureaucracy to whom were intrusted the routine of administration.

Three years later as the time approached for the fulfilment of the Imperial promise to establish representative institutions, the Privy Council was created by Imperial ordinance of April, 1888. The work immediately ahead of the new council for the performance of which the institution was erected, was the consideration and adoption of the final draft of the constitution prepared under Ito's supervision. The members of the Privy Council were selected from the narrow circle of the governing class, and Ito resigned his office as Minister-President to become President of the new body.

The deliberations of the Privy Council, acting in a constituent capacity, were conducted in absolute secrecy; and the accounts of what took place at its meetings were not made pub-

lic until years afterwards, and then the information divulged was of the most general nature. Ito, writing upon this subject (Count Okuma Shigenobu, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1910, Vol. I, p. 131) surely creates an altogether false impression when he says, "The Sovereign himself presided over these deliberations, and he had full opportunities of hearing and giving due consideration to all the conflicting opinions. I believe nothing evidences more vividly the intelligence of our august Master than the fact that in spite of the existence of strong under-currents of an ultra-conservative nature in the council, and also in the country at large, His Majesty's decisions inclined almost invariably toward liberal and progressive ideas, so that we have been ultimately able to obtain the constitution as it exists at present." This statement would lead us to assume that the draft had been adopted under the Emperor's immediate supervision, and that he had beforehand embodied it in his own advanced ideas. Only in the most general way could such participation by the Emperor in the drafting of the constitution have been a fact. Few sovereigns of modern states could draft a fundamental law,

and the Japanese Emperor, whose education had been almost entirely confined to the Chinese classics, could have known little about such highly technical matters as those involved in the articles of a constitution. Much nearer the truth with regard to the drawing up of the instrument, its final revision, and promulgation, is Ueyehara's statement in his *Political Development of Japan*, p. 118, that "the constitution was drawn up in a reactionary atmosphere, with the utmost secrecy, in an impenetrable department of the Imperial government, free from popular agitation and all contact with public opinion."

Nothing could be further from our idea of constitution-making methods, and yet there was much to justify the Japanese procedure. A constituent assembly might have been formed by using the machinery already in existence for electing the members of the prefectural assemblies, but such a device was politically impracticable. If Ito had advocated such a course his colleagues in the cabinet would have rejected his proposal; and moreover, he could hardly have hoped to gain the support of the country at large for such a plan, for out of the 9,000,000 adult males in Japan at that time not more than 100,000 were connected with the political

societies which advocated popular government. From every angle of vision it would seem, therefore, that the difficulties attending the assembling of a constituent body were insurmountable. The method adopted was highly practicable, though opposed by the radical politicians. It was entirely in accord with the government's desire to have the instrument appear as a product of the Emperor's wisdom, and its promulgation as an act of his grace; it committed the Throne and all the influential members of the ruling class to the support of the constitution as finally adopted by the Privy Council; and it permitted the oligarchs to write into the fundamental law provisions which would exclude the masses from any share in the government.

The first chapter of the constitution, entitled "The Emperor," contains seventeen articles, only one of which, the first, is of native origin. It runs: "The empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of emperors unbroken for ages eternal." Here is expressed clearly the myth cherished by the Court throughout the feudal period, and except for the words "and governed," the first article correctly states the Japanese theory of monarchy. All the other articles of the chapter,



EX-PREMIER COUNT TERAUCHI ADDRESSING THE LOWER HOUSE OF THE JAPANESE DIET

The Imperial Diet is Bicameral, consisting of a House of Peers and House of Representatives. Members to the latter are elected by property franchise, and take precedence in discussing the Budget

except the eighth, were transcribed from chapter three of the Prussian instrument. Article eight is, in briefer and more absolute form, section fourteen of the Austrian fundamental law on Imperial Representation. A summary of the contents of the chapter will enable the reader to form an opinion as to the extent of the legal powers of the Emperor of Japan. Legally the sovereign exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Diet, and orders the laws to be promulgated and executed; during emergencies or when the Diet is not in session, he may issue ordinances that have the force of law; he convokes, opens, closes and prorogues the Diet, and dissolves the House of Representatives; he determines the organization of the different branches of the administration, and the salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same; he exercises the supreme command of the army and navy; he declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties; he proclaims a state of siege; he confers titles and other marks of honor; he orders amnesty, pardon and rehabilitation. To use the language of the preamble, "The rights of sovereignty of the state, We have inherited from our ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to our descendants." Legally the Japanese sovereign is as autocratic as was the King of Prussia under the old régime.

The actual exercise of his vast power is not attempted by the sovereign. The traditions of a semi-divine office occupied by a divinely descended person have not permitted the Emperors of Japan to govern the empire. Moreover, the continuation till 1871 of a full-fledged feudal system, and especially the existence until within three years of that date of the Shogunate, separated the throne by two removes from the exercise of administrative authority. The customs of the ages were not to be overcome by the mere inclusion in the constitution of 1889 of the prerogatives of the Prussian king. The Emperor's immense legal powers were exercised from the Restoration till 1885 by the members of the Council of State, and after that date by the cabinet ministers, members of the Supreme Military Council and other high officials, all of whom were nominally appointed by the sovereign.

The Ministers of State, collectively known as the cabinet, by the fifty-fifth article of the Constitution are made responsible to the Emperor for the advice they offer him, and likewise for all laws, ordinances and rescripts of whatever kind that refer to the affairs of state. Every such law or ordinance must be countersigned by a cabinet minister. Except for this article, the cabinet is not mentioned in the Constitution. In order to obtain any clear conception of the functions of cabinet ministers it is necessary to turn to a group of Imperial ordi-

nances issued in 1885-86, which define their duties and powers at length. According to these ordinances ministers are responsible for all matters falling within their competence, and are empowered to issue departmental ordinances, to present for the cabinet's consideration drafts of laws relating to their departments and projects for the amendment or abrogation of existing laws, to organize their respective departments, and to delegate to their subordinates any of their numerous functions except the countersignature of laws or ordinances, personal report to the Emperor, voting in the cabinet meetings and the issue of departmental ordinances. As early as 1886 the cabinet system was thoroughly organized, and except in those details in which it was in conflict with the constitution it was taken over into the new system. For example, the cabinet, as the successor of the Council of State, was the legislative authority for all laws applying to the Empire as a whole which were promulgated as Imperial ordinances requiring the signature of the Minister-President and the countersignature of one of the heads of the respective departments of state. After the Diet was set up the functions of the cabinet as a law-making body were modified profoundly, for by constitutional provision the consent of the two houses of the Diet became an essential part of the process of legislation. Nevertheless the ministers continued to be the chief initiators of projects of laws to be brought before the Diet.

The text of article fifty-five, "The respective ministers of state shall give their advice to the Emperor and be responsible for it," raises two questions which require further comment. It would be wholly misleading to draw the conclusion that ministerial responsibility in Japan corresponds to that in Great Britain, France or Italy, for the ministers acknowledge responsibility not to the Diet, but to the Emperor. Whatever doubt upon this point existed as a result of the ambiguity of the text was cleared up long ago by a positive statement in Ito's *Commentaries on the Constitution*, p. 90. The members of the cabinet are charged with responsibility to the Emperor, each within the limits of his competence, for every public act of the sovereign. The Minister-President, having general supervision of all the departments of state, is personally responsible along with the respective ministers of departments for all acts within the competence of each. Furthermore, responsibility to the Emperor is not accepted by the cabinet as a group, but by ministers of state as individuals. Here again the Japanese cabinet differs fundamentally from the British ministry and similar bodies in the continental democratic monarchies, and though this difference seems slight it is fraught with far-reaching consequences for cabinet govern-



ment. When coupled with the rules of the Privy Council adopted in 1894 prescribing the qualifications of candidates for certain high offices, among them the cabinet offices of the army and navy, it has been possible for the Supreme Military Council to control to a large extent the policy of the cabinet. An example may serve to make this matter clear. In December, 1912, the second Saionji cabinet resigned while it enjoyed the support of the majority of the members of the lower house of the Diet. The cause of the downfall of the ministry was the defection from its ranks of the Minister of War, General Uyebara, whose resignation came about as a consequence of the refusal of the cabinet to adopt as part of its legislative program for the year an army measure providing for the creation of two new divisions. Uyebara exercised his right to resign, but the Supreme Military Council made the ministry pay the penalty by refusing to detail a qualified officer to take his place, and if the army will not fill the war office in any cabinet, of necessity the Minister-President and his colleagues must resign.

There is no particular difference between a personal despotism and a constitutional monarchy of the Japanese type, provided that the monarch is willing and able to direct the policy of the state. But if the sovereign for any reason refuses to accept his responsibilities his personal despotism must be put in commission either in the cabinet or in some other body of men who enjoy his confidence. Prior to 1885 the Council of State was virtually a regency commission, justified on the ground of the Emperor's minority; after that date the cabinet was a junta composed of the leading members of the western clans, which governed the empire in the name of a personal despot. Since 1889 the powers of the cabinet have not diminished greatly, except during short periods marking the crises of domestic or foreign politics; at other times the members of the ministry form a group which closely resembles an oligarchy. In what other way may a small coterie of men who administer the affairs of a state as the responsible agents of a legal despot be described?

To leave the subject at this point would be to give merely a partial answer to the question, Where is the seat of power in the Japanese system of government? Two groups in addition to the cabinet must be taken into account, the Privy Council and the *Genro* or Elder Statesmen. Article fifty-six of the constitution defines the functions of Privy Councillors as deliberating upon important matters of state when consulted by the Emperor. Further details regarding its powers and limitations are given in the Imperial ordinance of 1888 creating the council. The seventh section of chapter three of the above ordinance stipulates "Though

the Privy Council is the Emperor's highest resort of counsel it shall not interfere with the executive." It would be unsafe, therefore, to say that this purely deliberative body, unless it exercises powers not legally conferred upon it, directs the policy of the empire.

The *Genro* is an extra-constitutional body whose members derive their influence from the confidence reposed in them by the Emperor. In emergencies they are almost certain to be summoned to the palace by the Minister of the Imperial Household or the Lord Chamberlain ostensibly acting for the Emperor. Whether the sovereign is actually responsible for the meetings of the Elder Statesmen, and if so, whether the act of calling them together is a public act for which some member of the cabinet is responsible, it is not possible to speak with certainty. In the majority of cases, it would be safe to assume that some cabinet minister countersigns the Imperial order; furthermore, on more than one occasion the cabinet has deliberated with the *Genro*, or at least has submitted its proposals to the Elder Statesmen for their approval.

It is interesting to note that the nature of the emergency which calls for a meeting of the *Genro* has gradually become defined by custom. Generally speaking, no change of cabinets is effected without their consent, nor is any action taken which might lead to a declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, or the negotiation of an important treaty, such as a treaty of alliance, without consulting the Elder Statesmen. In the petty squabbles of the party politicians the *Genro*, in recent years, at any rate, have never meddled as a group, though its members individually have doubtless interested themselves in such matters. This hardening of custom during the present era has had two decided reactions in Japanese political life. On the one side, there is much less popular objection to the interference of the *Genro* in the conduct of affairs than there used to be, and on the other, a certain standing in law has been achieved by the group. One of the earliest acts of the reigning sovereign was to appoint by Imperial order two ex-premiers to membership in the *Genro*, and a few years later to call a third. There seems to be little ground for supposing that the Elder Statesmen's council as an institution will pass away with the death of its present members, or that its ranks will fail to be recruited by Imperial order from among the great political and military leaders of the nation.

In resorting to such a body as the *Genro*, the Japanese have fallen back upon a custom of the feudal order, and in so doing have created an institution that has much to be said for it, as well as much against. An extra-legal council may, if used unscrupulously and for other than the best interests of the nation, become a source of the greatest



WIRELESS NEWS-REUTERS GROUP  
A GROUP OF CABINET MINISTERS AND STATESMEN REPRESENTING SOME OF THE KEENEST  
BRAINS IN JAPAN

In the Front Row (Right): Ryohai Okada, Baron Goto, Mr. Inukai, Count Terauchi, Premier Hara and Mr. Takahashi. In the Second Row Are General Oshima, Viscount Uchida, Minister of Finance Shoda, and Various Party Leaders

danger. In the feudal clan the prince was a legal despot, exercising over the members of the group the power of life and death. Actually, with rare exceptions, he was a figurehead, the administration of the affairs of the fief being intrusted to a committee of managers (*yosin*), who were usually members of the lower class *samurai* families. Supervising the work of these active men of affairs was a council composed of the old men of the principal *samurai* families of the clan, the *karo*. Wisdom and sound judgment, in the Japanese philosophy, belongs perforce to age, and questions of clan policy, especially those concerned with relations to other clans, were likely to be decided by the *karo*. Each clan had, as it were, its elder statesmen, so what could be more in line with tradition than for the Emperor to create a council of elders, which, in the emergencies of politics, should decide for him the policy to be pursued. It is not easy to see how the arrangements embodied in the constitution for the transaction of state business could be carried out in the absence of some such body as the Genro, without pre-supposing an actual as well as a legal despotism of the Emperor, a development not even remotely possible.

As the keeping of the Imperial will devolves upon the Elder Statesmen, it becomes of the greatest interest to know who these men are and the principles for which they stand. At present there

are five—Princes Yamagata and Oyama, and Marquises Matsukata, Saionji and Okuma. The most powerful of the group is the first named, for if not the oldest, Yamagata is the keenest and, moreover, he has the backing of the military, for he may be considered the father of the Japanese army. Field-Marshal Prince Oyama, the commander-in-chief of the Japanese forces during the Russo-Japanese conflict, was for some years Minister of War, and hence enjoys the reputation not only of a great field officer but of an administrative official as well. Marquis Matsukata fought with the Imperial forces in the war of the Restoration, and subsequently held various posts in the cabinet, and on two occasions was Minister-President of State. Marquis Saionji, a scion of one of the most ancient of the noble families of the Court, is also a former Prime Minister. Marquis Okuma alone, among the Genro, may be said to be a politician, though his career, like that of many another Japanese politician, goes to show that while he is a strenuous advocate of popular government in opposition, he is content in office to allow the system to function in the usual way. In former years there were other members of the group, whom death has removed, Princes Ito and Katsura and Marquis Inouye. With the exceptions of Saionji and Okuma all the present and former members of the Genro's council were clansmen of Choshu and Satsuma.





Western Newspaper Union

#### MILITARISM VERSUS BUSINESS IN POLITICS

Count Terauchi with Premier Hara, Who Stands for a New Business Government in Japan.

The principles espoused by the Genro may be considered under two heads, first, national aggrandizement, and second, clan government. Some account of incidents drawn from recent history may make the matter clear. In 1905, the further prosecution of the war with Russia became a burning question in government circles, for the victories of the Japanese arms were not bringing the war to an end,—the Russians were merely retreating further and further toward the Siberian frontier. As the war continued it became increasingly difficult to borrow the necessary funds for its further continuation, since the domestic market for government bonds was practically saturated. The whole matter was referred to the Elder Statesmen and they decided that the national interest would be best served by a speedy conclusion of peace. Naturally, this decision was not made public at the time, but some months later in an interview given to the *Nichi Nichi* Yamagata explained the origin and reasons for the peace policy of the government: he stated that "peace was made because in the unanimous opinion of the Genro and the Cabinet such a step was wisest, having regard to the empire's financial resources, to the



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#### PRINCE ITO, A GREAT JAPANESE STATESMAN

The Father of Constitutional Government. He Played the Leading Role in Japan's Early Foreign Relations

sequence of its expansion, to the difficulty of striking a decisive blow at Russia in east Asia, and to the opinion of the world." Again in 1915, the Okuma cabinet before sending an ultimatum to China to enforce the acceptance of its notorious twenty-one demands, took counsel with the Genro. An adverse decision was reached on the grounds first, that an ultimatum might lead to war, and second, that in any event it would present the Japanese claims in an unfavorable light to the world. However, as the result of negotiations conducted by the Home Minister, Viscount Oura, one of Yamagata's most trusted henchmen and his personal representative in the cabinet, the Genro consented to the dispatch of an ultimatum provided that the demands were rewritten so as to include nothing that China had not already consented to yield, thereby ensuring that war would not be the outcome of the government's action. On both these occasions the Genro acted with sound judgment, preferring the welfare of the country to personal popularity.

Very different in kind are the political activities of the Genro. In choosing who shall be appointed by the Emperor to the post of Minister-President

of State, a choice which has been made four times since March 1914, the Genro are guided by the principle which the Japanese call *Ambatsu-seifu*, clan government; which means briefly that whenever possible they put into office cabinets headed by men affiliated with the great western clans, Choshu and Satsuma. When it is wiser for clan reasons to choose an outsider such a choice is made, as for example Okuma in 1914 and Hara in 1918, but these departures from the rule are exceptions and are not to be regarded as precedents. The government of the Empire by men chosen from those clans which had been instrumental in overthrowing the Shogunate, and restoring the Emperor to a position of *de facto* ruler, had sufficient justification for a generation after the Restoration. There were no other capable men to whom the responsibility of office could be safely intrusted, hence the western clansmen took office in the Council of State in 1868, and after that institution had been displaced by the Cabinet in 1885, they became, as cabinet ministers,—a virtual oligarchy. Even after the establishment of representative institutions in 1890, the western clansmen continued in office as members of the cabinet, directing the administrative and executive departments of government. As they grew too old for active service the fathers of modern Japan retired to the status of Genro. In this way clan domination was perpetuated in the highest administrative offices.

It is not to be supposed for an instant that clan government means the hard and fast application of the rule that connection with a western clan is an essential qualification for appointment to any important post. Strict conformity to any such plan is impossible, for on the one hand the ranks of the bureaucracy are recruited by competitive examination, and hence men get into government service because of ability and training, and on the other hand the party politicians would make it difficult for the legislative work of government to be carried on at all unless some favors in the way of patronage were granted them. Generally speaking, therefore, when the Japanese press enters upon a chorus of denunciation of the Genro for perpetuating clan government, it does not intend to convey much more than the impression that the majority of the cabinet posts have been filled by the adherents of the Choshu-Satsuma combination. Conversely, when the press rejoices over the defeat of the Genro, as it has done recently in connection with Hara's appointment as Minister-President, it does not mean to create the impression that clan influence has been completely eradicated, but merely that a majority of the cabinet offices have been filled by outsiders.

As a matter of fact, clan government means much more than a struggle for places in the cabi-



VISCOUNT KANEKO, FRIEND OF AMERICA

As a Graduate of Harvard, He Subsequently Visited the United States on Various Important Missions

net by benchmen of the western clans. It means the control of the policy of the state by the military party. Since 1894 there has not been a cabinet in office except upon sufferance of the army and navy. To begin with, every Minister-President since that date has been chosen for the post by the Genro. Further, when a premier has been chosen, he has a considerable degree of freedom in the selection of his colleagues. Whether they shall be clansmen or not to some extent depends upon the premier's attitude toward the party politicians. If a Terauchi is in office few party men will be invited into the cabinet, if a Hara, as many as possible. By the rules of the Privy Council there must always be at least two non-party men in every cabinet, the Minister of War and the Minister of the Navy. It is through these two ministers that the Genro exercise their control, for they can disrupt a cabinet by causing one or other of the military members to resign from it. As the present Genro council is dominated by Prince Yamagata, the retired head of the army, the interests of the army and the policy for which it stands must be recognized and considered favorably by every cabinet which desires to continue in office.

# THE DERELICT TURKISH EMPIRE

By SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

ONE of the outstanding features of the great war has been not merely the overthrow of the Turkish Empire, but its overthrow mainly by British effort. For it is Britain who, after having repeatedly intervened in former times to save the Turkish Empire from dismemberment, has now played the foremost part in shattering it, and the deadly blows she has dealt to the one considerable Mohammedan state that had hitherto survived the gradual decline of Islamic power have been rendered by armies recruited to a great extent amongst the warlike Mohammedan peoples of British India. The explanation is perhaps after all not far to seek. The great war has gone down to the very root of things, and, amongst others, it has laid bare the fundamental antagonism, long distinguished by artificial considerations of political expediency, between the principle of brute force upon which Turkish rule has been based ever since it reduced western Asia and, for several centuries, a large part of southeastern Europe to subjection; and the principles of freedom and justice which, though they may have been obscured from time to time in practice, have always ultimately determined the broad trend of British policy.

The dread of a Russian menace to the safety of India's land frontiers induced Great Britain to come once more to Turkey's assistance in 1878, and to rescue her from the worst consequences

of the last Russo-Turkish war. It may be charged against the British Government of the day, as indeed Gladstone did at the time, that they were being unfaithful to British principles, in as much as, at the Berlin Congress, they threw their weight into the scales against the larger measure of emancipation from Turkish rule which Russia had secured for the subject races of European Turkey by the Treaty of San Stefano.

They had certainly persuaded themselves too lightly, in spite of all that had happened after the Crimean war, that, having once more saved Turkey, Britain's authority would prevail upon the rulers of the Turkish Empire to put their house in order. But it must be put to Britain's credit that, when she discovered her mistake, she never erred again in the same way. If, for the next twenty-five years, right up to the war, British influence steadily declined and German influence became supreme in Constantinople, it was because British pressure was constantly applied, by every means short of the employment of force which would have probably involved a European war, to check the worst excesses of Turkish misrule, whilst German diplomacy was always ready to close its eyes for value received; and William II himself, for instance, did not shrink from clasping the Red Sultan's hand, when it was still dripping with the blood of his Christian subjects, as the price of the famous Baghdad Railway concession.



THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE OF THE HOLY CARPET

Faithful Mohammedans Leaving Cairo on the Holy Journey by Train, Boat and Desert, to Perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca Which Every Follower of the Prophet Must Make at Least Once in His Lifetime.

Yet it was no matter of slight concern for British statesmen to see the Turkish Empire with its considerable military resources, with its great potential markets, with the religious prestige it derived from the Sultan's claim as Caliph to the spiritual headship of the Mohammedan world, with its commanding strategical position athwart the westernmost line of approach from Europe to the Persian Gulf and India, passing steadily under the control of a formidable European power whose energies were more and more clearly directed to paralyze, and ultimately to destroy, Great Britain's position in the Orient. All over Turkey, German banks, German industrial undertakings, German cable and shipping companies, not indeed always German in name, but German-financed and German-controlled, were given special privileges, often at the expense and always to the detriment of older British competitors. To take only one instance, the Smyrna-Aidin Railway, a purely British undertaking and the first important railway ever built in Asia Minor, which had done admirable work for the Turkish state by opening up a large and fertile region of Asiatic Turkey without ever claiming or receiving the slightest financial assistance from the Turkish Government, was deliberately cut off from all its legitimate prospects of

extension for the sole benefit of the German Oriental Railways Company—subsequently expanded into the Bagdad Railway Company—which never did a stroke of work without a heavy kilometrical guarantee from the Turkish exchequer. As for the Bagdad Railway concession, it covered far more than the mere construction of the railway; it covered the exploitation of minerals, various rights of settlement, rights of navigation on the Tigris and the Euphrates, harbors, docks, elevators, storage stations, in fact all that was required for the economic exploitation of the whole countryside, and all this at the expense of old established British interests. Its political purpose was equally obvious, for it was not to stop at Bagdad, or even at Basra, but to have its ultimate terminus on the open waters of the Persian Gulf, in order to project German ascendancy right across Mesopotamia, under cover in the first place of a revival of Turkish authority over a province where British influence had hitherto been at least tacitly recognized as predominant. For it was Britain alone who had driven piracy off the waters of the Persian Gulf, established and maintained order along its coasts, charted and buoyed and improved the approaches to its infrequent roadsteads and to the all-important waterways of the Tigris and the Euphrates



EGYPTIAN TROOPS, GUARD OF HONOR FOR THE SACRED CARPET ON ITS WAY TO MECCA, DRAWN UP IN REVIEW BEFORE THE SULTAN IN THE SQUARE BEFORE THE CITADEL OF CAIRO

The Religious Institution of the Mecca Pilgrimages Has Borne Significant Political Fruit. The Sherif of Mecca Had an Unusual Opportunity for Soundings His Co-Religionists on Their Views Regarding Their Different Rulers and Was Influenced by His Knowledge of British Rule in Egypt to Refuse to Answer the Sultan's Summons to Holy War Against the Allies



Paul Thompson

**SONS OF THE SULTAN OF TURKEY SERVING UNDER GERMAN GENERALS IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST RUSSIA**

Germany, Having Practically No Mohammedan Populations to Reckon with in Her Own Colonies, Proclaimed Herself the Patron of the Pan-Islamic Program as a Means of Inflaming Rebellion Against British Influences and Control in the Near East

and the Karun river that flows into them below their confluence. Almost all the trade had been for some generations past in the hands of British pioneers, whilst a large number of British Indians had become permanent settlers, many of them thrifty and peaceful traders, many also Shiah Mohammedans attracted by the sanctity of the historic shrines specially connected with that particular sect of Islam. Yet so faithful was the British Government to the principle of the "open door" by which foreigners have been allowed throughout the British Empire and in all its possessions and protectorates exactly the same rights as British subjects themselves enjoy, that it never at any time refused to come to a friendly understanding with Germany; though only on terms of equal treatment, which she was on the other hand determined not to concede, since equality of treatment was incompatible with her own purpose of dominion. British opposition to the Bagdad Railway went seldom further than to discountenance the cooperation of British capital, which Germany badly wanted to secure in the London market for a costly and adventurous enterprise conceived solely in her own interests. British ministers were indeed so anxious to deprive Ger-

many of the slightest shadow of excuse for the charge that they were refusing her her legitimate "place in the sun" that just before the war broke out in 1914 they had subscribed to an agreement with her by which she would have secured virtually all she had ever asked for, except a terminus on the Persian Gulf. It was never completed, ostensibly because the German Government objected to its being made public; but in reality, we now know, because the negotiations had only been pursued by Germany in order to fool the British Government whilst she was completing her preparation for war.

Yet the Bagdad Railway concession was only one of many manifestations of the hostile purposes to which Germany was using her ascendancy at Constantinople. Just as during Abdul Hamid's reign she had constantly paralyzed the efforts of British diplomacy to mobilize the "Concert of Europe" against the worst horrors of Turkish misrule in Armenia, in Macedonia, in Syria, so she had labored only too successfully to extrude the more moderate and liberal elements from the Committee of Union and Progress after the Turkish Revolution and to encourage the stalwart Nationalists of the Enver type to revert to the old Hamidian meth-

ods of oppression and massacre. With her chauvinist clients in power when the great war began, the accession of Turkey as one of her subordinate allies was merely a question of time and opportunity, and the scales were finally tipped by the arrival of the two German cruisers, Goeben and Breslau, in the Golden Horn. Nor was it only within the actual frontiers of the Turkish Empire that Germany had mapped out her plan of campaign against Britain's position in the Orient. Prince Bülow has himself disclosed another aspect of it in his *Reminiscences*. Germany, having practically no Mohammedan populations to reckon with in her own colonies, could afford to see Mohammedan feeling inflamed against other European powers in whose millions of Mohammedan subjects she scented potential allies in the great adventure upon which she was already bent. By proclaiming himself the special friend and patron of Islam, William II had deliberately played into the hands of Abdul Hamid, whose Pan-Islamic propaganda based upon his spiritual authority as Caliph, extended to all parts of the Mohammedan world. If in India itself it made very little impression at first upon the sixty-six million Mohammedans who form more than one-fifth of the total population, it was to some extent responsible as far back as 1898 for one of the most serious risings amongst the unruly Mohammedan tribesmen of the Indian borderland. For their fanaticism had been worked up to a white heat by the wildly exaggerated accounts of the victories won in the previous year over the Greek "infidels" by the armies of the Sultan and Caliph with the blessing of the German Emperor, whose officers had been entrusted with the reorganization of the whole Turkish military system. The Turkish Revolution alienated from Turkey the Platonic sympathy of the Indian Mohammedan princes and of the more conservative elements amongst the Indian Mohammedan community. But on the other hand it aroused the enthusiasm of the new school of Young Mohammedans in India whose advanced Nationalism, largely tinged with anti-British sentiment was drawn towards the Young Turks by political rather than religious community of feeling. During the Balkan wars of 1912-13 there were frequent pilgrimages of Indian Young Mohammedans to Constantinople, nominally in aid of the Turkish wounded, but in some cases certainly in furtherance of less harmless designs, upon which the abortive conspiracies engineered from Berlin, to provoke risings against British rule in India after



ENVER PASHA, FORMER HEAD OF THE YOUNG TURK PARTY

His Meteoric Career as Minister of War and Power Behind the Throne Has Been Extinguished in Turkey's Ignominious and Unconditional Defeat

the outbreak of the great war have now shed invaluable light. Nor was it assuredly Germany's fault that when the Sultan, a mere puppet in the hands of the Young Turks and their German allies, unfurled the Green Banner of the Prophet and proclaimed a Holy War, the vast majority of Indian Mohammedans turned as deaf an ear to his appeal as did the Mohammedans in other parts of the British Empire, as well as in the French possessions in Africa and, with a few exceptions in the Asiatic dominions of the Tsar. For Turkish *mollahs* and *fakirs* spread far the story that William II had embraced Islam, and German officers, engaged in propaganda work in the East, corroborated it by wearing arm-bands inscribed with texts from the Koran. If German attempts to exploit Mohammedan fanaticism fell flat in India as well as in Egypt, and the loyalty of Indian Mohammedan soldiers never wavered even when they were



*British Official Photo*

**INDIAN SOLDIERS OF THE MOHAMMEDAN FAITH AT PRAYER DURING THE MESOPOTAMIAN CAMPAIGN**

One of the Striking Features of the War Was the Mesopotamian Campaign Conducted Largely with Troops Recruited from India, in Which Mohammedans Loyal to the British Cause Fought Bravely Against Their Brother Mohammedans, the Turks

called upon to face their Turkish co-religionists on many a stricken field, they achieved for a time quite enough success in Persia and even in Afghanistan to cause considerable embarrassment and anxiety. There, too, they were ultimately defeated by the staunchness of the Afghan ruler and the more timorous prudence of the Persian ministers—perhaps also, it should be added, by such resounding victories as the conquest of Bagdad at a very critical stage of the war.

In Turkey as everywhere else, William II had neglected in his pre-war calculations all those moral forces which cannot be computed in terms of army corps and high explosives or even of Bagdad Railway concessions—the *imponderabilia* with which even Bismarck had recognized the necessity of reckoning. William had deliberately connived for twenty years at the grinding oppression of the subject races of Turkey, and Nemesis seldom overtook him more disastrously than when in the second year of the war the Sherif of Mecca, embodying in his person the concentrated hatred of the whole Arab race for their Turkish oppressor, rose in open revolt against the Sultan. For the action of so great a personage in the Mohammedan world as the hereditary Sherif of the Holy City of Mecca, himself a descendant of the Prophet, struck at the religious as well as at the political authority of the

Turkish Sultanate. The Sultan's claim to the spiritual headship of Islam as Caliph rests largely upon his possession of Mecca and Medina, the former the city from which Mohammed sprang, the latter the city in which he died and lies buried. As soon as Turkey had been dragged into the war by Germany, the Sultan used every endeavor, fair and foul, to compel the Sherif of Mecca to endorse the proclamation of a Holy War, and had he succeeded, that appeal to the Mohammedan world might unquestionably have proved far more effective and dangerous. But the Sherif of Mecca stood fast. He denied the essential characteristics of a Holy War to the war upon which the Sultan had wantonly embarked at the behest of the German Emperor himself, no less an "infidel," from the Mohammedan point of view, than the King of England who, as a just and tolerant ruler over millions of Mohammedans, had a far better claim to be regarded as friend of Islam. Thousands of pilgrims flock to Mecca every year from every country inhabited by Mohammedans, and no one had had better opportunities than the Sherif of hearing what his co-religionists thought of their different rulers. The testimony paid to the merciful and generous character of British rule by the vast majority of those who had had personal experience of it had made a deep impression upon him. Geographically Mecca



was nearest to Egypt. Several of his own kinsmen had often visited Cairo and could speak from their own knowledge both of the good government and of the complete freedom in all matters of religion which such an essentially Mohammedan country as Egypt had enjoyed under British protection. It may therefore be said without any exaggeration that when the Sheriff of Mecca decided to range himself openly on the side of the Allies and to throw off his nominal allegiance to the Sultan, both Britain and Turkey and through Turkey, Germany, reaped respectively the harvest that each had sown for generations past. The material assistance which the Sheriff has rendered us during the war in harrying the Turkish armies in Arabia and Syria and in keeping the Red Sea littoral closed against German importations of mines and submarines, which might have wrought frightful havoc in those narrow waters on the main line of British communications with India, must not be underrated, but of even greater value has been the influence which he has exercised over a much wider sphere, both as a great Mohammedan figure and as the standard bearer of the Arab revolt that has stirred all the Arab speaking populations of Turkey,

Christians as well as Mohammedans. This fruitful coöperation was largely assisted by the statesmanlike instinct which prompted the Sheriff of Mecca to assume the modest title of King of the Hedjaz, that is, of the small part of Arabia under his immediate authority. The selection of that purely territorial title precluded any suspicion that might otherwise have been entertained that he was seeking to prejudice in his own favor the ultimate adjustment of rival political interests in the Arab provinces of Turkey or of the still more knotty question of the spiritual headship of Islam.

The end of the war has therefore brought actual liberation to the whole of Arabia and Palestine and Syria as well as to Mesopotamia; that is, practically all the Arab provinces of Turkey; and the promise of liberation from Turkish misrule to all the other subject races whose actual liberation has been delayed by the Russian *débacle*. With the collapse of the Russian armies, Turkey was able to recover temporary possession of the Armenian provinces and to penetrate, sometimes even in competition with her German ally, into the American and other Christian districts of the Russian Caucasus. For the last time it may be hoped she pur-



French Pictorial Service

#### HEDJAZ ARMY ENCAMPMENT UNDER THE FROWNING RED MOUNTAINS OF ARABIA

Early in the War the Sheriff of Mecca Declared His Independence of the Sultan of Turkey and Organized the Arabian Kingdom of the Hedjaz, Whose Army Proved of Great Strategic Importance in Interrupting Turkish Communications

used there to the bitter end the policy of extermination which, to her lasting shame, Germany, having connived at it for twenty years before the war, watched and even encouraged with still more infamous callousness during the war. Next to the Armenians the unfortunate Greek population of Asia Minor have suffered most. Even the Kurds, fierce Mohammedans that they are, and in former time often the favored and willing instruments of Hamidian persecution, have tasted the Turkish lash under the new dispensation of nationalist Pan-Turanianism, which the Young Turks of the Enver and Talaat school, modeling themselves on Pan-Germanism, gradually substituted for the religious Pan-Islamism of Abdul Hamid. The literature of Turkish Nationalism, as expounded by the apostles of the Pan-Turanian movement, seems to have been directly borrowed from the Prussian Fatherland party, and lays constant stress upon the spiritual affinity between Turkish and German *Kultur*—an affinity certainly borne out by Turkish and German methods of frightfulness. Under this Pan-Turanian dispensation, Turkey, urged at last by the sword of all discordant racial elements, was to play the part of Prussia in the German Empire as the master-state in a vastly extended Turkish Em-

pire. Into its capacious fold were to be gathered together every people whose history or traditions or language showed some trace of a connection, however remote, with the original Turkish-Tatar parent stock, from the Volga to the frontiers of China and from Siberia to India itself, where the "indefeasible rights" of the old Moghul Emperors were to be revived in the service of Pan-Turanianism against the British "usurpers" who had succeeded them at Delhi. One can well afford to smile today at these wild dreams which have gone the way of Germany's own dreams of world dominion. But one must not forget that they represented only a few months ago menacing possibilities against which the East must be permanently made safe.

Upon whom will that task devolve? British arms have from first to last played the chief part in shattering the whole fabric of Turkish despotism. British and Indian troops repelled the first Turco-German onslaught on the Suez Canal which, according to the German strategists who directed it, was to sever the life-cord of the British Empire. The Gallipoli expedition, though all its heroism ended in apparent failure, exhausted, even more than the heavy blows dealt by the Grand Duke Michael at Erzerum and Erzincan, the best fighting



MECCA, THE HOLY CITY OF THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD

The Attitude of the Sherif of Mecca, the Most Significant of All Mohammedan Rulers Next to the Caliph, Was Largely Responsible for the Original Failure of the Sultan's Proclamation for a General Mohammedan Uprising to Be German-led and Manipulated in the Ultimate Interest of Germany



British Official Photo

# INDIAN LANCERS LEADING THE ADVANCE THROUGH A PASS IN THE MESOPOTAMIAN DESERT

Although Unable to Stand the Strain of Intensive Trench Warfare in the Fighting on the Western Front, in the Eastern Arena, Under the Blistering Sun and Amid the Arid Desert Wastes of Mesopotamia, the Indian Soldiers Proved Their Mettle a Hundredfold

forces of Turkey, and prepared the way for the two brilliant campaigns which in the South retrieved the fall of Kut and drove the Turks out of Mesopotamia, and in the North liberated Palestine and the whole of Syria. British troops had their share, too, in the lightning operations by which the Allies, after three years of patient endurance at Salonika, brought Bulgaria to her knees and hastened the inevitable surrender of Turkey, and the subsequent downfall, first of Austria-Hungary and then of Germany herself. The British fleet lies off Constantinople and British forces line the Tigris and the Euphrates and garrison Jerusalem, Damascus and Aleppo. But the British flag is no more an emblem of permanent dominion there than it was in the Belgian and French provinces from which the Germans have been expelled. It is an emblem of victory, but above all an emblem of liberation. The future of what has been the Turkish Empire will be settled at the Peace Conference. In the first year of the war the European powers then in alliance against Germany entered into certain compacts of which the terms, though originally kept secret, are now generally known. Their object was to remove the danger of international jealousies hampering the common war-effort by deigning then and there the special spheres within which each of the Allies claimed ultimate recognition of its preponderating interests. In accordance with

the traditional policy of the Tsars, Russia obtained the promise of Constantinople and the Straits. As there was already a large Armenian population in the Russian Caucasus, and Etchmiadzin, the residence of the Armenian Catholics, the head of the National Church, had long been the centre and rallying-point of Armenian national life, it was not unnatural that as long as the Russian Empire survived, its claim should be recognized to a future protectorate over the Armenians of Turkey who had always looked mainly to Russia for their emancipation from Turkish rule. Great Britain was equally prepared to recognize the traditional interests which France cherished in Syria, whilst she herself could legitimately claim similar recognition for her interests in Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf in virtue of their paramount importance for the safety of India. But with the dissolution of the Russian Empire and the entry of the United States into the war, the whole character and purpose of the war were transformed and immensely broadened. The intense fierceness of the struggle which had steadily grown into a life and death struggle for every one of the chief belligerents, clearly showed it to be at the same time a struggle, not merely between contending states but between conflicting systems of governance which, according as one or the other triumphed, would either, in President Wilson's words, "make the world safe for

democracy," or leave it indefinitely at the mercy of armed despotisms.

From such a catastrophe as the latter alternative the world has now been saved. It rests with the Peace Conference to achieve the ideal foreshadowed in the former alternative, and with none of its members more than with the United States. I will confine myself now to the question of Turkey. The Turkish Empire, as we have known it hitherto, is gone and no one will wish to resuscitate it. The Arab-speaking provinces will be definitely severed from whatever Turkish state survives, and, one must hope, the Armenian provinces also. In Palestine, Great Britain has pledged herself to support the creation of a Zionist state which, whilst safeguarding the pious interests of the whole of Christendom in the shrines and the sites forever sacred to it, will afford a national rallying point to all the scattered members of the Jewish race. Provision will have to be made for a certain measure at least of self government for the Greek population of Asia Minor, especially in the Smyrna province. The absolute freedom of the Straits and of Constantinople must be assured, whatever the nominal sovereignty be that may be established there, and, for my own part, I doubt whether it can be effectively assured, if even a nominal Turkish sovereignty be retained. There will still remain a large part of Asia Minor inhabited mostly by Turks, which will form a considerable Turkish state. But even within its boundaries, some guarantees must be provided against the revival of the old forms of Turkish misrule from which the patient and industrious Turkish peasantry, law abiding and tolerant when not exposed to the corrupt and sinister influence of Constantinople wire-pullers, have in the past suffered only less than the non-Turkish neighbors. Indeed none of the new states which will be constituted out of the Turkish Empire will be able for a long time to come to stand by itself, and none of them, after centuries of Turkish servitude, can possibly be ripe for democracy as understood in the West. They will all perhaps contain progressive elements that may ultimately work towards democracy and can in the meantime be utilized for the acclimatization of rudimentary forms of self-government. But unless some friendly hand is extended from outside to guide and control them, their lack of all practical experience and the natural tendency of primitive communities, suddenly emancipated from all the old restraints to develop new lines of cleavage in tribal jealousies and personal antagonisms, are almost bound to produce dangerously chaotic conditions. To such a danger the powers that have substantial interests in those regions and have most directly contributed to their liberation, cannot be expected to remain indifferent, though they may be fully prepared to subordinate

the particular claims recorded in the so-called secret Treaties at the beginning of the war to the broader conception of collective responsibility for the betterment of the world foreshadowed in the League of Nations of which President Wilson has constituted himself the foremost advocate.

Will America follow the lead, which, if his words have any logical meaning, he must have intended to give her? Will she be willing to assume her share of that collective responsibility? In Turkey—though not only in Turkey—there are wide fields open to her in which her very aloofness from all the political entanglements and jealousies of the pre-war past qualify her above all other Powers to exert a beneficent and disinterested influence during the period of transition from the old order to the new. Who could be a more trusted custodian of the freedom of Constantinople and the Straits? Who could more effectively guide the footsteps of the Armenians in the paths of orderly and democratic government? No nation has contributed more to the diffusion of western knowledge and western civilization amongst the subject races of the Turkish Empire than America has done by her splendid missionary and educational establishments which have carried on their excellent work with admirable fortitude throughout the war. The men are there today upon whom she can draw at once—men equally fitted by their knowledge of the people and by the respect and confidence they enjoy to lay the foundations of an efficient and upright administration which must be everywhere the first and most urgent need of countries that have hitherto known nothing but Turkish misgovernment. Surely America who came into the war for great ideals, is not going out of it without lending a helping hand in converting them into practice. Certainly none would welcome her assistance in the tremendous problems which confront us all in the Orient more cordially than Britain, for our own responsibilities in the Orient—those that we have assumed in the past, let alone those that we may now have to assume—are more than a sufficient tax upon our resources. When we have talked of "the white man's burden" Americans have been apt to smile at the phrase as a convenient euphemism invented to cover an insatiable Imperialism. Let America test its sincerity and its significance by sharing "the white man's burden" with us. The burden is a real one, but it is not an ignoble one. To have America sharing it with us will help perhaps more than anything else to translate the comradeship in arms between the two great English speaking Commonwealths into that close and abiding coöperation for the maintenance of the world's peace and the furtherance of the world's progress and liberty which will be the one sure foundation for an enduring League of Nations.

## CELEBRATING THE ARMISTICE IN PEKING



THE OFFICIAL CELEBRATION IN PEKING OF THE ARMISTICE AND THE ALLIED VICTORY

It Began with an Impressive Review of Chinese and Allied Troops in the Great Courtyard of the Tai Ho Tien, Where Eighteen Years Ago the Occidentals, Led by German Troops, Celebrated the Boxer Defeat



HSU SHIH-CHANG READING HIS VICTORY ADDRESS TO THE ALLIED DIPLOMATIC CORPS

The President of China Is Standing in the Center on the Terrace of the Throne Room. Reading from Left to Right in Front of Pillar: the Portuguese, Japanese, French, American, Spanish and British Ministers



William Service

MARINES AT THE PEKING CELEBRATION



William Service

THE ESCORT FOR THE CHINESE FLAG



Max C. Baer

TUAN CHI-JUI, CHINESE MINISTER OF WAR AND HIS STAFF ON ARMISTICE DAY IN PEKING  
General Tuan Represents One Group of the Northern Military Leaders Who, Chinese Patriots Charge, Are Entirely Militaristic in Their Policy and Quite Responsive to Japanese Influence

# REGARDING A NEW PACIFIC CABLE

By SILAS BENT

**D**URING the war there were periods when ships from the Far East to the United States made better time than cable messages, when the "confirmation" sent by mail outstripped its fellow filed for electric transmission. The only direct trans-Pacific system was so overburdened that often it was ten days behind with its work.

As a consequence of that experience it seems probable that a new cable will be laid to China and Japan as soon as may be. It is needed for commercial purposes but it is needed still more for the stimulation of international acquaintance. The war emphasized the necessity of multiplying our points of contact with those vast oriental areas where the vistas are as portentous to the statesman as they are alluring to the trader. There are many who believe that after the treaty is signed at Versailles the Far East will be the world's cynosure.

The question of another cable has been under consideration at Washington for more than a year and a half. It was first advanced by a Japanese diplomatist, to whose mind no better argument was needed than the desirability of better understanding between his country and our own; and it so happened that this argument was underscored by the prevalence of German propaganda, which this Government and the Allies had no competent means in China and Japan of combating. New York business men, who consider an additional cable line of more value in stimulating trade than many ships, found expression for their ideas through the Council of Foreign Relations, a volunteer unofficial organization of publicists, economists, diplomatists, lawyers and capitalists, established last September. Among its members are Elihu Root, Jacob Gould Schurman, James W. Gerard, Henry Morgenthau, Abram I. Elkus, Jules S. Bache, Otto Kahn, Lindsay Russell, Richard Washburn Child and Frank N. Doubleday. Mark O. Prentiss is manager of the Council, and has acted as its representative in conferences at Washington, in which the views of the Council and of large users of the cables were presented to the Government.

The Government now promises all possible speed in laying the cable. It cannot be laid speedily by British manufacturers, who have practically a monopoly of the business, because they are swamped under orders for about half as many miles of new line as are now in existence. If there is to be promptitude, this country must prepare itself for the work. The plan tentatively outlined is to convert to the purpose two war plants, one hitherto

devoted to rubber manufacture and the other to the production of barbed wire; and to build a cable-laying ship. It is obvious that the Government itself must undertake this enterprise, if it is to be undertaken, because the proposed cable offers no immediate return on private capital, but there is some debate as to whether there should be private management. The present line across the Pacific is said not to have earned profits in normal periods. Exceptional stress was put upon it during the chronic emergency of war, not only by the increase in the volume of business, but by the prohibition against the use of codes, which ordinarily greatly abbreviate messages. Submarine lines all over the world were overtaxed, and in the majority of cases proved unequal to the task set for them, just as did the Pacific cable; but there is no reason to suppose that any of them will be inadequate under the demands of peaceful times, unless communication grows to unexpected proportions.

Seventeen cables span the Atlantic. The only direct line across the Pacific is owned by the Commercial Pacific Cable Company, and stretches from San Francisco to Honolulu, to Midway Island, to Guam, to Manila, to Shanghai; with a spur from Guam to Bonin Island; in all, about ten thousand miles. There is, to be sure, a circuitous British cable touching only British lands, which follows this route: Banfield (Vancouver), 2,597 nautical miles, to Fanning Island, the longest cable link in the world, to Souva in the Fiji Islands, to Norfolk Island, to Brisbane, Australia; whence there is overland connection to Palmerston, and thence cable connection to Batavia (Sumatra), Singapore, Hongkong, Shanghai and Nagasaki. There was a working agreement during the war under which the two systems were to give one another a lift, but it did not prove of great value.

How costly and dangerous was the lack of adequate communication during the war may be gauged from a brief examination of German propaganda in the Far East. Germany relied for her work almost wholly on the wireless station at Nauen, just outside Berlin. That station was vastly improved after the outbreak of the war. Instead of a single transmitting tower, 300 feet high, ten towers were built, ranging in height from 360 to 890 feet. Messages were transmitted more than six thousand miles, according to a recent account in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which said the service was invaluable for instructing U-boats and cruisers, and asserted that the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, stationed at

Constantinople, got their instructions from Nauen to steam into the Bosphorus. From this same station there were sent out nightly two thousand to three thousand words in English of what was known as the *Overseas News Service*, supplied by the semi-official German press bureau. It was distributed to South America, Mexico, the Philippines, Australia, China and Japan. Just before the war began a deal was offered to newspapers in the Orient, native and English, whereby this service was to be supplied in exchange for advertising of German steamship lines and mercantile concerns; but the declaration of hostilities cut the dickering short. In spite of that the daily service was sent forth free to whomsoever would print it. The United States had almost no means of counteracting such propaganda. A single example may well enough illustrate the inadequacy of our communication with the Far East at that time. When Washington made public the Zimmermann note, showing the German Foreign Minister's attempt to involve Japan and Mexico in a conspiracy against the United States, New York newspapers cabled their correspondents in Tokyo to get expressions of opinion. The news had not even reached Japan, and it was necessary for one of the newspapers to cable the gist of the note in order to get an official statement as to the absurdity of Zimmermann's scheme, so far as Japan was concerned.

The important materials needed in the manufacture of additional cables (for the United States contemplates laying a line to South America after the Pacific work is completed) are steel, copper and gutta percha. Over the heavy central copper strand are wrapped successive layers of gutta percha tape, to act as a non-conductor, and of steel wire, as armoring. Steel can be provided in abundance, but until recently copper has been almost unprocurable for any but war purposes. It is so important an adjunct to the business of destruction that its price always has soared when that business was under way. In the United States it sold at sixteen and seventeen cents a pound before the European War, after which it rose to thirty-five before the Government fixed the price, first at twenty-one and then at twenty-five cents. But it was not obtainable for cable purposes, even so, and it is only now beginning to assume more nearly normal levels. Gutta percha is obtainable in the Malacca peninsula and in the Malayan archipelago, and is handled by small independent dealers, mostly under long-term contracts with the British manufacturers, who now have orders for 120,000 miles of cable supply; but it is probable that arrangement can be made to divert some of the product to this country.

The United States now owns a made-in-America cable from Seattle to Sitka, Alaska, but it has not

proved entirely satisfactory. Rubber was used in its manufacture instead of gutta percha; and the original plan to make this line part of a system to the Orient has been abandoned. It is possible, however, that the new cable will be laid from Sitka to Unalaska in the Aleutian Islands, to Atka, and thence to Vladivostok, Japan and China; with possibly a spur from Japan to Guam. That is one of the routes proposed. It is open to the objection that its northern location exposes it to icebergs, but that difficulty, in the opinion of experts, is not insuperable. It has been estimated roughly that such a cable would cost \$5,000,000, at the rate of \$2,500 a nautical mile.

The present toll on messages from New York to Tokyo is \$1.33 per word, to Peking, \$1.22. The higher rate to Tokyo, which is the nearer point, is arbitrarily fixed in agreement with the Japanese Government. The Commercial line makes a "Y" at Guam, and the section running to Japan belongs to the Japanese Government from Peel Island to Tokyo. Of the other section, that portion from Shanghai to Peking is Chinese. In case of a breakdown (such as occurred in January between Guam and Manila) or of congestion, American business men occasionally resort to the use of the British facilities. From London the toll to Tokyo is \$1.16 per word, and to Peking, \$1.06; and Americans must pay in addition 25 cents a word for transmission to London. The main system of communication from England to the Orient is supplied by the Eastern Telegraph Company, which owns quadruple cables to Lisbon, Gibraltar, and through the Mediterranean to Alexandria; overland to Cairo; under the Red Sea to Aden; thence the cable is triple through the Arabian Sea to Bombay. The course most used beyond Bombay is overland across India to Madras and thence, by a double undersea system, to Penang; but there is also a single submarine strand from Aden to Colombo, Ceylon, and to Penang. From Penang to Singapore the cables are quadruple; but from that point to Hongkong, Shanghai and Peking a single cable is in use. The Eastern company has a double line from Shanghai to Nagasaki.

International communication is not less important in peace than in war. It is a means of averting wars. It is a hand maiden of inter-racial comity. It is only through another cable system that the United States can build up her communication with the Orient. The new cable to China and Japan, in the view of the business man, will help "sell" America, and that is an advantage not to be belittled; but those who regard our smug ignorance of alien races as a menace and a blemish perceive a still greater advantage in its educational value. Additional cable communication would be a force on both sides of the ocean equivalent to many universities.



# INDIAN WATER COLORS

By S. Fyzee-Rahamin



*A product of Hindustan, the greatest living exponent of the art of the "Sitar" (Veena) is undoubtedly a remarkable instrument found only in the south of India. This great artist of India is in the capital, as most musicians, of the District of Mysore State, a man well known throughout India for the high quality of his art. His instrument is as beautiful an ornament as it is interesting from the point of view of music. The form of Veena is generally extremely varied and is filled with ivory and gold and is usually placed in gold and silver or painted colors. The tone produced by the manipulation with all the fingers of two groups of strings is sweet and really affecting.*



Indian artists frequently visualize a devotional scene. The statue of Indian gods, shrouded, was a lesser number of revealed God and Goddess forms, each with its own meaning from the devotion and the symbolic expression of certain meaningful words of nature. The painting more represented represents the God's form of "Vishnu" in the way as they reflect in the sculpture. The group statue form is depicted as in the spiritual nature of the way just as the sculpture is centered in the form of the natural form. And the other meaning of the sculpture, the form of the Indian sculpture is the way which makes itself felt through the artist's interpretation. The statue is surrounded by a "Bhav" power. The visual type of the Hindu and Shiva's form is the form, ground are the images of reality and identity.







The subtle, perfumed life of an aristocratic lady of India is very far removed from the physical element of violence, the violent light and dark, which characterizes western life. In her natural viewpoint, contrasted as all things are against the sky, she watches things that happen in the air as her vision gradually reaches the profaned "horizon" as this word has grown, her hand and her perfume, which her hand must touch is at other times as distant as the horizon. Her garments are of bright silks and her feet, her arms, her hands and feet, are ornamented with many jewels. Life is an accepted thing and if disaster comes consolation within the perfumed world as they are out of her feeling, within the air power to soothe them, all transmuting her emotions into the air stream in the vast unknown world of human existence.



"Vishnu-Krishna" is Vishnu, the shade of the Hindu, is a god of universal energy. The picture represents him in the form of a golden eagle high above the clouds in the golden rays of the setting sun, the lower mountains (mountains) in various shades of red, orange and grey, are a living place for gods to dwell and are surrounded by clouds in India, where there is even a sense of the divinity of that universal energy of which the mountains, of every height, of dark blue flowers, of all the majesty of vegetation (mountains) things with across the mountain.



And in a land of beauty and valor. Day after day the Fish of Stone  
 among the mountains still in the distance looks as if dust of gold  
 had been blown through the atmosphere. In the arena of nature the  
 power of man and dependent power of nature, sometimes meeting again  
 in the late afternoon to meet the mountains with terrible force. The  
 great the valley the Forest still in the distance in the face of distance,  
 the end of "the valley (for all things and things long ago." The  
 the valley and through the valley the forest the forest the forest  
 the forest the forest the forest the forest the forest the forest the forest



Portrait of *Queen Purno-Bhadrâ*, "Bhadrâ," wife of the artist. She belongs to one of the most progressive and respected Hindu families of India and is herself contributing much to the culture of her native empire as well as of the western world, through her efforts in creating the beautiful *Devâ* sets of various kinds, particularly that of music, in which she is accomplished. She hopes to see the fruit of her work in the construction of a permanent Academy of Indian Music in Delhi, the musical capital of the empire.



# THE BRITISH CASE IN THE EAST

(Second Paper)

By H. SIDEBOTHAM

**I**N a previous article I have dealt with the development of British war strategy on the right and centre of our Eastern front—in Armenia and on the Grand Trunk Railway from the Danube through Sofia and Constantinople to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. There remains the still more important left wing for consideration, the wing that covers Egypt, Palestine and Syria and the new Arabia. Here, too, we see British policy passing through three stages of development. First, we have a period in which we are recovering from the embarrassment of our old pro-Turkish policy and paying the penalty for our neglect to reconstruct our Eastern policy after the old policy was confessedly in ruins. Then there is a period in which we stand our old policy on its head and having for the greater part of last century opposed France and Russia impartially in the interests of Turkey, proceed to partition Turkey between ourselves and the Allies without thought of the national claims of the people mainly affected. And, lastly, our policy enters on an idealistic stage in which the satisfaction of the rights of nationality becomes the mainspring of our action. And here, on the left wing of the Eastern front, the idealistic character of our new policy receives its fullest expression, readily intelligible to democratic peoples and in close sympathy with deep sentiments that do not ordinarily enter into politics.

The military operations that led up to the great victories of General Allenby are extremely interesting, both intrinsically and for their ancient historical associations. The task of Sir Archibald Murray, who commanded the British army in Egypt at the beginning of the war, was far more difficult than is generally realized. Egypt was the chief exception to the principle of British military policy that land frontiers with military powers were to be avoided; if the gravity of the exception was not generally realized, the reason was that Turkey was never regarded as a likely enemy. When Turkey entered the war, the garrison of Egypt was weak and untrained. The only natural line of defence was along the Suez Canal, which lies far behind the political frontiers of Egypt; and for the defence of this line General Murray had to begin by making his army. It was fortunate that the Turkish attacks on the Canal were ill led and not delivered in very great force; for the defence of Egypt was undoubtedly at one time in an extremely critical state. Had Turkey been a modern military power with great industrial re-

sources and good communications, nothing could have saved Egypt against a concentrated attack. As it was, the Dardanelles campaign and the necessity for the Central Powers of overcoming Serbia before they could put their resources at the disposal of Turkey won for General Murray a respite, in which he had time to organize his defence and to train his army. But there was still no clear idea in the Government's mind about the political objects that we expected to serve by attacking the Turks in Palestine, and the Battles of Gaza were rather in the nature of military gambles like General Townsend's advance on Bagdad than a scientific adaptation of military means to the ends of our policy. If the situation rapidly improved after General Allenby took command, the reason was not merely the exceptional ability of that general, or even the greatly augmented forces placed at his disposal, but the fact that in the meantime the Government had made up its mind exactly what it wanted in Palestine. Its objects were two-fold. In the first place, it recognized that for the defence of Egypt the possession of the great Judæan plateau was an absolute necessity; without Judæa the real frontier of Egypt was along the Suez Canal. That the main artery of the British Empire should run just behind a potential battlefront was, obviously, a situation not permanently to be tolerated. But secondly, and still more important, the same conversion of our policy had taken place as elsewhere in the East. British military policy had now allied itself with the forces of political idealism. Our campaign in Palestine was no longer drifting, but had for its main stimulus the Zionist ideal of the restoration of the Jews to their old country.

The Balfour declaration in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people has a long history behind it, and in it we may read most clearly the true inspiration of the new British policy in the East. But before tracing the progress of this new liberalism, something should be said of the very remarkable victories won by General Allenby and of their place in the strategy of the war. The ordinary view of the Battle of Gaza is that it was won by a turning movement by way of Beersheba. In fact, the chief object of General Allenby's operation was to break the Turkish centre. The loss of Beersheba alarmed von Kressenstein so much that he put the whole of his reserves on this wing. Thereby he undoubtedly saved his left flank from being rolled up, though the hilly country north of Beersheba was certainly

not favorable for active movement. But having played on the enemy's fear for this flank, General Allenby flung his main weight on the Turkish centre at Hareira and Sheria, which, deprived of supports, broke in confusion. The Turkish army was severed in two, one-half retreating north to the plain of Sharon, the other east to the plateau of Judæa. A still more remarkable manœuvre in this, one of the best of the British victories in the war, was the sudden wheeling round across the Surah Valley and the march on Beth-Horon, which gave us Jerusalem. These passes from the Maritime Plain of Palestine to the Hills of Judæa have been fought over since the beginning of history and abound in records of heroic defence; against any other strategy than that of General Allenby, the exploits of the Maccabees in defending them might have been repeated by the Turks.

General Allenby's second victory was still more striking; it revealed not merely the master of manœuvre, but the diligent student of the military history of Palestine. Few countries have had so long and apparently so complicated and patternless a military history. But General Allenby saw that the key to the whole situation lay in the possession of the road through the Plain of Esdraelon, communicating over the shoulder of Carmel by low passes into the maritime region. This road has been the track of all the great invasions in Biblical history, and General Allenby saw that if he could only gain possession of it in its whole length, he might hope not only to defeat the Turks but to annihilate their army and force a peace upon them. But his task was one of great difficulty, for in 1918 the sudden crisis of the German offensive in France took away from him his best infantry and he had to begin afresh to build up an army out of material that was not at first very promising. It is to the credit of the British Premier and of Sir Harry Wilson, the chief of the Imperial General Staff in London that, in spite of our anxieties in the West, they never for a moment thought of abandoning the Palestine campaign. General Allenby's new army, when its training had been completed, justified their confidence by winning the most decisive single victory, relative to the size of the forces engaged, won by any army in the war.

Undoubtedly what convinced Germany that it was of no use continuing the war at all was the collapse of Austria, which would not have taken place but for the victories in the East. If the Eastern front had held, Germany might still have hoped by purely defensive war in the West to retain in the East some compensation for her defeats elsewhere. It was the double breakdown, East and West, that convinced her that the military game was up.

Let us now return to the development of our political strategy in the East. The real nature of

this conversion has not been sufficiently realized either in England or abroad, and it is of immense importance, both to the permanence of the peace settlement and also to the establishment of good relations between England and the United States, that the origins and motives of this conversion should be understood. In the late thirties and early forties of the last century, when our pro-Turkish policy was in the height of its vigor, there were still many in England who maintained that the true settlement of the Eastern question lay in the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. In 1840 the *Times* expressed the opinion that the question of the establishment of a Jewish state had entered into practical politics. The philanthropist Shaftesbury was known to be pressing this solution on his kinsman Palmerston. In September, 1840, Shaftesbury addressed a formal Memorandum to Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, on the Syrian question. "That which was needed was 'a competent and recognized Dominion, the establishment and execution of the laws and a Government both willing and able to maintain internal peace.' After emphasizing the great need of the land for an industrious population, Lord Shaftesbury mentioned the one people which, although scattered, felt the call in Palestine of inducements and hopes additional to any that might influence men and women of other nations. 'If the governing Power of the Syrian Provinces would promulgate equal laws and equal protection to Jew and Gentile and confirm his decrees by accepting the Four Powers as guarantors . . . confidence would be revived and . . . call forth to the full the hidden wealth and industry of the Jewish people.'"<sup>1</sup>

Others wrote to much the same purport, sometimes stressing the argument of British interests in the Near and Middle East, sometimes appealing to the Scriptures and to the sentiment of a nation of Bible-readers, at other times pleading the sorrows of a great nation exiled for nearly two thousand years from the Land of Promise. In the seventies Colonel Conder, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, reviewed this old ideal and supported it with fresh arguments, and still more famous was the scheme of Laurence Oliphant for colonizing with Jewish settlers a million and a half acres in Gilead and Eastern Palestine. When a Jew became Premier of England and her principal representative at the Berlin Conference, it is small wonder that many thought that at last the day for the re-establishment of the Jews as a nation had come. Disraeli, a sympathizer with Zionism, seemed marked out as the statesman destined to reconstruct British Imperial policy in the East on new and more generous lines. Unfortunately, he was too much obsessed by suspicion of Russia to think practically of this great ideal of his race. Well

<sup>1</sup>Albert M. Hyamson, *British Projects for the Restoration of Palestine*; published by the British Palestine Committee.

said the *Spectator* at the time, that if Disraeli had "freed the Holy Land and restored the Jews, as he might have done, instead of pottering about Rumania and Afghanistan, he would have died Dictator."

If Disraeli had done what the *Spectator* would have liked him to do, there would have been no room for German intervention in the affairs of Turkey. For a second time England, at the Berlin Conference of 1878, missed her chance of settling the affairs of Turkey in the sense afterward desired by the Allied Governments in 1915 and 1916. The result was that presently Germany took the place of Russia in our fears on behalf of Turkey, and compared with the reality of the German menace, the Russian bogey was indeed a turnip and candle ghost. Yet even so Germany had her chance of becoming the protector of Turkey if only she had been willing to act in a reasonably enlightened and generous spirit. There were two tests for her fitness to fulfil the position which we had vacated as guardian of Turkey. One was that she should not use it to promote her own selfish commercial advantage. The other was that she should make some attempt to protect the subject populations from the tyranny of Turkish misrule. Had she satisfied either of these tests, England for one would not have stood in her way. She satisfied neither. Her commercial enterprises like the Bagdad Railway were really disguised chartered companies, conceived in the interests not of their shareholders but of German Imperialism. Further, she did nothing for the welfare of the subject populations. On the contrary, of all the wicked acts committed by Germany in this war, none is quite so mean or so cowardly as her acquiescence in the wholesale murder of the Armenians by her Turkish Ally. When England supported Turkey against her enemies, she never missed an opportunity of urging reform and did not shrink from the unpopularity that she incurred by her plain speaking. But Germany deliberately allied herself with the forces of reaction in Turkey. It soon became evident that if her policy in the East prevailed, not only would our Imperial interests be endangered but the wicked and reactionary politics which the Allies were combating in the West were destined to triumph in the East. Belief in justice is not a matter of latitude and longitude; and having begun this struggle we were bound to continue it until liberty had been secured in the East no less than in the West. The cause of the Turk was recognized to be in substance identical with that of the Germans, and there was no distinguishing between the rights of Belgium and the rights of the Jewish nationality in Palestine, between the claims of the Poles and of the Jugo-Slavs to nationhood and the claims of the Arabs and the Armenians.

Yet the conversion of this country was not rapid. The habits of a century's political thought are not easily shaken off. The credit for this conversion must be given first to the imagination of the British Premier, who not only understood the claims of the subject populations of Turkey to our protection as an intellectual proposition, but was prepared to act and to take great risks to further that end. Without his imagination and his energy this ideal of Jewish emancipation could never have become a practical issue in politics. Mr. Balfour, too, and the British Foreign Office were quick to see how important it was that the British case in the East should rest on precisely the same foundations of political right as the British case in the West. Secondly, in the development and exposition of the new policy a great deal of valuable work was done by Eastern experts and supporters of the Eastern school of strategy like Sir Mark Sykes, Colonel Amery, Major Ormsby-Gore, Mr. Herbert Samuel, and by the members of the British Palestine Committee, an organization founded at Manchester, which ran a weekly magazine, *Palestine*, and sought to identify the case for Jewish nationalism with the interests of the British Empire, political idealism with a rational and restrained *real-politik*. But the decisive factor in the conversion was the deliberate preference shown by Zionists for membership in the British Empire. Chief among these Zionists were Dr. Weizmann, the President of the British Zionist Federation, Mr. James Rothchild, Mr. Nahum Sokolow. That this preference should have been so marked is one of the greatest compliments ever paid to the British Empire and to the ideal of *imperium cum libertate*. Zionism is an international, not a national, ideal and as such it has no sentimental attachment to membership in the British Empire. It chose this membership solely because it was convinced that the British Empire had the secret of combining the fullest development of local patriotism with the security given by unity.

The new British policy in the East, therefore, is now a consistent whole. It still clings to its Monroe doctrine for the East—the system of buffer states which is to preserve Asia from the militarism that has cursed Europe. But it has now allied this doctrine not with the maintenance of a cruel and corrupt alien oligarchy, but with the restoration of three great and ancient peoples to their rights of nationhood—the Armenians in the north, the Arabians in the centre, and the Jews in the south. And England asks for the support of the United States of America in the elaboration of a policy, Imperial perhaps, but no longer, as Mr. Balfour put it, Imperialistic. England has no other interest except to put these three new nations in the path of political success. The better they do for themselves, the better for us and for the world.



CHILKAT BLANKET  
FROM ALASKA SHOW-  
ING ASIATIC INFLUENCES

## ASIATIC SOURCES OF TEXTILE DESIGN

By M. D. C. CRAWFORD

EVERY revival in art in the western world has been guided by the standards of the East. From the crusades downward we may trace this golden influence. We are only beginning to understand how immensely ancient were the crafts that dealt with making life beautiful in the Orient, and are only coming to a fuller realization of our immense debt in all phases of aesthetics and indeed of mechanics as well. At the same time we must recognize the counter influence of Europe on the Orient. While all such contact in the past has not been disadvantageous to the elder sister, we must sadly acknowledge that our modern industrialism has already done much to destroy the finer perception and creative impulse in this former home of the beautiful. The modern factory system of serial production has offered not in vain its specious appeal. It has already done much to abuse artistic standards and unless checked it will be fatal. It is therefore most fortunate for the history of art, and particularly that of our own times, that there have been individuals in the newer portions of the world with the taste, vision and means to collect vast stores of documents from the ancient periods of oriental arts. These treasures have been preserved against that happy time when the world again turns towards beauty.

Unless all analogies are futile, we are on the threshold of such a period. Our public taste has greatly advanced during the last generation and

our industries, beginning to take recognition of this fact, are endeavoring to supply the change or market. In this effort our museum collections have assumed a fresh importance; they have become great research universities for the practical students of ornament. They contain vast documentary records that are not only of immense inspirational value, but offer constant comparison by which it is possible to adjust our standards of taste. Other things being equal, that nation richest in documents accessible to its creators will have the most rapid advance in ornamental expression.

It is, of course, a very stupid assumption that all good taste is a matter of the past or all bad taste of the present. There are not only many very interesting and beautiful things made today (some even by the much-abused machines) but all our museums contain many objects that, whatever may be their historic value, are surely very bad art. The selective power is just as important in dealing with museum collections as in modern objects. And this elimination of certain types naturally must vary from age to age with the changing political, ethical and spiritual needs of the times.

In the arts of Northeastern Asia, among the more backward peoples, there is a simplicity, a universality of creation and acceptance that quite fit in with the ardent democracy of these times. We are in sympathy with the arts of the Amur River and the Koryak tribes of the Siberian mainland,

and with the Ainu of Yezo Island (Hokkaido); they are possible inspiration of contemporaneous ornament. We are much more in harmony with the directness of symbolic and significant form (to use the expression of Clive Bell) than with the ornate complexity of the late Renaissance or with the stereotyped realisms of the Victorian period. I frankly confess that neither of these periods have ever been of much interest to me, but I have no doubt that they were appropriate in their ages and answered the needs of their creators. It is difficult to imagine that the world should ever again return to such mental and aesthetic standards. But such a misfortune might come to pass; and, besides, there are always in our population certain elements that, through the force of the familiar, desire such ornament. It is as grave a mistake to attempt to force good taste on people as to insist on ethical standards or political forms for which they are unprepared. I do not advocate, therefore, anything like a crusade against certain types and forms, but I do object to the over-emphasis that is often placed upon them in our collections and in our art schools.

It is highly important that educators emphasize such documents as are in sympathy with the spirit of their age. Art must be contemporaneous. We must remove the entire subject from exclusiveness and snobbery. Beauty is not a synonym for luxury; ornament and ostentation are rarely interchangeable words. Nor is art a term distinguishing expression in a few limited mediums from every other effort of men to bring loveliness into their lives. To a few specially qualified individuals in every age it is given to be a real force in creative emotionalism. No doubt this number is

constant in each age if we could but be certain and just in our estimates. But unless our great painters, dramatists and sculptors have a proper background of applied art; unless the simple constant things of daily life have at least a degree of this quality, these gifted individuals will appeal to a smaller and smaller audience. To reduce it to a formula, there are two sides to art: one is the rare power of creation and the other is that of appreciation. And for taste to be highly developed and accurate it must have constant opportunities for exercise.

Our relation toward ornament, in the vast majority of cases, has become purely selective. We

have delegated creation and execution to a rapidly diminishing class and in many instances both functions have become highly specialized. We have therefore come to accept ornamentation as an obvious fact. Our taste has not that exquisite fineness which is always evident among people who have not delegated these functions. If ornament were absent we would notice this fact very quickly, but the ease with which we secure more or less interesting aesthetic effects has dulled us to the truth that ornament is a vital necessity. It is very difficult for even the student of art to realize how powerful and insistent is this desire. Among peoples who had both the joy of possession and of creation it occupied an emotional status little, if any, below the fear of hunger. Among the simple people of Northeastern Asia the struggle for mere physical existence is constant and often futile. Famine and plague, the ever-present ministers of misery, stalk about them. And yet these people have created beautiful objects; indeed, they have



MODERN COSTUME DESIGNED BY EDWARD L. MAYER. INSPIRED BY BEAUTIFUL AINU GARMENT IN THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

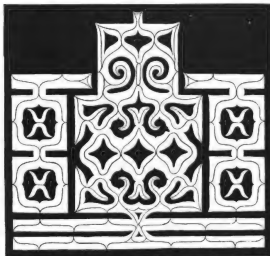
left no possible surface without appropriate decoration. Their patience and skill is past belief. The common explanation of unlimited leisure is the purest nonsense, for leisure in the sense we mean they know not. They had to snatch the

who cannot use their hands, while there are few men who can. Modern art teaching is more or less built upon the principle of craft, although its full significance is far from being understood. When the fortunate day arrives we shall see fewer young

people vainly trying to make enamel pictures and more of them devoting their talent to applied art. This tendency makes the collections of objects from people of universal craft expression of the utmost future importance, and their day is not far distant.)

The art of the Amur River tribes is largely intrusive. At a very early period the great arts of China profoundly influenced these people. Dr. Laufer, in his memoir on the *Art of the Amur Tribes* (American Museum of Natural History), clearly sets forth the proof of this statement. And anyone with even the most cursory acquaintance with both types must be struck with the relationship. And yet it is rather a spiritual than a material consanguinity. The Amur artists incorporated certain of their own ideas, were sensitive to materials, and interpreted rather than copied. In fact, it may be true that the old artists of China borrowed something from these people. At least the intrusion was at a remote period; and the adopted forms have been so firmly established that, for more than a century, they have resisted the Russian influence. Latterly the introduction of trade cloth, embroidery yarns, and other foreign materials is beginning to work the usual havoc. But even today certain of the traditional designs have remained steadfast.

Perhaps the most interesting objects in the Amur collection at the American Museum of Natural History are the fish-skin coats decorated with appliques of dyed deer-skin. In some of the later garments there are designs painted on the skins in blues and reds and greens, but in the finest pieces the blue figures are cut out and stitched on with great skill. This is the work of women. Amur parents are very anxious to have their daughters skilful workers, and thus add to their price when sold in matrimony. The number of different patterns known to an individual are as much a factor in this transaction as skill in application. Many of these women can from memory cut out stencil patterns of complicated design in a very short time. Other patterns are etched on birchbark vessels, embroidered,



DETAIL OF DESIGN FROM AINU ROBE

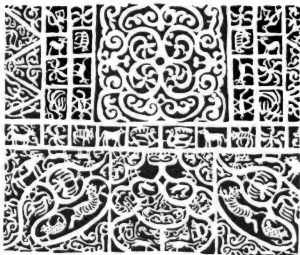
This Design Is Produced by a Combination of Appliqué and Chain Stitch Embroidery. The Motif was Borrowed, Perhaps, from the Chinese Bronzes of the Chou Period

time for their artistic work from the continuous struggle for food. If any people could be excused for having unbeautiful things or undecorative objects in their lives, these people would surely have a just claim. Putting aside the deeper spiritual considerations, there is at least one practical explanation for their artistic hunger: they are from necessity craftsmen. Practically every object they use they must fashion with their hands; and while, of course, there are individual differences and even differences in execution among villages, every individual possesses some skill and the average is remarkably even. Craftsmanship in all ages has been the sure foundation of creation in ornament and appreciation of ornament. We can today trace its latent potency in the artistic differences that exist between the costumes of men and of women. (The ornamental quality that exists in women's costumes as opposed to that of men is fully explained by the fact that in spite of our machines there are few women

or used in stencil on canoes and other objects.

The designs are largely animalistic in origin, the cock and the tiger, the reindeer and the fish, passing from obvious realisms (used in a highly decorative manner) to symbols so remote as to give but the smallest clue to their origin. The barnyard fowl is not a native of this region. It was borrowed from the Chinese, among which people the beautiful and useful fowl occupies a prominent mythological as well as gastronomic position.

The Koryak Tribes are children of the frozen tundras. Beneath their moors, even in summer, perpetual ice lies within two or three feet of the surface. These peoples, as well as the Amur peoples, appear to have some racial traits in common with our Eskimos. Their folk myths are strongly related; and in habits and physical characteristics they are remarkably similar. It is assumed by scientific investigators that in ancient times there was a migration into North America via the Aleutian Islands. The great problem of how man first came to the New World still awaits final solution, but practically all authorities are agreed that Asia was the original source, and only the doubt exists as to the sequence and course of the



STENCIL FROM AMUR RIVER TRIBES OF SIBERIA

Natives Are Very Skillful in Cutting Out from Memory Complicated Designs for Stencils to Be Used in Textile Decoration

migration. But there is little doubt that in the interesting arts of the Haida tribes of Alaska and the arts of primitive Asia there is a strong relationship. That we cannot trace this relationship exactly because of the passage of time, lack of written language and other obstacles does not alter this fact.

The Koryak peoples were wonderful tailors. Their hooded fur coats, decorated with embroidered

bands and interesting spots of bead and quill work are perhaps the finest garments in the world. Many of these coats have been studied by our talented costume artists and perhaps many women have been wearing garments that were inspired by the costumes of peoples of whose name and origin they are blissfully unconscious. The average woman among savages is not an object of beauty, and for this reason we are too apt to think their costumes unattractive—that is, we cannot overcome this sugges-



DETAIL OF EMBROIDERED BORDER ON KORYAK (SIBERIA) FUR COAT

The Ornament is the Result of a Combination of Quill Work and Fur Applique. In Certain of These Garments Beads Are Used



tion of association, in spite or intrinsic beauty.

The art of the Koryak peoples has borrowed somewhat from the Russian. But it is chiefly indigenous, the product of environment and material. It has certain qualities of expression that are similar to the Plains Indian costume of North America. Their fur garments are bordered with deep rows of beading or embroidery in brilliant color. The idea of having vivid colors on winter garments is surely not lacking in merit. Just at that season of the year when nature is least colorful, it would seem that the hunger for chromatic excitement might profitably be supplied in costume. Our winter garments are far too somber. The recent bright colored woolen garments of a sport character, those worn by the Canadian woodsmen and those of the Siberian tundra are in much better taste. One garment in the American Museum collection is worthy of special consideration. This one has an appliqué or rather mosaic design of cut pieces of light toned furs. The hood, the skirt and the breast are all decorated. By actual count, there are twenty thousand separate pieces sewed in by hand to make the ornament. It must have required years of patient toil to assemble this garment, and no surer proof could be given of the deep insistent impulse to ornament among primitive peoples.

In the study of costume history there are two great divisions; the draped garment and the cut and fitted costume. The former type is usually found among weaving peoples. The fabric is used just as it comes from the loom; and the warp and weft, being continuous strands, do not fray out as easily as if there were cut edges. The majority of animal pelts are too small to make complete garments and, while there are instances in which two skins are sewn together to form a robe, even the large skins are rarely of the most convenient shape. (Thus it is that ideas for tailored costumes are most likely to occur among skin cutting peoples and draped effects among the users

of cloth.) To this general rule, China is the most conspicuous exception. Pre-eminent as a weaving people, her costumes are generally formed by cutting and sewing. If the analogy of other parts of the world holds true, it indicates that Chinese craftsmen must have borrowed this idea at least from the barbarians beyond the Great Wall.

One of the first American costumes designed from primitive museum documents was suggested by an Ainu coat in the collections of the Brooklyn Museum. This ancient costume is probably the finest of its kind in existence. There is a society in Japan that is dedicated to the fostering of good taste. This society is a reminiscence of those ages when good taste was the rule rather than the exception. The devotees of this sect dress themselves in costumes which they regard as most perfectly appropriate. The garment referred to was worn by the leader of this society in Japan before it came into the possession of the Museum. In shape and cut it is not unlike the peasant costume of Korea, but its decoration is the most unusual feature about it. It is a combination of appliqué and embroidery.

The ornament is geometric in character, although its corners are rounded and its origin is to be sought in some form of weaving. But this must have been at a very remote period, as designs of the same character are to be found on the bronzes of the Chou period. As in the case of the Amurs, however, modifications of a nationalist character have occurred. The systematic rounding off of corners suggests that the ornament, although unquestionably of loom origin, has passed through the influence of some other technique, such as carving or modeling, before its present expression. The Ainu people are assumed to be the primitive inhabitants of the Japanese Islands, but the pitiful remnant of this people inhabits a portion of the Yezo Islands off the northeast coast of Japan. They are still extremely primitive in



AMUR RIVER TRIBE'S SKIN COAT

Salmon and Sturgeon Skins Are Used for the Body of These Garments, and the Decoration Is Appliqué Deer-skin, Dyed Blue



their habits and have retained many of their ancient customs. Some authorities are of the opinion that there is a strong intrusion of Caucasian stock, but actually very little is known of their origin. Their art is largely intrusive from some early Chinese influence. It has, however, become highly specialized. There are slight differences between the types of garments for men and women and the distinct tribal groups have ornaments that vary sufficiently to furnish marks of identification. This people is very rapidly disappearing, the influence of the aggressive Japanese upon them being almost as deadly as our influence upon the American Indian tribes.

The influence of these arts upon our modern designers is very rapidly spreading. Certain fabrics, especially decorative materials, that bear the unquestioned mark of this influence are already upon the market, but there has been, fortunately, no attempt merely to copy. The influence has been suggestive and inspirational rather than imitative. As greatly as I admire the actual documents, I should be very sorry to see any attempt at adding another "period." There must be a strong contemporaneous and environmental basis to every art. We can never successfully fit the art of any race or time upon another period or people, but no art stands absolutely disconnected from what has gone before. There are evolutionary influences equally to be reckoned with in ornament as in the development of other organisms. We can trace every vital thought, every essential contrivance of our modern lives back to some very remote origin. The changes in expression are the creations of today; but no life, no fact, stands aloof from preceding expressions.

There is a great movement on foot among the civilized nations of the world to develop Siberia and Asia industrially. Most of these plans are usually expressed in terms of mills and mines and other large units of production rather than in terms of the peoples themselves. It seems to me that any plan for the improvement of conditions in Siberia that does not include the proper development of the



STENCIL DESIGN FROM THE AMUR RIVER DISTRICT

Is Used in the Ordinary Way and Also as a Basis for Embroidery Among This People.  
The Number of Designs a Maiden Knows Determines Her Marriage Price

artistic resources and manual skill of the people will be incomplete. Nothing in the world brings such contentment and such deep joy in life as the ability and privilege of making something by hand processes. There never was a time in history when the appreciative faculties were so highly developed and the creative faculty so diminished. The craftsmanship of this region (if we can judge by the beautiful documents from them that are among us) might be intelligently developed along many lines of expression and used to decorate objects for which there would be a ready and constant demand at profitable prices in our own markets and in the markets of Europe. It has become necessary to bring back to the worker interest in his work which has been largely taken from him through the minute subdivisions of mechanical processes. It is to the interest, therefore, of these people and of the world at large that measures be taken that will preserve the great craft centers in something like their pristine vigor. We must learn to look at every people and every age not from the viewpoint of how we excel them in this or that particular, but rather from the viewpoint of what we may learn from them; and surely this neglected part of Siberia can give us many lessons which at this time should be very helpful to us. The world morally owes Asia immense royalties for artistic ideas. Can we not pay this debt best by preserving her living arts?

# WHEN THE CARAVANS LEAVE PEKING



BY WILL THOMPSON

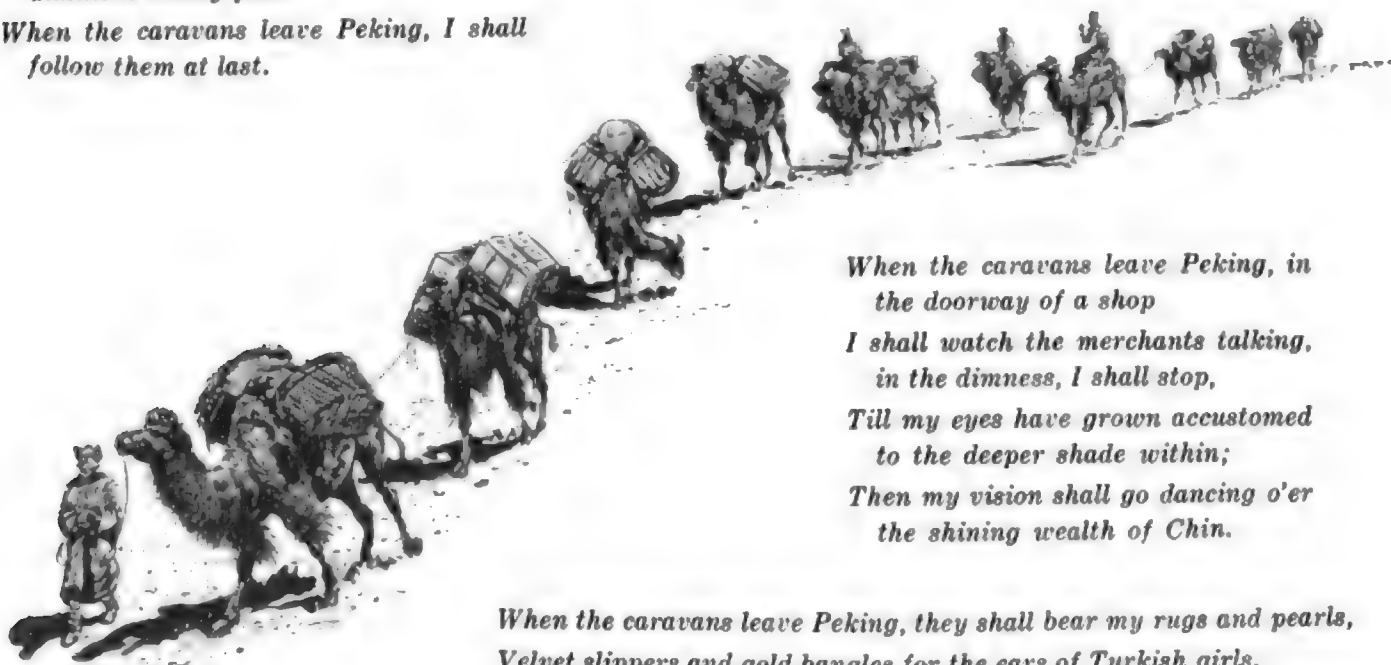


*WHEN the caravans leave Peking,  
on the yellow noon of day,  
When no cloud is in the heav-  
ens, and the wind is on its  
way,*

*I've a fancy I shall follow in the camel's path awhile,  
When the caravans leave Peking, turning north in single file.*

*I can see them in their trappings with their bits, their heads and bells,  
Laden with their silks and incenses in the morning's golden dells.  
How they loom in sight, grow larger, then  
diminish slowly past!*

*When the caravans leave Peking, I shall  
follow them at last.*



EDWARD BORTON.

*When the caravans leave Peking, in  
the doorway of a shop  
I shall watch the merchants talking,  
in the dimness, I shall stop,  
Till my eyes have grown accustomed  
to the deeper shade within;  
Then my vision shall go dancing o'er  
the shining wealth of Chin.*

*When the caravans leave Peking, they shall bear my rugs and pearls,  
Velvet slippers and gold bangles for the ears of Turkish girls.  
For in cities of the desert shall the traders sell my wares,  
When the caravans leave Peking, in the lilac colored airs.*

# LIVING ART IN JAPAN

By BERNARD LEACH

WHY have the Japanese abandoned their splendid heritage of eastern art? Why are they imitating the West? These are the first questions which spring to the lips of every sensitive European or American who comes to Tokyo. The call of the East has lured them a thousand leagues, to what? To the capital of the Tycoon? To the old Yedo of the color prints? To the diaphanous colors of Hearn's lovely pages? No!—to one of the ugliest cities of mixed architecture in the world. Old Japan lingers in by-streets, in temples, in tea rooms and gardens, and in conservative art, but nowhere with evolving energy, as one is forced to admit, when chance throws old and new together for our comparison. To the traveler, new-come, the contrast does not strike home, because there is enough of old tradition to satisfy his exotic needs. It is only when second hand Europe in Asia begins to obtrude itself upon his attention that his indignation is aroused, and his resentment leads him to ask the answers to these questions.

Looking for oriental beauty he finds all the ugly occidental trademarks of materialism, and he turns and rends them because they are not up-to-date. The necessity for modern efficiency he reluctantly admits; but, being no psychologist, he cannot grasp the magnitude of this demand for the old exquisiteness of the extreme oriental people, whose whole energy has been spent during a short half century in absorbing, at break-neck speed, western industrialism and material efficiency, in order to preserve independence. The West has taken at least four times as long in her own indigenous process and has effectively antagonized her art and action. It may

well be that the traveler's protest is a cry of sympathetic pain and warning.

"But," exclaims the visitor, "what has art to do with industrialism?" Everything. In applied art directly, and in pure fields indirectly.

The Japanese are abandoning their old traditions of art because they are abandoning their old traditions of life. The two are inseparable; life feeds art, and art stimulates life. As well might one expect a cabbage to yield roses as to demand the old mediaeval flowers of Japanese art on the pavements of Tokyo. Yes, lingering blooms occasionally almost catch one into a trance with faint reminiscent perfume in the evening air. It is illusion. Okakura and his last brave banner have fallen. His henchmen of the *Bijutsuin* (The Fine Arts Society), Yokoyama Taikan, Shimamura Kanzan and the rest, leaderless, have lost their way, seeking safety in numbers, in fame, in comfort and in craft. Hashimoto Gaho, whom Okakura placed first among the artists of the Meiji era, is dead, but even Gaho in

his hey-day failed when he introduced a foreign element into his art.

Okakura, as National Commissioner of Arts and as Director of the Imperial Art School between 1889 and 1898, tried to stem the headlong rush toward westernization and to preserve not only the ancient monuments but also their living traditions. Fenollosa and Okakura succeeded in preserving the national treasures as heirlooms for future generations, but they could not stand against the rising tide of western art which demanded new lamps for old. The rush light and the candle are charming and they invite the soul in quiet *cha-no-yu* sanctuaries, but the mechanic will have none of them among his flying



OGIHARA. A YOUNG JAPANESE SCULPTOR OF GREAT PROMISE

His Work in Paris, Before His Untimely Death, Attracted the Favourable Attention of Rodin.



"A LANDSCAPE IN FRANCE" BY RYUSABURO UMEHARA

Like Many of the Younger Japanese Artists, He Studied in Paris and is Steeped in Renoir, Cézanne and Modern French School Ideas

wheels. He, and metaphorically the whole Japanese people, demand the efficiency of electricity and the penetrating force of individualism which his-



DARUMA PREACHING THE LAW OF BUDDHA TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA

Painting by Nakamura Setau, Pupil of Laurens and Leader of an Independent Art Movement in Japan

torically and psychologically replace the fitful illumination of traditionalism in the dark aristocratic centuries of East and West. In exact rhythm with the mainspring of Japanese national life, the pendulum of art swings violently towards the new zenith in the West. Only when the driving force of that movement wanes, after the genius of Japan has touched the deep core of Europe, will the pendulum swing back again with new vitality to its eastern origins.

Hearn and Okakura both stood aghast at the destructive ugliness of demolition. It will not be the first time in history that destruction has preceded growth, and the first scaffoldings of reconstruction have shocked the esthetes. Were Okakura here again in all the fresh powers of his youth, it is difficult to believe that he would throw his weight on the conservative scale. The real wonder is the energy and adaptability of the

Japanese people, and in no direction is it more clearly seen than in art.

Okakura himself had vision enough to divide the real and the unreal in western, as well as eastern art, but it is debatable whether any of his followers had that vision. I can recall no one of their works which shows it. Yet it is a real amalgamation of eastern and western values, a love union of deep mutual understanding and desire, that the inner Japan so avidly seeks. The meeting of extremes took place in terms of trade and politics centuries ago, but only today can one venture to say that the will of any eastern race is bending its whole energy to the momentous task of spiritual union.

I have found that the thirst and capacity for understanding western things of the spirit on the part of the younger Japanese generations more than balances the avidity with which the nation as a whole has sought western mechanical power. If it is once understood that both movements interact and belong to one another, and that both are the outcome of strict necessity, our first inclinations to cry out petulantly—*Imitation! Superficiality!*—would die on our lips. There are mistakes. There is superficiality and there is much ugliness, but there is also life and vigor which will not be found elsewhere in the East. It is worth while to make an effort to see why that life force acts so unexpectedly, for the problems which it is solving in its own independent way are pregnant for the future of Asia.

Already in literature and painting, as well as in religious thought, work is being done that can no

longer be described as merely imitative, unless we persist in demanding ancient oriental art from a people who are trying to live a modern life.

The efforts of the *Bijutsuin* paralleled those of the Tagore movement in India, but the Indian paintings, particularly those by Abanindranath Tagore himself, have more spirit than any corresponding work by the present painters of the Japanese

house treatment, and the young Japanese mind has to deal with the severe traditionalism of *Bushido*, the family system of Confucianism and the material organization and system of Germany superimposed, a heavy burden indeed!

The struggle in art is a portent of the larger strife which is brewing between radical democracy and individualism on one side, and military imper-



"THE ADORATION OF THE COUNTRY MEN," PEN DRAWING BY M. KONO

This Drawing by a Japanese Youth Who Never Studied in an Art School Shows a Remarkable Understanding of the Italian Renaissance. Mr. Kono Belongs to the Sodoshu Group of Young Artists Who Have Never Been Abroad, but Who Came Together in 1915 Under the Influence of Post-Impressionism

school. Western civilization has been imposed on India by conquering aliens, but in Japan it has been the self-imposed task of a young and vigorous island race determined to preserve national freedom. This qualification alone is enough to account for very different psychological reactions, one of which must be the preservation of Indian ideals of art. It is not easy for strangers to grasp the intricate working of traditional Japanese thought even among those young minds that seem completely international in their outlook. Few of them entirely escape from the mental foot-binding of centuries, and even when their minds are free, the conservative power wielded by the family, the schoolmaster, the gendarme, the official, crushes spontaneity, in some ways, more effectively than in Germany. Art is notoriously antagonistic to hot-

ism and conservative communism on the other.

Okakura died in 1913 but it is already twenty years since he was ousted from his position as Director of the Imperial Art School of Tokyo. Since then each year has seen the steady advance of the western school of painting. In 1893 Viscount Kuroda returned from his studies under Raphael Collin in Paris, and in 1896 he was appointed head of the oil painting section of the Imperial Art School, a position which he still holds. Kuroda introduced French impressionism into Japan. The Japanese artistic temperament is nearer to the French than to that of other European peoples. When I arrived in Japan in 1909, I looked high and low for vigorous native art about to absorb the best of the West, but I found instead all the movements which I had left behind me in London and Paris

reflected in this Japanese mirror. Artistic Japan had accepted the lead of France. The greatest vitality expressed itself in the bright colors and sensuous brush-work of the new found oil medium, and the impressionism of Manet and Renoir predominated in at least a dozen exhibitions of the year in Tokyo.

The most conspicuous and largest of these was the *Bunten*, corresponding to the Western Academy or Salon, held by the Department of Education. Being a governmental affair, its tone was accepted *ex cathedra*. It drew large crowds, and molded ordinary public opinion. It was open nominally to all schools of painting, but in fact was run by established authority and adroit wire-pulling, and did not hang the best work of the year.

Occasionally a painting stood out from the rest on account of something more than ability, such as Mr. Yamawaki's, and I found that such works were invariably by quite young men. I sought their acquaintance and was received quite frankly, not as a foreigner, but as a brother artist. Since that time I have lived in and taken a small part in the western art movement in Japan, so that what I say of it at least has the merit of being first hand. In the more important of the annual exhibitions the artistic level seven or eight years ago was not below that of similar art shows in the West. Variety of subject and treatment were more limited, but on the other hand there were few paintings of the historical, story-telling, and "pretty-pretty" class, with which our popular exhibitions are choked. Such motives were illustrated in yards and yards of insipid silk in the purely Japanese sections.

The other exhibitions were somewhat freer, particularly the *Taiheiyō*, the central figure of which was Nakamura Setsu, a pupil of Jean Paul Laurens. The *Taiheiyō* carries on the tradition of one Chu Asai, who may be regarded as the father of modern western art in Japan. He flourished in Kyoto some thirty years ago and was a man of some taste, though the paintings which I have seen by him have no great merit. Whatever the comparative values of such groups as the *Taiheiyō* and the *Hakubakai*, by the time I arrived in Japan they were almost as spent as the *Bunten*. Everywhere among the young enthusiasts I found discontent. For long this did not crystallize in the form of independent exhibitions and I was at a loss to understand why.

Hitherto the only road to recognition for the young painter in Tokyo led through the gate of *Bunten*, the official Salon. There was no law to prevent him from holding independent exhibitions, but he could not expect to sell his work or normally to retain the support of his family if he did. The minority public who would support sincere work was at most fifteen hundred students, while the majority, who visited the *Bunten*, numbered over one

hundred thousand and included fashion and wealth.

Nevertheless about eight years ago certain young men back from their studies abroad inaugurated an independent movement. The first exhibition was, sadly enough, held by the friends of young Ogihara, who died shortly after his return from Paris, where his work had attracted the attention of Rodin. He and his great friend Takamura, whom I first met ten years ago in London, are the only sculptors whose work stands out with any distinction of personality. The next independent exhibition was held by Ikuma Arishima and Kunzo Minami upon their return from Europe in 1911. This exhibition aroused considerable interest and was the first held by the *Shirakaba Society*, of which Arishima was a member—a group of young writers and art lovers who had graduated together from the Peers' School a few years previously. The intelligent and consistent effort of these young men to introduce the most vital work in literature, philosophy, painting, drawing, sculpture and music deserves to be particularly noted. Through the eight exhibitions which it has organized between 1910 and 1917, it has encouraged and voiced spontaneous and independent art in Japan more than any other society. Modern influences which it has either introduced or stressed, and which have been absorbed by the artists, include Cézanne, Van Gogh, Rodin, William Blake, Augustus John, Beardsley, Courbet, Delacroix, Daumier, Matisse, Maillol, Chavannes; and among the old masters—Rembrandt, Michaelangelo, Leonardo, Mantegna, Durer, Giotto, Tintoretto, Goya, El Greco, Van Eyck.

Many of our popular western values have been revised in the East; Blake, for example, is regarded as the first of English artists; Reynolds, his contemporary, is disliked. The eager eye looking across the world sees our mountain ranges more in proportion, if less intimately. While societies, movements and fashions have formed and dissolved in breathless succession, this *Shirakaba* group has held fast, and in its monthly anti-journalistic group-magazine—publisherless, editorless, and without a fixed price or day of issue—has gained friends by its counter-balancing sincerity. Finally, it was this group which introduced post-impressionism in Japan before it came to America.

The welcome was immediate, and Japanese art as a whole, and not painting only, received a strong new stimulus from Cézanne and Van Gogh. Release from the bondage of servility to the outwardness of nature meant more to the spirit-loving East than to the literal West. The evocative rhythms of the new European movement awoke a response here in Japan, where evocation and rhythm have always been of prime importance in art; and a tendency to dilettanteism was swept aside by the breath of life. A genuine colorist, Ryusaburo Umehara, re-



A PORTRAIT BY RYUSEI KISHIDA, LEADER OF THE SODOSHA GROUP

Kishida and His Followers Show Distinctive Personality and Promise and Are Destined to Have Great Influence on the Living School of Japanese Art

turned from Paris, steeped in Renoir and Cézanne. Kenkichi Tomimoto returned from wanderings in India, Egypt and Europe, and began to do original work in the applied arts, particularly in pottery. His is the first decorative art with a spirit of life in it, and he is the first decorative artist who is at home with the folk art of any country and time, since the beginning of Meiji. The last work of the *Shirakaba Society* has been the raising of funds for the founding of a public gallery of western art. The nucleus of the collection is a group of three bronzes given to the society by the late Auguste

Rodin. It is almost impossible for young Japanese men to gather the large funds necessary to purchase famous works, and I am hoping that when western artists themselves know the conditions, some of them will follow Rodin's example. Another society, which at least began with a good idea, was the *Nikka*, a sort of *salon des refusés*. For a time it threatened somewhat to undermine the prestige of the *Bunten*, but this year some of its best men have resigned, for shop and politics are in turn eating at its roots.

Last of all comes the *Sodosha* group, formed in

1915 under the leadership of Ryusei Kishida. These men started under the influence of post-impressionism, but have developed along peculiar lines. None of the members has been abroad and all are very young and very much in earnest. The leader, Kishida, has a distinctive personality, and his work is bound to have an influence on Japanese art. The movement flatly contradicts its predecessors and in some curious details reminds one of Hokusai and his school back before Meiji. Color is sacrificed to content and form, and quality is never sought as an end in itself. Their paintings are at once realistic and rhythmic, and often they express what people call ugly subjects, in a stark, minute, but vital way. Their homage is given to a Van Eyck, but not to a Velasquez. They have the advantage over the returned students of being content with Japanese life as it is, and are not forever sighing for the stimulations of western social intensity left behind in Paris and London. Most of the returned students find their souls in the West and gradually lose them after they return East; they go immature, without a vigorous eastern mind-ballast, for there is none for them to take, the eastern civilization having long been on a down grade and needing a new stimulus from without. And instead of absorbing, they are absorbed by the overwhelming vitality of Europe at her zenith.

If eastern spirit were equally alive today, then

indeed we might look with enthusiasm for amazing and speedy results from its meeting with western materialism. But the late Tokugawa period in Japan was ripe for a second inrush of external ideas, and accepted them wholesale, exactly as she did her first Indo-Chinese civilization fourteen centuries ago. In Suiko times, it was religion and art which in their wake brought material civilization across the straits from the mainland. Today and tomorrow we shall watch the leaven of vital modern spirit, religious and artistic, at work upon the materialism with which western commerce and politics have overlaid the East. The keys of life which young Japan accepts from the hands of Tolstoi and Cézanne may even reopen the ancient granaries of the East. I know some coming men of whom that may be said in all truth. And this is the last indication in contemporary Japanese thought, though it only reaches to the beginnings of new synthetic artistic expression in some of the decorative work of Mr. Tomimoto.

Artistic Japan awaits the advent of a genius who shall have enough creative force to bridge the gulf of East and West, and in the meanwhile we must be thankful for each lesser bridge builder who erects a single span near either shore. Common sense is quite unequal to the task, and we must wait upon that uncommon sense, whose work is the control of activity by spirit.



## SPRINGTIME IN CATHAY

By EARL HERBERT CRESSY

*The wuya on the dibaw tree  
Exudes a raucous note,  
The gugu in the far bamboo  
Tries out a rusty throat.*

*The peach-tree is a tongue of flame  
Upon the bleak hillside  
And through the budding brush appears  
The pheasant in his pride.*

*The scent of clover and damp earth  
Perfumes the vagrant breeze  
That brings the clang of temple gongs,  
The murmurous hum of bees.*

*The fields, enamelled pink and green,  
Surround the village halls,  
Where arabesques of leafy shade  
Flicker o'er whitened walls.*

*A change has come upon the land,  
Winter has passed away;  
And the age-long winter of a race  
Is passing in old Cathay.*



# THE FESTIVAL OF THE TOOTH

By F. B. R. HELLEMS

AS we were watching a famous herd of elephants lazily bathing in the river, about four miles from Kandy, my attention was attracted by a tall figure wearing the saffron robe of a Buddhist mendicant and carrying a huge palm leaf, such as the natives of Ceylon use to shelter themselves from sun or rain. Now many of these monks have fine faces of an occidental type; but in the features of this quiet pilgrim, with wistful mien and deep-searching gaze, there was something hauntingly familiar. "Surely," I thought, and the thought was more than half a jest, "this cannot be an Irishman

Perhaps he read the eager interest in my face; perhaps his heart was hungry for converse with his own kindred. At any rate, he drew near and said: "So you find the elephants wonderful, too?"

"Yes," I rejoined, as I noticed the delightful little burr. "I would come from Donegal any day to see the serpent-handed one at his bath." The shaft winged with the name of his old country went straight home; and he took me to his heart.

Naturally we talked first about elephants, of which he was almost as childishly fond as I. But in contrast to my poor knowledge, he possessed the



**DURING THE FESTIVAL OF THE TOOTH, INCREDIBLE NUMBERS OF ELEPHANTS SUDDENLY MAKE THEIR APPEARANCE IN KANDY, ESSENTIAL ACTORS IN THE CEREMONIOUS PROCESSIONS**

Indian Lore About "Hathi" Is Rich and Fanciful, for Elephants, with Their Valor and Patient Servitude to Men, Have Long Inspired Indian Imagination. Such Names as "Lotus" or "Silver Star" Are All Too Inadequate for the Colossal Darlings from the Point of View of Their Doting "Mahouts" or Keepers

turned Buddhist?" But my unvoiced query received a prompt and convincing answer when my gaze fell fairly upon his mouth and eyes. In vain the tropical sun had stained his skin, and the ritualistic tonsure made smooth his pate; the eyes and mouth belonged most undeniably to the land of St. Patrick. Even as I was pondering whether I might presume to address him, he moved in my direction.

rich lore of a man who had not only observed *hathi* for many years with loving interest, but had also listened to the tales of *mahout* and *shikari* from Siam to Ceylon. As the huge beasts lounged in the shallow stream, with the tangled growth of the jungle in the background, one could almost imagine they were disporting themselves in their native haunts; and we agreed that if there was any finer

sight in the world than elephants decked in gala trappings it could only be elephants in some such setting as this. Then he poured out a hundred gifts from an apparently inexhaustible store. He recalled old Tavernier's report that in his day the elephants of Ceylon were so famous as warriors that their kindred from other lands always saluted them with instinctive reverence by placing their trunks on the ground and slowly elevating them to their full length. He told of "round-ups" in Burma, when the wild herds are driven into gigantic corrals to be tamed for the service of puny man. Then, turning to the names bestowed by doting *mahouts* on these colossal darlings, he pointed out that in this nomenclature of affection Lotus, or Lily, or Pearl was only a commonplace, while even Silver Star and Golden Joy seemed inadequate. Folk-tales, too, he repeated, among them the narrative of the wise elephant that used to be sent out from a certain city the morning after the king's death to bring back in its bejeweled *howdah* the man it had chosen as successor to the throne. Finally, just as we were leaving the bank of the stream, he spoke of the part played by the elephant in the story of him who became the Light of Asia. Before the birth of Gautama, destined to be the saviour of mankind, his mother dreamed that a six-rayed star from heaven entered her right side, and of this star the token was a white elephant with six perfect tusks. Again, in the prophetic vision of his father, the second Fear was ten huge silver-tusked elephants, signifying the ten great gifts of wisdom, in strength whereof the Prince should shake the world. In Buddha's middle years an enemy sought to take his life by sending against him a raging elephant; but the animal recognized the godhead of the "Venerable Omniscient One" and stood in peaceful adoration before his divine person.

Throughout our conversation his voice had been evenly modulated; but while he was speaking of Buddha I seemed to mark a tone of genuine reverence. I thought, too, that I heard a note of protest when he said at parting: "To-morrow is the Festival of the Tooth, and you must go to the temple; for you will have a rare chance to see not only the treasures of the shrine but also the throngs of common people."

To make full confession, I had not even known that the festival would fall in the year of our visit, not to speak of the very week. Of course, every lover of the East has learned that the Sacred Tooth is exhibited every five years for the adoration of the faithful, and that in the interval neither prince nor millionaire can obtain a glimpse of its venerable form. Both the official head of Buddhism in Ceylon and the British representative would have to agree to any departure from this usage, so the rule is strictly observed. One instinctively asks

why the relic is so sacred. The history of this solicitously guarded treasure, as narrated by the Singhalese priests, may be summarized as follows: When Buddha's body had been burned, an *Arahat* took an unconsumed fragment from the ashes of the funeral pyre. This was the left canine tooth, destined to become the most celebrated of the many wondrous relics of the founder of the faith. After a rather peaceful existence of about eight centuries in the southern peninsula, it became so famous, and created such disturbance in the Brahmanic community, that it was surreptitiously carried to the Buddhist centre in Ceylon, concealed in the tresses of the Princess Kalinga. Naturally, such a priceless possession proved the cause of international strife. Once, at least, it was carried back to the mainland of India, but was recovered by Prakrama Bahu the Third, to become once more the source of untold blessings.

## II

As we left the hotel next morning we found that a minor Mohammedan holiday had happened to coincide with the Buddhist festival, and I suppose it was this fortunate accident that contributed the last touch of color to the scene. And perhaps with the word color my pen has lighted upon the keynote of our gala day. Kandy, it will be recalled, lies about seven degrees from the equator, at an altitude of something over sixteen hundred feet, a situation that in itself conveys a world of description. On this December day the tropical sky brightened above, while the calm lake beneath reflected its turquoise and opaline hues. In the foreground leaf and flower ran riot in a joyous, reckless profusion, their variety and luxuriance emphasized by the sober, steadfast hills on the distant horizon. Nor did the throngs of people fail to match this brilliance of nature. Where any part of a native's body stood uncovered it glistened only less brightly than the jewelry that decked almost every form. It is only in the torrid zones that men discover how many members of the human body may be adorned with metals and stones. We saw bracelets, armlets, anklets, finger-rings, bangles, brooches, nose-buttons and a number of peculiar devices we could not even name. Obviously many of the ornaments could not be of great value; but even with this reservation the splendor was startling, and would have been incredible to any spectator who did not remember that in many parts of the East all portable wealth takes the form of jewelry. Gold and silver as well as less precious metals, pearls, spinels, topazes, sapphires and rubies, flashed out a remarkable display. But even more striking, at a little distance, were the festival garments. There was just enough white to soften and blend the rose pinks, the bright blues, the flaming scarlets, the deep purples and other brilliant hues. And everywhere



THE SACRED HOME FOR BUDDHA'S TOOTH AT KANDY, IN THE HEART OF CEYLON

The Present Structure of the Temple, Like the Emblem of the Tooth Itself, is Comparatively Modern. In an Inner Sanctum Under Seven Coverings of Increasing Richness and Beauty, the Tooth Lies on a Lotus Leaf of Beaten Gold

one noticed the saffron robe of the Buddhists, originally a color of humility and poverty, but soon more honored than cloth of gold. The general effect, which might have been flaunting and garish, was only gladsome and gracious under an equatorial sun.

### III

My mendicant had not forgotten his promise and without delay we began our walk toward the Malligawa Temple. But before we turned from the square we encountered a vari-colored throng about



*Publishers' Photo Service*

**NATIVE CHIEFS OF KANDY DRESSED IN COSTUMES OF BRILLIANT DYES SOFTENED BY WHITE,  
AN AESTHETIC ESSENTIAL OF DRESS IN ALL TROPICAL COUNTRIES**

The Last King of Kandy Was Subjugated by the British a Hundred Years Ago, Preceding a Convention with the Kandyan Chiefs by Which the Sovereignty of the Island Passed into the Hands of the British

a strange looking booth, from which was issuing a sound like the voice of man, but of a timbre distinctly metallic. It was a phonograph, pouring forth the Sinhalese tongue, and my heart rebelled. The pleased and interested faces of the auditors, however, admonished me of my selfishness, even as they proclaimed that the subjection of America to this remarkable mechanism was rapidly being shared by the uttermost parts of the earth. From the jarring phonograph to the temple enclosure was only a few steps; but the way was beset with beggars in every degree of nudity and wretchedness, and I found myself "making merit" very cheaply by bestowing modest alms. After being lectured by stern sociologists at home, it is a treat to indulge one's charitable inclinations untroubled by fear of rebuke.

As we walked slowly along my friendly guide pointed out that Buddhism was the only system of religion or philosophy that offered both a reasonable explanation of the suffering in evidence before us and an equally reasonable opportunity of escape therefrom. "This poor wretch is blind; his affliction may be due to lust of the eye in a previous incarnation."

"But his hearing is remarkably acute," I suggested.

"That is probably because he listened to the excellent word or gave ear to the cry of the needy."

"So you do really apply the transmigration of souls to every-day life?" I queried.

"Yes," he replied very seriously. "It is the indispensable foundation of our faith. That lame man yonder, with the shrunken limb, has been born in a thousand bodies; in many of them he ran after unrighteousness, and his present lot is the inevitable outcome of all his former acts and thoughts. The dumb man near him may have cursed his father a hundred lives ago."

"And the rich merchant in the rickshaw?"

"He may be prosperous now because in previous incarnations he kept the law and succored the poor; but if in this body, and others yet to be assumed, he prove unworthy of his past, he may be born again in such guise as one of these sufferers. This is the doctrine of *karma*. Each life is at once the fruit of lives that have been, the seed of lives to be. We seem but drops on the timeless sea of chance and change; but each drop, as it floats along, carries the penalty or reward of countless existences; and the essential sum of all these, as well as its own doings, will be embodied in the drop it becomes to-morrow. If life after life becomes more virtuous, passing from purity to greater

purity, eventually it may escape from the turbulent ocean of being to the infinite, unchanging shore where its karma shall not be individualized again. That goal we call *Nirvana*."

"Is it death?" I asked.

"Nay, there is no death."

"Is it life?"

"Not as you understand life, albeit a saint may attain Nirvana while he is still clothed with a human body; for it is primarily the dying out of sensuality and uncharitableness. Ultimately it is neither life nor death, but a fathomless, passionless calm. The individual is merged with the universal and is lost in a supreme unity, which neither word nor symbol can convey."

By this time we were standing on the bridge leading to the courtyard gate, and as we looked down at the water of the moat we found it swarming with turtles.

"You may make merit by feeding them also," he suggested with a kindly smile.

So we amused ourselves by casting corn to these awkward creatures, whose very form, if transmigration holds, we may have worn in a distant sluggish incarnation.

"I confess," I said, "that I am wondering not so much how a man could deserve to become a turtle as how a poor turtle, in a narrow pool, trusting to pilgrims for his food, could make enough merit to deserve even a slight improvement in the scale of reincarnation."

"Who shall say?" he replied amiably. "But at least you may notice that they are not pushing one another away from the falling maize, so they are behaving rather better than many men in England, and possibly in America!"

#### IV

The temple nestles cozily in the centre of a courtyard at the foot of a richly wooded hill. As early as the fourteenth century a sacred home for Buddha's tooth was erected on this site; but the present wooden structure is comparatively modern. There is nothing imposing in its outlines, but it is pleasing and picturesque.

We happened to enter just as the stalwart headman and his helpers were distributing to the poor the sacrificial cakes and other offerings which had been concentrated on the bloodless altars; and the



AN INDIAN CELEBRATION MEANS A FESTIVAL OF RIOTOUS COLOR. OF SHARP CONTRASTS OF LIGHT AND SHADOW

Everywhere Under the Equatorial Sky Press the Good-Natured, Varicolored Throng, with Glistening Eyes and Hair and Skin of Glistening Bronze Set Off by a Wealth of Metals and Stones

kindly scene will not lightly be forgotten. His duties done, the headman proved himself not only hospitable and friendly, but also the possessor of one thoroughly modern interest; for on learning our nationality he expressed a wish to buy a twenty dollar gold piece. As he explained that he desired the coin merely to complete a collection, we recalled that the natives of Ceylon and India were prone to hoard every piece of gold that came into their hands. To this he agreed, although he smiled when we suggested that such action was producing a serious problem for British financiers.

However, American double eagles and the intricacies of finance seemed hopelessly incongruous with this venerable home of the hallowed tooth, and we turned eagerly to the architectural details, the unfamiliar decorations and the various sacred objects. Omitting a hundred things, I must say just a word about the library connected with the temple.

Books that I cannot read still inspire me with a feeling closely akin to the reverence of the hardy Norseman in the presence of his ancient runes, or to the awe of primitive man before any object or phenomenon that is beyond the grasp of his poor brain and which therefore may demand the propitiation of a god. So we looked with respectful eyes on impressive palm leaf volumes we could not understand, and my mystical awe was merged in rational respect on learning that the oldest *Pitakas* of Cey-

came to be regarded as an efficient means of "making merit." But even this admirable tenet proved capable of abuse among less enlightened generations; for an ingenious priest, inspired, perhaps, by the easy efficacy of the prayer wheel, conceived the idea of a library which might be turned by an attendant for the benefit of the devotee, who could make as much merit as if he had read all the scriptures on the moving shelves.

## V

In the afternoon we saw the Tooth. Its sanctity is sheltered beneath no less than seven ball-shaped coverings, like the dagobas that mark so many sacred spots, and these must be removed with due pomp and ceremony. The outermost and largest of the seven shelters is made of rich metal and adorned with jewels; but it is surpassed in value and elaboration by the second, and the seventh is the most splendid of all. Thus there is a progressive increase in the beauty and wonder of the coverings, that each casket may be worthy of its proximity to the priceless relic, which rests on a symbolic lotus leaf of beaten gold.

An attendant helped to make a way for us through the closely pressed crowds of natives, who were angelically good-natured. About us gleamed a multitude of gentle, strange-ringed eyes, peering from beneath gloriously glistening hair, while a stream of dusky, kindly faces poured through the narrow passageways toward a richly ornate shrine with wonderful bronze doors. And everywhere the scent of the jasmine floated in fragrant mastery. There seemed to be some secret harmony between the heavy richness of its odor and the elaborate oriental decorations through which we were moving.

When at last we reached the inner sanctum and bent our gaze upon the hallowed relic, resting on the golden lotus leaf, we saw a piece of discolored ivory about two inches in length and one inch in breadth. It could not have come from the jaw of man or beast. Furthermore, it is well established that the original tooth, itself a fraud, was burned at Goa, in the sixteenth century, by the Portuguese archbishop in the presence of the viceroy and court. After its incineration Vikrama Bahu manufactured a substitute, which has done duty ever since.

Naturally, this bit of history was not unknown to my Irish friend, who did not attempt to conceal his regret that simple minds have always been slow to free themselves from the persisting influence of primitive animism and have ever clung to the



APPROACH TO THE OUTER COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF THE TOOTH

A Stone Bridge Spans the Moat Where Dwell the Sacred Turtles, Whose Form, According to the Buddhist Doctrine of Transmigration of Soul, We May Ourselves Have Worn in Some Distant Sluggish Incarnation

lon are traced by one eminent scholar to the fourth century before our era, and that Buddhistic manuscripts give literary evidence of a well developed art of writing in India as far back as 450 B. C. The earlier adherents of the faith developed a genuine and laudable reverence for the written word, as the bearer of light and learning; nor is it at all surprising that the reading of a book soon



*Publishers' Photo Service*

KANDY, SITUATED ON THE EDGE OF A LARGE ARTIFICIAL LAKE IN THE MOUNTAINS OF CEYLON, HAS BEEN A STRONGHOLD OF BUDDHISM FOR MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND YEARS. Numerous Temples and White Bell-Shaped Dagobas, Enshrining Relics of Buddha or His Followers, Point Upward Among the Slender Palms. Here and There Poles Flutter with Paper Prayers, and the Steady Stream of Pilgrims Throughout the Year Bears Witness to the Living Faith of the Buddha.

visible and tangible. In this respect the course of Buddhism has been strikingly parallel to the course of occidental religion. One does not need to be reminded that during the Middle Ages the essence of Christianity was all but lost in the superstitious adoration of relics; or that this perversion is a living force in many parts of Europe to this day. It is true that Buddhism—even in Siam, Burma and Ceylon—has been defiled by countless intrusions from grosser cults, while in many countries, as in Tibet it has degenerated into the most puerile formalism and superstition. But these abuses do not constitute a reasonable argument against the great central teachings of him who set in motion the Wheel of the Law. It would be just as unfair to judge Buddhism by the Festival of the Tooth as to judge Catholic Christianity by the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. But, despite the disappointing tooth, the cheery, peace-giving charm of the festival and its setting had brought me a mood of restful enjoyment. Buddhism has always been a source of wonder to me. Here was a master who taught five hundred years before Christ that salvation was to be attained not by charms, or rites, or

ceremonies, or sacrifices, or priestly prayers, but by self-control and love for all living things. Here was a religion that spread over a wider area than Christianity and Mohammedanism combined, although these two could offer the reward of an immortality of material pleasure after a few short years of struggle, whereas the former could only promise that a good life meant a tiny step on a road that might never end, or, at best, could end only in the annihilation of desire. All through the day I had seen only kindly looks and heard only kindly words; and my thoughts kept dwelling on the irresistible attraction of any religion that teaches gentleness and claims mankind only by the right of mercy and love's lordliness. If I had not been most painfully conscious of a life wherein I had stored up such a mass of demerit that my poor *karma* must have a dreadful reincarnation, I might have been persuaded to become a humble follower of him who strove by gentleness to guide the stumbling steps of this blind world, and to make life gentle for the weak and noble for the strong. Howbeit, Life is ever the slave of Time, and I had been bound to the Wheel under a different sky.

# ASIATIC BOOK SHELF

**JAVA HEAD.** by Joseph Hergesheimer, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1918, pp. 255. Price, \$1.50.

Joseph Hergesheimer, who in the last four years has earned a place for himself in the front rank of American novelists, has taken passage for the Orient in his new novel. *Java Head*, on Sunda Strait between Java and Sumatra—a phrase redolent with spices and pepper and tropical beaches and romantic Conrad plots—a title to conjure with. It is a tale of Salem in the brave old days of Polk's presidency—just at the beginning of Salem's decline as a port, when the slender clippers were replacing the old bluff bowed ships and the trade was turning toward Boston. The book is full of the fascination of that aristocratic and unique period in the history of the New England coast when every family had its sea captain and every captain brought back from his long voyages, filled with adventures and risks, rare cashmere shawls, jade and carvings, rich brocades and teakwood cabinets, strange lacquered chests and exquisite teas. Those were the days when New England had personal and romantic contacts with Canton, Calcutta, Nanking, Singapore and all the ports east of Suez.

The characters in the story—an old family of China traders—develop vividly against a background of busy harbors bristling with masts; of brilliant eastern shawls and square white houses colored with an exotic oriental atmosphere; and, always like a restraining hand the cool lilac hedges and the Puritan meeting house. There is the old retired captain, wonderfully portrayed, with his chuckling memories of fabulous voyages; his son William, who represents the new unromantic businesslike order of shipping; and Gerrit, the younger son, who still carries on his father's tradition in adventurous voyages. One can almost accept the noble Manchu bride whom he brought back from his most memorable journey. A Manchu lady, faithful to the teachings of Confucius and Lao-tze, resplendent in paint and jade and a Manchu satin gown, at a Sunday morning service in North Church—could there be anything more incongruous? And the anticipated tragedy is close and threatening. The plot is tinged with melodrama, but the descriptions make us long for the tang of the sea and romance coming home to port. As Joseph Hergesheimer himself says "It was a great time, it was American and it has gone. Improvement killed it. . . . In place of its idiom on Derby Street, where the ships once lay, there is the Slavick clatter of the alien factory workers." E. F. W.

**SAMURAI TRAILS**, by Lucian Swift Kirtland. George H. Doran Company, New York, 1918, pp. 300. Price, \$2.50.

There are several ways of seeing Japan, depending on one's time and temperament: the tourists visit the show places and stay at the foreign hotels, guaranteed to present no glimpse of Japanese life; some leisurely souls settle down in the Flowery Kingdom for a year or two and contemplate folk ways and national customs with the changing seasons; and there are others who take to the road and explore unbeatn trails with pedestrian sturdiness. Mr. Kirtland has chosen the last, and certainly for a brief visit, the best way of becoming acquainted with Japan. The Japanese of the cities and the bristling industrial centers become brisk and casual and almost occidental from their ultra modern contacts. In the mountain villages and in a humble cluster of thatched farm houses one still finds the exquisite courtesy and simplicity of old Japan. The author, with his companion, O-Owre-san, and his Japanese friend, O-Hori-san, finds a bit of the Japan sequestered from the average tourists, on a two months' walking trip from Kyoto to Tokyo along the Tokaido, the famous old Japanese high-road of feudal and samurai Japan. The book is for the most part an account of robust walking days and of nights in various inns. There is little that is unusual in the experiences or the observations, but one appreciates the sympathetic point of view of the author, the desire not to offend in word or act the simple country people, who have a cycle of tales on the Rabelaisian vulgarity of foreigners.

**MASHI AND OTHER STORIES.** by Rabindranath Tagore. The MacMillan Company, New York, 1918, pp. 222. Price, \$1.50.

Except for the tales of Kipling, we have few good short stories woven around India. The oriental writer seldom thinks in terms of the occidental short story, but when the time comes that he does, there is a rich and unexplored field of psychology, motives of action and emotions to be opened to the western reader. Rabindranath Tagore's *Mashi*, like his *Hungry Stones*, is only a beginning. These stories, slight in structure and told with the graceful simplicity of Tagore's art, do not beat on the great temple drum of epic themes. For the most part they are gentle domestic sketches of requited and unrequited love. "Mashi" is an exquisite unfolding of the unselfish and beautiful love of an aunt for a dying boy. With extreme devotion

she conceals from him the cruel and wilful neglect of his girl wife, whom he loves passionately. Only at the end does the truth inadvertently come out, and then in one tender moment the boy realizes the sheltering wings of his aunt's maternal love. But even at the last there is a lingering wistfulness in his heart for his wife, to whom his soul reaches out for the final touch with earth. In another story, "Subha," a little dumb girl, who speaks so deeply with her big brown eyes, has been surrounded with tender care in her river village. But Subha grows into womanhood and must be married. Who will marry the little dumb girl? The villagers cast hostile glances at Subha's family. There are rumors that they will lose their caste if the girl is not married, so they take her away to Calcutta and marry her to a man who does not know of her infirmity. When he discovers it, he takes another wife. Most of the stories are told in a plaintive minor key, but they are not all of love. There is one story about the miser who loves his property more than his only son and his little grandson. The tale is told with such repression of emotion that it is terrific in its effect, in its disclosure of the final catastrophe. One moves in this book through a phantom land of unreality, trembling on the brink of an unknown world. There is little color; the movement seems almost halted by strange forces of fate. But it is a new and fascinating world, and one hopes that other oriental writers will make their people live for the West.

**WINE-DARK SEAS AND TROPIC SKIES**, by A. Saffroni-Middleton. Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1918, pp. 304.

The lotoe-eating islands of the South Seas have cast the spell of their languid charm and tranquillity over many men of many nations. Robert Louis Stevenson and Jack London were men of widely diverging temperaments, but they had in common their passionate devotion to the South Seas. However unfair it would be to compare Mr. Middleton either with Stevenson or London, he, too, belongs to the brotherhood of eternal youth and romance and adventure. When a mere lad he shipped before the mast and roamed the boundless seas of the Pacific. He played violin solos for cannibal chiefs, he hobnobbed with beach combers, strange derelicts for whom he had a human and beautiful sympathy; and because he understood he was permitted to witness strange barbarian rites performed before great wooden idols in the forest glades at midnight. It was youth lived through the glamor of tropical moonlights and of softly swaying palms.



# ANNA





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## Contributors and Contributions

PUTNAM WEALE, one of the foremost writers on Far Eastern questions, contributes his third article on present-day political conditions in China.

ISAAC DON LEVINE the author of *The Russian Revolution* and of the forthcoming book, *The Resurrected Nations*, was born in Russia and came to this country in 1911. In 1917 he was the foreign editor of the *New York Tribune*.

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FREDERICK STARR, head of the anthropology department of the University of Chicago, has visited Japan and Korea many times on expeditions and field work connected with ethnological research. His group of Ainu at the St. Louis Exposition was awarded the grand prize.

# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

VOLUME XIX

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**SIR S. P. SINHA, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA**

Sir S. P. Sinha, recently raised to the peerage, is the first Indian to be given a seat in the House of Lords. As Under Secretary for India in the Lloyd George Cabinet and member of the Upper House, he is now in a favorable position to advance the liberal solution of some of his country's most pressing problems. His long record of disinterested and able service has not only qualified him to represent India but has won for him the whole-hearted support of the majority of his countrymen. Among the posts of distinction that he has filled may be mentioned his membership (as first Indian) in the Viceroy's Executive Council and his appointment in 1917 to the Imperial War Conference in London.



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**BARON NOBUAKI MAKINO, FORMER MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT JAPANESE DELEGATES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE.**

Baron Makino, who has voiced with more emphasis than any of the other Japanese delegates Japan's claims at the Peace Conference, has had a long and brilliant diplomatic career. He first occupied a public post of distinction as secretary to the late Prince Ito in 1888. Since then he has held the cabinet portfolios of foreign affairs, education, commerce and agriculture, and he was Japanese Minister at Rome and later at Vienna. Baron Makino has expressed Japan's policy in regard to racial and international equality and has vigorously defined Japan's determination to be the dominating power in the Far East. If Japan should continue to press her claim to virtual control of Germany's Shantung holdings as a heritage of war, the Peace Conference should have little difficulty in deciding upon the return of China's full rights without strings. But it will require the utmost sagacity and strength of purpose of the best statesmanship at Paris to get back of Shantung into the heart of Japan's program in China, to win recognition from Japan of the necessity for abandoning a policy of domination—if the liberal

Japanese element itself fails to accomplish this right-about-face



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S. K. ALFRED SZE, ONE OF THE CHINESE DELEGATES TO THE  
PEACE CONFERENCE.

Through his training as a graduate of Cornell University and as Minister to Great Britain since 1914, Mr. Sze is well equipped to work in harmony with the delegates representing the western nations in Paris. He is equally well trained through his experience as a member of the cabinet, commissioner of customs and foreign affairs, and manager of railroads, to represent the interests of China at the Peace Conference. Acting with Mr. Sze for China are Lu Cheng-hsiang, leader of the delegation and Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs; Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to the United States; Wei Chen-tau, Chinese Minister to Belgium; C. T. Wang; and several assistant delegates. China has assembled at Paris all her diplomats in Europe to carry through to a successful conclusion her program to guarantee Chinese sovereignty, economic independence and inviolability of territory—a program which despite the pressure brought to bear on China by Japan, can fail only if the great personalities who are dominating the Peace Conference abandon in practical application those principles of international justice and integrity, amity and right, which they have enunciated as the very foundation of the new international order.



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# THE PROBLEM OF PEKING

By PUTNAM WEALE

**I**N two preceding articles the writer established the outline of his argument regarding the solution of the imbroglio in the Far East. Taking as his starting point the practical results flowing from the Chinese collapse in the Korean War of 1894 and the present state of China's international commitments, he found that an indispensable element was wholesale treaty reform—not only as a matter of right but as a matter of expediency. And yet it must be confessed that even if the relations between China and the West are so fundamentally recast as to revolutionize the old conditions, there will still remain the far more thorny matter of erecting in Peking a really competent government, able and willing to govern by constitutional means, and reasonably stable.

The problem of Peking is so peculiar that no parallel case exists in any other part of the world. Turkey is sometimes quoted as a similar instance—but the differences between China and Turkey are greater than the points of resemblance. Turkey comprises a mixture of races; the Chinese are absolutely homogeneous. The rule of the Ottoman Turks was based on a military conquest; the Manchus, who were their prototypes, were summarily ousted seven years ago and for many a day prior to their actual collapse had not much more power than the errant descendants of Genghiz Khan. Then Turkey is so close to Europe that her problem is a European issue; China is so far distant that she is remote even to India. Turkey pretended to reform, and then surrendered to the Young Turks who were virtually young Germans. The Tu-chün, or military governors in China and their henchmen, may perhaps be held the equivalent of this truculent breed; yet even these semi-ignorant leaders pay homage to the literary traditions of the race, worship formality, and declare that they represent a transitional stage and will soon give way to a new brotherhood.

For the time being, however, what we have today in Peking, pending the settlement, is rule by velleities—i. e., by volition in its lowest form, which only takes on a positive character when a direct assault is made on the Lares and Penates of the office holders. In the past every time the defenders of the Republic have attempted to adopt definite formulæ in place of this obscurantism they have been beaten into retirement in the provinces because they have lacked the necessary force to win. With this inchoate condition in the capital and with the chief cities held by military rule, watchful drift-

ing has become the slogan; and although all Chinese know perfectly well that without organization and without the supremacy of the civil authority it is vain to hope for national solidarity or greatness no single man has yet been able to effect any lasting improvement. Thus, although the empire has gone never to return, and although a definite and recognizable advance in ideas is generally admitted to have occurred in China, obscure causes which must be referred back to climate and soil, and to the city type which a hundred city bred generations have evolved, tend to perpetuate this political palay and to make many foreign critics declare there is actual chaos and retrogression. That behind all this—deep buried in the twilight of a myriad homes—the supreme explanation is to be sought in the very mild impulses of the race, which are expressed in the quietist doctrines still animating Chinese society is the writer's profound conviction. And so does it happen that the Chinese people have come to think that they have been caught in the Caudine Forks, and that it is the Japanese who are striving mightily to play the part of the Samnites and make them pass under the yoke. . . .

## II

What are the vital difficulties at the present moment in the way of civil authority being so constituted as to be lastingly effective?

First and greatest of all there is the question of parliament and the role it should play in the life of the state. Round this question a fierce struggle has raged from the very inception of the Republic because the abdication of the Manchus was secured only by a compromise so framed that conservatives and radicals could interpret it much as they pleased. According to Article 53 of the Nanking Provisional Constitution, promulgated in January, 1912, and accepted as the law of the land, within ten months of that date a national assembly was to be convened, to frame the permanent constitution and to be the articulate voice of the nation. The first full parliament should therefore have assembled in Peking by October, 1912: it did not meet until April, 1913, owing to deliberate obstruction in the elections practised by Yuan Shih-kai—whose last act was the assassination of the southern leader, Sung Chiao-jen. This parliament was not yet fully organized when Yuan Shih-kai, alleging that the national council (sitting prior to the convocation of parliament) had given him power to do so, forced through the great Reorganization Loan over



YUAN SHIH-KAI AND HIS FAMILY FOR WHOM HE TRIED TO FOUND AN IMPERIAL DYNASTY  
Yuan. During His Iron Rule of Peking, Forced Through the Reorganization Loan of 1913, from Which  
America Withdrew on the Ground That It Touched the Administrative Independence of China

parliament's head. He denied that it had the right to control this important measure and was supported in his unconstitutional act by five Powers—England, France, Germany, Russia and Japan. Native arms and foreign diplomacy thus formed an unholy alliance as in Vienna Congress days. This first great assault on the Republic was followed by a six months' period of intimidation and bribery, after which Yuan Shih-kai finally secured the passage of the presidential election law and was elected full president for the first five year term. Thereupon, having a complete legal title, he carried out his *coup d'état* of November 4, 1913, and unseated all the southern members of parliament; following this, he destroyed through bogus enactments the legal framework on which international recognition of the Republic had been accorded; and finally capped it all two years later by an elaborate ballot fraud whereby he declared himself elected Emperor of the Chinese *à la Napoléon* and head of a so-called constitutional monarchy. That comprises the complete story of the first four years of the rule of Peking over China under the Republic.

With Yuan Shih-kai's death in June, 1916, the Parliament of 1913 returned to the capital—weakened but still determined to consummate its main work which was the formal passage of a permanent constitution, the draft of which had been long complete. In spite of every kind of opposition, such progress was made that in less than a year, with

the exception of the seven clauses which follow, the two houses had passed the complete instrument through its second reading, and would have entirely terminated the work had there not been deliberate military obstruction. The seven disputed clauses were:

Article 32. The ordinary sessions of the national assembly shall begin on the first of August of each year.

Article 35. Both houses shall meet in joint session at the opening and closing of the National Assembly. If one House suspends its session, the other House shall do likewise during the same period. When the House of Representatives is dissolved, the Senate shall adjourn during the same period.

Article 75. With the concurrence of two-thirds or more of the members of the Senate present, the President may dissolve the House of Representatives, but there must not be a second dissolution during the period of the same session.

When the House of Representatives is dissolved by the President another election shall take place immediately and the convocation of the House at a fixed date within five months should be effected to continue the session.

Article 82. When a vote of confidence in the Cabinet Ministers is passed if the President does not dissolve the House of Representatives according to the provisions made in Article 75, he should remove the Cabinet Ministers.

Article 92. Should the President disapprove of any bill of law passed by the National Assembly he shall within the period allowed for promulgation, state the reason of his disapproval and request the reconsideration of the same by the National Assembly. If a bill has not been submitted with a request for reconsideration and the period of promulgation has passed, it shall become law. But the above shall not apply to the case when the session of the National Assembly

is adjourned or the House of Representatives dissolved before the period for the promulgation is ended.

Article 107. The method of organization of the Auditing Department and the qualifications of auditors shall be fixed by law. During his term of office the auditor shall not be dismissed or transferred to any other duty or his salary reduced except in accordance with the law. The manner of punishment of auditors shall be fixed by law.

Article 108. The Chief of the Auditing Department shall be elected by the Senate. The Chief of the Auditing Department may attend sittings of both Houses and report on the audit with explanatory statements.

Now even to those who are not over familiar with constitutional enactments the aim and purpose of these articles should be tolerably clear: they were drafted to secure the real independence and supremacy of the National Assembly and to serve as checks against abuses which experience had shown were the chief dangers.

Article 32 has a certain technical importance evident from the 1918 presidential election. Articles 35 and 75, placing the senate in a very strong constitutional position as opposed to the chief executive, and restricting his power over the lower houses, were looked upon by the militarist party as their death warrant; and Article 82, which strictly defines the president's action when a vote of want of confidence in the cabinet ministers is passed is the very essence of the whole fight. Article 92, dealing with the president's suspensive veto, has been looked upon as hardly less important; and the two concluding articles in which audit is so strictly defined and the control over the national purse retained by this method after supplies have been voted has been one of the bitterest subjects of dispute. Finally, a proposal to tack on to the constitution an additional chapter on local government, dealing with the governing of the provinces, had taken such concrete form that a complete draft had been made; and as in this draft the powers given to Provincial Assemblies were very large, the sweeping away of the Tu-chün system was imminent.

In June, 1917, although the question of an immediate declaration of war against Germany and Austria was the technical reason, this parliamentary question brought the expected crisis. For the second time in the brief life of the Republic the party with whom power really rested—the military element—saw its existence openly menaced. Accordingly, after a long and bitter struggle behind the scenes, President Li Yuan-hung was finally intimidated into promulgating a mandate of dissolution, although he had no constitutional right to do so; and as the capital was already under the control of military elements parliament was forced to scatter.

No doubt it was the immediate sequel to this dissolution, a burlesque restoration of the Manchus lasting eleven days, which confused the Northern

Military Party. Had they been well advised, they would have hastened the summoning of a new parliament on the valid election law of 1913 and sought a compromise on the seven articles. But finding the field absolutely free—after they had thrown out the Manchus, and being fearful of the future, they summoned a special illegal national council, under the so-called authority of the Provisional Constitution; instructed this body to alter the election law, and then held a general election which sent to Peking two greatly reduced packed houses in time to carry out the quinquennial presidential election. Their official candidate curiously enough was probably the best man in China, Hsu Shih-chang, a former viceroy, who by training and natural inclination is sufficiently broad-minded to settle the problem—if supported. Elected a few months ago, he has in his tenure of office already brought improvement; and now that an actual peace conference is assembling in Shanghai to settle the dispute between North and South, hopes are reviving that the common sense of the Chinese race will win a lasting victory.

For fifteen months, however, desultory civil war between north and south has destroyed the fertile regions of Hunan and Szechuan provinces; and until the Allies, after much pressure, had sent in joint notes on the necessity of instant internal peace, there were no signs that the two great divisions could do more than continue their watchful drifting and thereby intensify the turmoil.

### III

Now it must be plain from this account that something has been radically wrong with foreign diplomacy as well as with Chinese hearts for such a record to stand to the discredit of Peking. The type of diplomatic agent the several allied governments have maintained in the Chinese capital during the Republican period has not been the type which the conditions emphatically call for. With the exception of the United States, which is represented by a professor of political and economic science, all the allied representatives since the inception of the Republic have been men lamentably untrained in the part played in the government of their own countries by their legislatures. Had this not been so, no such stupidity would have been shown as in 1913, when with a golden opportunity to enforce constitutionalism on the leader of the militarists Yuan Shih-kai by demanding parliamentary ratification of a prime financial measure, and thus securing once and for all that financial centralization in China should be based on legislative acts, foreign ministers deliberately assisted the Dictator to make a *coup d'état* by means of foreign money and thus gave the quarrel a truly vicious international aspect. The day has surely passed when such things can be tolerated; but until England, France, Italy, Russia and Japan publicly repent

and send as envoys to the Chinese capital men especially selected by virtue of a long parliamentary experience in their own countries, plenipotentiaries who thoroughly understand the necessity of the supremacy of the legislature even in China, there will be no great improvement in the methods of government in Peking. For China today leans absolutely and entirely on the West—no matter what may be pretended; and instead of rebuffing the widespread desire to benefit by the superior political knowledge of Europe and America, that desire should be stimulated in every possible way and the fact made perfectly clear by the acts of accredited foreign representatives that a strong government, based on constitutionalism is their one and only concern.

This point of view is fortified when the actual nature of the contact between the foreign legations and the metropolitan government is considered. That contact is not diplomatic in the ordinary sense of the word: rather is it financial and economic as it has come down by direct descent from the time when the foreign representatives in the Canton factory days were superintendents of trade. It is therefore principally concerned with questions arising out of loan contracts; with questions concerning the periodic release of surpluses of the customs and salt collections which have been hypothecated abroad; with disputes arising from the interpretation of treaties and covenants governing commerce and residence and land-ownership: in a word, with all the *dijecta membra* of a mercantile imperialism. And because of this peculiar heredity—with ninety years of strife and gunboat methods behind it—Peking diplomacy since 1900 in a fortified diplomatic quarter has developed a peculiar mentality among those who interpret it, making them small,



Diederich W. Siler

#### THE DRAGON WATCHING OVER PEKING

The Chinese Have Demanded the Return of the Bronze Instruments, Stolen from the World's Oldest Observatory by the Germans in the Loot of Peking

irritable and meticulous, just when imagination and common sense and personal acquaintance and the liberating world movement are emphatically required. No better illustration of this could be given than to recall that when a decade ago China ordered the reform of the archaic system under which the Maritime Customs were controlled by the Chinese Foreign Office, Great Britain instead of agreeing on the necessity and simply stipulating that the controlling agency should be as in other countries the Treasury or Ministry of Finance, raised a terrible outcry against anything being done and then let the matter drop—with the result that today the Maritime Customs control, which might have been placed rightly, is under a separate little government office hidden away in an obscure lane.

These matters are of the highest importance, for the two ministries on which China's future largely depends, because they are the interpreters

of the civilization and organization which the breakdown of the Confucian state system has brought into the country, are simply the ministry of finance and the ministry of communications. Virtually all the politico-financial business arising out of foreign intercourse is in their hands and only indirectly in the hands of the Chinese foreign office. Long ago it should have been the aim of all the liberal Powers to place under the roofs of these two boards, fully centralized and fully defined, all matters which are justly the objects of their official concern. Publication of facts and figures should have been substituted for haggling about details, not hypothecation but organization should have been the goal. The ministry of finance, with its many foreign bond issues, should not only have direct and absolute control over the four great sources of revenue, customs, salt, land-tax and wine

and tobacco, but should have been stimulated into issuing proper quarterly statements in Chinese and English, thus bringing light into dark places. There should not have been a constant policy of frightening the Chinese with visions of a foreign debt bureau under foreign control on the Egyptian-Turkish model. A real Chinese service of the national debt, in place of the present semi-foreign pawnbroking methods; a proper currency system, with token coins and bank-notes maintained at parity—these things would be far more beneficial

coined by the Chinese mints, not to speak of the hundreds of millions imported from Mexico. But this currency is officially only a shopping currency; the money of account is still the *tael* which passes from one emporium to another and finally into the creditor bank in standardized lumps of bullion which vary according to locality. And as the silver dollars are often melted down as fast as they are coined, and as the importation of the white metal has been restricted for several years, we have the crowning anomaly today of the chief state bank—



THE FLAMINGO GATES OF PEKING REMAIN SERENE THROUGH MONARCHIES AND REPUBLICS  
The Common Man of Peking Goes Philosophically About His Business, Utterly Indifferent Whether Yuan Shih-kai, Li Yuan-hung, or Hsu Shih-chang Controls the Destinies of the Chinese Republic

to the world than spheres of influence, or personal victories signalized by the appointment of favored nationals to blatant sinecures. At present all these questions are inextricably and hopelessly confused; but inasmuch as the provisional suspension of the Boxer indemnities (since China's declaration of war against Germany and Austria) will afford an opportunity in the near future for a wholesale review of the financial problem, this view of reform—one policy under one roof—must be vindicated.

For depending directly on revenue control and currency is the whole question of the credit of the Chinese people, which is today in as sorry a position as all the rest. China has virtually accepted as her money standard the silver dollar of the same weight and fineness as the Mexican dollar and the people are becoming accustomed to it. About two hundred million of these units have been actually

the Bank of China—unable to meet its note issue in the capital and with its notes at fifty per cent discount; whilst its branches at the commercial ports manage to maintain their issues at parity because their balances are daily replenished by trade operation and are not periodically raided by the army lenders.

From the international point of view this matter of the currency, and the whole loan policy of the Powers is, indeed, in as pretty a diplomatic tangle as a Talleyrand could desire. Eight years ago, on American initiative, a currency loan of fifty million gold dollars was signed; but the Revolution of 1911 prevented either the loan being floated or reorganization attempted. The four Powers that participated officially in this loan, England, America, France and Germany, were later expanded by the admission of Russia and Japan, who had protested

that they were being discriminated against by being excluded. Meanwhile in 1913 America dropped out of participation in Chinese finance because of President Wilson's well known declaration that the conditions of the foreign loans seemed to touch very nearly the administrative independence of China, and that transactions of this character were obnoxious to the principles upon which the American Government rested. This reduced the number of participating countries to five. Since the commencement of the world war, Germany has, of course, had her partnership in the official consortium cancelled; and the bankruptcy of Russia likewise precluded her from being a sponsor of any Chinese loan.

But this last remark brings up an essential point. These semi-official loans to China, although nominally made by a four Power group (which became a six Power group and finally a five Power group) are simply in the hands of certain favored banks supported by their legations. In the case of Russia, the Russo-Asiatic Bank is the sole participant; and as this institution is largely owned by French interests, so far from Russia dropping out of Chinese loans, in spite of the fact that it may be a quarter of a century before financial stability has returned to the Bolsheviki ridden country, the French interests concerned are determined that Russia in the person of a single bank, should remain a participant, as rich profits would accrue from the handling of Chinese issues.

The following should make this clear. The loans, being gold loans, are paid over to China in silver-credits at exchange-rates which are "worked" by the banks in an admittedly scandalous manner. Thus, in the case of the £25,000,000 Sterling Reorganization Loan of 1913, it was discovered by chance that the instalments paid over in Peking were placed to China's credit at a profit of three per cent to the participant banks over and above legitimate commission and over and above the true market rates. Similarly, by various intricate juggling methods, nominally made in the interests of the foreign bondholders, instalments for the service of foreign loans must be paid monthly into the foreign issuing banks, who allow the Chinese Government two per cent annual interest, and thus make privately at least five per cent per annum from the use of the Chinese Government's moneys. Furthermore, other abuses have grown up. Thus in 1915, nominally to safeguard the interests of the bondholders and in defiance of this particular loan agreement, the foreign banks stopped payment to China of ten million dollars of salt surplus, and for four years have held this amount in their coffers as a "reserve" to pay Chinese coupons, allowing China two per cent per annum on this amount and making at least five per cent net profit

per annum on the transaction. The issuing banks have therefore been placed by their governments in the illegal and immoral position of being able to utilize China's financial resources in their interests under the plea that they are safeguarding the interests of the bondholders; that this abuse, which has largely arisen because of the presence in Peking of foreign diplomatic representatives who know nothing of business or the money market, must be terminated at an early date, cannot be denied.

Three steps, which will be bitterly opposed by the foreign banks, should be taken if the problem of Peking is to be solved. First, the next loan should be made to China precisely in the manner that the United States has made loans to the Allies during the war—namely the participating states should directly make the necessary advances. Secondly, the advances should come to China in actual silver, to be delivered in monthly instalments spread over a long period of five or ten years, and turned immediately into dollar currency which it shall be made a penal offense to melt down, or "chop." Thirdly, what was once done in 1856 to remedy the conflict between currencies must be repeated. At that time, as the Spanish Carolus dollar was insufficient for trade requirements and the Mexican dollar was not accepted in its stead, on a given day all accounts throughout China were transferred into taels, which were made the basis for all trade and for all public and private payments. What is now required is that on a given day, say in 1920 or 1921, all accounts in China from one end of the country to the other without exception, private as well as governmental, after a proper six months' notice, should be transferred at fixed rates into *Chinese republican dollars*, that no other currency should be legal tender or permitted even as a money of account, and that punishment for infringement should be rigidly carried out.

To enforce such a vast program will necessitate foreign state help in the form of the loan of treasury officials from the four countries who are alone in an independent financial position today, namely, the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan. China would receive treasury officials of standing in a very different way from the appointees of commercial banks. That such a step will finally become imperative is certain from the fact that it is through the medium of the Bank of China—which should be made the sole bank of issue in the country—that a standard currency in notes and in token coins can alone be secured. The Bank of China not only requires reform, but a great addition of capital and the opening of five hundred new provincial offices; no such expansion can take place without expert help and the loan of foreign capital under the direct control of the participating foreign

states. The most bitter opponents of such a reform will be the privileged foreign banks which will be forced to relinquish their octopus grip on the Chinese giant—a grip which directly contributes to the present palsy in Peking. That in all these circumstances, with the prospect of the action we have outlined looming near, the pro-Japanese party in Peking (and it should be thoroughly understood that the pro-Japanese party is today very powerful) should have attempted just before the close of the war to push through a so-called gold note scheme, a project rotten to the core, but designed to make the Japanese yen the unit throughout China is understandable; for in the present confusion anything is feasible. That this same pro-Japanese party should also have attempted to secure the appointment of a Japanese treasury official, Baron Sakatani, as sole controller of Chinese currency is further proof that immediate action is necessary on the part of the interested states.

#### IV

We have mentioned not only the ministry of finance but the ministry of communications. In China it may be truly said that evil communications corrupt good manners. The extraordinary nature of the railway tangle today is due both to the false principles on which the development of Chinese railways has been conducted in the past, and to the present bankruptcy and lack of authority of the central government, which is forced to pawn every liquid asset, particularly its communications, to obtain hard cash, and is likewise compelled to allow the military almost a free hand in commandeering rolling-stock and riding roughshod over its behests.

We have already sufficiently insisted upon the nationalization of Chinese railways, that is, on the necessity of all railways being unified in a common system and so-called railways concessions being pooled as soon as they have been built. In the past the method pursued by foreign interests has been as follows: after a bitter struggle in the dark, with every rival legation working through every possible agency to prevent consummation, a railway concession, that is, a building concession, is granted to a single concessionaire or to a group of concessionaires which provides for the issue of a loan on the security of the given line, the amortization of that loan after a certain period and the appointment of the chief engineer and accountants of the concessionaire's nationality—the whole enterprise being nominally controlled by a Chinese



THE CHIEN-MEN OVERLOOKS THE LEGATION QUARTER  
Between Chien-men and Hsi-men the Peking Wall Has Been  
Patrolled by Foreign Troops Since the Boxer Uprising. When  
Will China Be Policed by Chinese?

director-general together with a host of assistants. The granting of this concession, however, is held to carry certain rights, irrespective of the real interests of the country; for instance the concessionaire considers it necessary to stop the building of any line in his vicinity, particularly parallel lines, and sometimes feeder lines if contracted for by other parties. Moreover, the sphere of influence is still such a cherished doctrine among the diplomatic fraternity that the invasion of a given sphere by a contractor of rival nationality is one of the most dangerous crimes, providing a local *causa belli* which is fought out bitterly in the *coulisses* of the various ministries and throughout the Far Eastern press, since Asia Minor could hardly provide a more brilliantly tinted map than the present railway map of China colored according to the na-



tionality of each concessionaire group. There is consequently no unity in Chinese railways, neither in administration nor in finance; they are run on the most unbusinesslike and wasteful principles; and whilst nominally the ministry of communications is in supreme command, in practice a centralized government control, of the type which the war has made a commonplace, is still unthought of.

It is this centralized control which must be brought to China—with every railway on Chinese soil directly controlled from Peking. The fact that existing lines are already large dividend earners should simplify the solution of the problem, which, as in the case of currency should be worked out by government experts in no way influenced by mercantile imperialism and despatched to China by the interested states.

China requires such a reform for internal political reasons as well as for external. For, as in the case of the telegraphs, provincial control cannot be properly centralized unless the abuses which are rapidly becoming stereotyped are absolutely checked. At the present moment the military element tends more and more to monopolize the railways; to act generally with such a high hand that the earning power and safety of existing lines is being gravely compromised, and to spread the idea that a bully's rule is the only one the country is fit for.

Now inasmuch as it is certain that the payment of the Boxer indemnities will never be resumed, (since the Allies could never commit such a crime) but will be diverted to some good cause such as education, the urgent matter of a system of national hard surface highways should not be lost sight of. Republican China has inherited from the Manchus a great system of imperial highways, useless for modern purposes since they are unmetalled, but covering a great portion of the developed land and capable of knitting the country very closely together, and, besides, of vastly increasing the prestige of Peking. The allocation of at least one quarter of the Boxer indemnities to national road building would in a decade work miracles of education among the people and strengthen the voice of authority. With credit and currency restored, and with a network of railways and roads covering the twenty-two provinces Republican China might soon become as important a factor in world commerce and world industry as the United States, since the supply of men and women is virtually endless, and increasing at the rate of seven million persons a year. Only by liberating the natural money making genius of the Chinese people, by giving them reasonable economic guarantees, can western civilization justify its invasion of Cathay, and its remorseless destruction of the old gods.

## V

There remains one question and one only to discuss and we have done.

This is the policing of the country.

The Chinese army, as has been clearly shown, has degenerated into a political police. To transfer it back to its proper sphere and to reduce its numbers is the work of education and sympathy as well as of political compromise. For it must be remembered that what the provincial generals have been doing in regard to provincial capitals and along the connecting railways has been largely taught them by what they see in the metropolis and along the railway leading from Peking to the sea,—foreign garrisons, placed in the capital and at each strategic point, under the Boxer protocol have for nineteen years accustomed men to the belief that soldiers are an essential part of politics, national as well as international, and that it is only the man with the rifle who is the man with a policy. Justice as well as expediency requires a relaxation of the safeguards established as a result of the now forgotten siege of the legations. The few thousand foreign troops in North China no longer mean what they once did; the Chinese army is today far too powerful in artillery to be overawed by what was once an impressive force. To preserve what is a daily source of irritation is a senseless policy: no statesman can endorse it.

A foreign evacuation protocol is therefore just as essential as an evacuation by Chinese generals of the provincial capitals: the two things should go hand in hand.

Already there is an efficient gendarmerie in Peking, perfectly trustworthy and perfectly able to do its duty, if police and politics are separated. The Peking police schools are gradually transferring more and more men to various parts of the country; and that they are excellent and well trained is shown by the fact that the foreign municipality of Shanghai is requisitioning them, finding them superior to Japanese. A sufficient number—half a million for the whole country—is all that is required to guarantee peace and security and to banish the present unrest.

If we are to insure a happy tomorrow for the Chinese, all the things which we have touched upon must be considered as one organic whole—to be handled with the idealism and the practical common sense which have given the name of Woodrow Wilson such prestige and puissance. In a word, the problem of Peking should be made the problem of Europe and America. It should be treated as an intimate and not as an insoluble matter, since it has directly grown out of the superior strength in peace and war of the western man and urgently demands not his enmity but his sympathy and help.



# ARMENIA RESURRECTED

By ISAAC DON LEVINE<sup>1</sup>

**T**HE word Armenia, to which the Armenians owe their name, is said to have been derived from the two words *ar* (land) and *meni* (mountain)—the land of mountains. Strictly speaking, however, Armenia is a plateau, with an elevation of about six thousand feet, lying between the Taurus mountain range in the south and Anti-Taurus range in the north. The Armenian plateau, running from the east to the west, is easily accessible from Asia and Europe, forming a sort of a highway in times past between Central Asia and Greece.

Before the outbreak of the Great War, Armenia was divided among Russia, Turkey and Persia. On the east the Armenians are bounded by Persians and Tartars; on the north, by Georgians and their Moslem half-brothers, the Lazes; on the west, by Turks and Greeks and Anatolians; on the south, by Arabs, Kurds and Assyrians. These are the main ethnic boundaries of Armenia.

The real origin of the Armenians is shrouded in the haze of the early history of mankind. The Bible is replete with references to Armenia. Above the Armenia table land rises the celebrated Mount Ararat, on which, according to the Old Testament, Noah's Ark rested. When Armenia emerges from the zone of doubt we find her a subject territory of Persia. Upon the death of Alexander the Great, one of his generals took possession of Armenia, in 323 B. C. This was the beginning of the political independence of the Armenians. With few interregnums, the Kingdom of Armenia had more than seventeen centuries of existence.

The golden age of Armenian history was the reign of Tigranes the Great, 94-56 B. C. At the zenith of his career Armenia had a population of about thirty millions. Tigranes, the mightiest monarch in Asia, became known, according to his coins, as King of Kings. His power, however, came in conflict with the ambitions of Rome. Rome sent an army to conquer Armenia and subdue Tigranes. The great Armenian ruler was defeated and made a vassal of Rome. Later in 226 A. D., the Persians conquered Parthia and Armenia reverted to Persia.

The earliest nation in the world to adopt Christianity as a state religion was Armenia, in 301 A. D. The life of Armenia as a Christian state was one of great service to the spread of Christianity in the world. Its newly adopted religion almost immediately provoked the hostility of the dominant power, Persia. The Persians persecuted

the Armenians for their faith. The Armenians resisted with all the fervor of their primitive religion, and developed through it that cohesion which bound them together into an unprecedented national unit. During the Armenian struggle against the Persians, the latter attempted to induce them to give up Christianity and embrace Zoroastrianism (fire-worship), to which the Armenians replied:

"From this faith, no force can move us. . . . We shall accept no God in place of Christ."

The first Arab wave to reach Armenia came in 636. Armenia passed swiftly into the hands of the Caliphs, who appointed Arab and native governors to rule the country. In the tenth century Armenia underwent frightful treatment at the hands of the Arabs. The Christian nations were afraid of the Moslem hordes and did not come to the succor of Armenia. The country was desolated and the Armenians decimated. Hardly had it recovered from the Arabs when a new invasion, that of the Seljuk Turks, overran the Armenian lands. These barbarians plundered the cities and villages, putting their inhabitants to the sword. During the invasions the Armenians migrated to distant parts of Europe and Asia. Thousands fled to the mountains to escape being butchered. The wealthier and more enterprising elements went to Byzantium, to the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, to the Crimea, to Poland and to Moldavia. It was a dispersal from which Armenia has never recovered. Among the emigrants toward the end of the eleventh century was one Rupen, who founded a colony of Armenians in 1080 in the Cilician Taurus which developed later into the kingdom of Cilicia and became known as Lesser Armenia. Cilicia was ever ready to assist the western Christians in their wars for the Holy Land. Had Lesser Armenia been supported by the Christian states in its strenuous efforts to resist the Ottoman movement westward, the Turk might never have played the rôle he did. Unfortunately the Byzantine Empire was unfriendly, even hostile to the Armenians, being desirous of absorbing the Armenian Church.

The Cilician kingdom was through the Crusades brought into close relations with France, and its kings even married into French nobility. After many vicissitudes the life of Lesser Armenia was ingloriously terminated. In 1375 she was invaded by the Mamelukes of Egypt and her king, Leo the Sixth, was taken into captivity. Thus did the last vestige of Armenian independence pass away.

The Tartar hordes were the next to sweep over

<sup>1</sup> This article, somewhat abbreviated, constitutes a chapter in *The Resurrected Nations*, by Isaac Don Levine, shortly to be issued by Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York.



Maynard O. Williams

**TIFLIS, ANCIENT CAUCASIAN CAPITAL, NOW UNDER ARMENIAN AND GEORGIAN CONTROL**  
 In This City Where the Armenians Form One-Third of the Population, Representatives of Georgians, Tartars and Armenians Met in January, 1918, and Constituted Themselves into a Supreme Transcaucasian Diet

Armenia. The Ottoman Turks followed the Tartars. Armenia was the first to suffer at the hands of the savage invaders that rushed from Central Asia toward Christian Europe. And still Armenia persisted in existing. If anything, the horrible ordeals which she underwent made her more invulnerable and fuller of vitality. For several centuries the Turks and the Persians battled on the fields of Armenia, soaking her soil with their blood and that of its inhabitants. In 1639 a treaty between Persia and Turkey transferred the eastern part of Armenia to the latter power. In that part was located the province of Erivan, the chief city of which, Etchmiadzin, is the ecclesiastical and cultural center of the country. This section was in 1828 handed over by Turkey to Russia, whose interest in Armenia and the Armenians dated from 1722, when Peter the Great sent an expedition into Transcaucasia to capture Baku. Persecuted by the Moslems, the Armenians, through their patriarch, applied to Peter for permission to settle in the Russian dominions. Since then Russia steadily pressed southward against Turkey and Persia and the Armenians moved northward just as steadily, so that at the outbreak of the Great War there were more than a million and a half Armenians in Transcaucasia, a considerable portion of whom settled

in Georgia and the Tartar districts in the vicinity of Baku. The differences among the Armenians, Georgians and Tartars in the Caucasus spring mainly from the peaceful Armenian conquest of the region, just as the differences between the Armenians and their southern neighbors, the Kurds, are due to the pressure of the latter northward.

When Russia acquired Georgia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it annexed a large Armenian population. In 1813 it occupied the Persian province of Karabagh and in 1829 the Turkish province of Alhailaikh, both of which contained large Armenian communities. With the acquisition of the province of Kars from Turkey, in 1878, Russia's interest in the Armenians assumed definite form. The modern Armenian problem may be said to date from that year.

The Russo-Turkish treaty of San Stefano, which terminated the war of 1877-78, provided that Turkey should "carry into effect, without further delay, the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by Armenians and guarantee their security from the Kurds and Circassians." A Russian army of occupation was to see to it that this provision was carried out. However, Turkish diplomacy, supported by western Powers, succeeded in annulling

the treaty of San Stefano and substituted that of Berlin. It was at the time a blow to Russia and a diplomatic triumph for Great Britain. "Great Britain went further," according to the British publicist, W. L. Williams. "By the secret Cyprus Convention (June 4, 1878), the Sultan promised to introduce necessary reforms 'for the protection of Christians and other subjects of the Porte' in Asia Minor. As the price for guaranteeing the integrity of Turkish territory in Asia Minor, Cyprus was ceded to Great Britain. Time and events have shown it to be one of the gravest political blunders in our annals. But what were its immediate practical effects? It encouraged the Armenians to look to the European Powers and not to Russia alone for protection."

The protection given by Russia to the Armenians proved harmful to them. Already during the war of 1877-78 the Ottoman authorities instigated massacres of Armenians in Turkey who were suspected, not without reason, of being pro-Russian. A national movement was born among the Armenians. Secret organizations and committees were established in the large cities of Armenia, which were under the influence of nationalist societies formed in Paris, Geneva and Tiflis. Russia at first encouraged this Armenian movement, which was anti-Turkish, but not for long. During the reign of Alexander III the reactionary policy of the Tsar for Russia was gradually extended to all the dominions of the empire. The Caucasus did not escape the new era, and the Armenians were among the first victims, their schools and Church suffering from governmental persecution. Abandoned by their erstwhile protector, the Armenians became an easier prey to the Turkish government, which executed a series of bloody massacres in 1894-96 that cost about one hundred thousand Armenian lives.

A large emigration from Armenia proper began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Tens of thousands of Armenians left for foreign countries, and many more thousands migrated to European Turkey and Russia, where they adapted themselves quickly to new conditions and led in every field of endeavor.

Writing in 1905, Luigi Villari called attention to the rise of a wealthy Armenian middle class. "We find them (Armenians)," he observed, "as bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers and officials all over the Caucasus, and even in European Russia. The Baku oil industry is largely due to Armenian enterprise; at Tiflis, the ancient capital of Georgia, the Armenians form over a third of the population and have practically all the business of the town in their hands. . . . Even in the Russian army Armenians occupied high positions; the commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the Asiatic campaign of 1877 was General Loris Melikoff . . . afterward chief minister to Alexander II."

Even in Turkey, in spite of all the persecutions, Armenians attained the highest places and honors. The introduction of Turkish printing and the establishment of theatres were accomplished by Armenians. It was due to the collaboration of two great Armenian statesmen that the Turkish constitution was framed by Midhat Pasha. Armenian philologists evolved the Turkish grammar. For many years the chief directors of the Turkish arsenals and government mint were Armenians. The fine stuffs, the embroideries, the tapestry and the jewelry admired in Europe as Turkish products are declared to be almost exclusively manufactured by Armenians.

The rise of a large Armenian bourgeoisie in



ARMENIAN ARTILLERY IN SNOWSTORM IN TAURUS MOUNTAINS

In the Early Part of the War the Voluntary Enlistment of Armenians in the Russian Army Was Turkey's Excuse for Its Unspeakeable Atrocities in Armenia

Transcaucasia could not have occurred without the appearance of a proletariat there. The latter was, however, not entirely Armenian. The Tartars and other slow races of the Caucasus made up a large part of the labor class which became especially strong in the oil region around Baku. The racial difference between the Tartars and Armenians, accentuated by their religious difference, was therefore, broadly speaking, further emphasized by an economic cleavage. The Russian bureaucrats knew how to make use of these differences when the Armenians in Transcaucasia, thanks to numerous repressive measures carried out against them by Tsarism in 1896-1901, had been turned into active revolutionists. Race hatred was aroused by secret agents and Black Hundreds in the industrial centers, especially Baku, which resulted in the notorious pogroms of 1905, when the Tartars fell upon the Armenians in southeastern Transcaucasia and massacred many of them under the very eyes of the Russian officials. Millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed and thousands of lives were lost that year in the Armenian-Tartar fights. It was only in 1906 and afterward when Georgian, Tartar and Armenian alike were subjected to Tsaristic oppression, that the Tartars realized that they had been used by the Russians to suppress the Transcaucasian revolutionary movement and strengthen the yoke of the Russian autocracy.

The unsuccessful revolution of October, 1905, aroused among the Tartars a new outlook on life, while the Armenians found themselves more closely in sympathy with the struggling Russian people. In Turkey it embittered further the Armenian opposition toward the Ottoman government. But before long, in 1908, Turkey was transformed from a despotic autocracy into a constitutional monarchy. Abdul Hamid was deposed and the Young Turks were at the helm. Naturally the Armenians turned toward Constantinople, hoping for a new era from the seemingly rejuvenated Porte. The Turkish Armenians, mostly peasants and traders, arrived at a friendly understanding with the Kurds, both parties agreeing to support the new government in the Turkish parliament. But the Young Turks, instead of satisfying the legitimate local demands of the various nationalities of the empire, embarked upon their disastrous policy of centralization and Ottomanization. The result was the alienation of the subject races, the Arabs, the Syrians, the Kurds and the Armenians. Many of the latter turned to Russia, believing justly that sooner or later a free Russia would emerge which would liberate the oppressed nationalities of the empire.

Then came the Great War. The Armenians were about equally divided between Turkey and Russia.

What happened in those early days of the world struggle is told as follows by the only foreign observer in the Caucasus during the war, M. Philips Price, in his "War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia":

"Early in August, 1914, the Tiflis Armenians seem to have decided that a Russo-Turkish war was inevitable, and thereupon the Dashnakist (of the great Armenian party, Dashnaktsutun) leaders there at once offered 25,000 volunteers to assist the Russians in conquering the Armenian vilayets. This offer was made *before* the outbreak of the war with Turkey, and in the interval the volunteers were busy training and forming at the various centers in the Caucasus. At the end of October, when Turkey came into the war, preparations had been so far advanced that Andranik, the famous revolutionary leader from Turkey, at the head of the first battalion, took part with the Russians in the advance through northwest Persia, capturing Serai early in November. Meanwhile five more battalions had been formed and were ready to leave for the front, as soon as they could get rifles and equipment. Fifty per cent of these volunteers were Armenians who had left Turkey, Bulgaria and Rumania since the outbreak of the European War, and had come to the Caucasus to offer their services."

The Ottoman government became anxious to arrive at an understanding with its Armenian subjects. Enver Pasha delegated three representatives to Erzerum, who proposed that Armenia stay neutral and that the Armenians remain loyal to their respective governments, those of Russia and Turkey. The Erzerum Armenians agreed, but a few days later the Turkish delegation made another proposal, intended to win all the Armenians over to the Ottoman side. They produced a scheme for the conquest of Transcaucasia and the erection of a united autonomous Armenia, provided the Armenians allied themselves with the Porte. The skeptical Armenians refused to conclude such a pact. The Young Turks then demanded that the Armenians should not go to Russia and form anti-Turkish units there. But the Turkish Armenians were not influential enough to stop the activities of their Russian brethren in Tiflis, who claimed to have obtained a verbal promise of Armenian autonomy from the Russian government. It was this promise that made thousands of Armenians desert from Turkey and join the volunteers in Russia, which in turn formed the foundation for the series of unparalleled atrocities perpetrated by the Turkish government upon its Armenian population.

The Turks resorted to the old method of instigating race hatred. The Kurds, who formed a very considerable portion of the population of Armenia, together with the Turks and other Moslems, were incited against the Armenians. In 1915 the Turk-



MAP SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE PROPOSED ARMENIAN STATE IN ASIA MINOR

Its Exceptional Advantages Are Apparent at a Glance. With Outlets on the Three Great Bodies of Water, the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, and its Proximity to the Tigris and Euphrates and Thence to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, Reconstructed Armenia Will Become One of the Great Empires of the Near East



*Drawn from*

THE WHEAT MARKET AT URMIAH, PERSIA, NOW CLAIMED BY THE ARMENIANS  
The Trade of Urmiah as Well as That of Many Other Transcaucasian Towns is Controlled by the Industrious Armenians, Who Also Fashion Many of the Art and Craft Products Which Generally Pass for Turkish

ish and Russian armies executed several important movements on the Transcaucasian front, resulting in the destruction of many Armenian settlements when the Turks retreated and upon their advance the wiping out of large Kurdish communities by the revengeful Armenians and Russians. It was in 1915, therefore, that the Armenian-Kurdish struggle assumed a definite form. It grew so relentless in the following years that the two races simply waged a campaign of mutual extermination. Of course, the Armenians had against them the Ottoman government, which soon initiated, organized and carried out the systematic deportation and murder of entire Armenian communities. "Homes were literally uprooted," wrote Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey, of the persecutions. "Families were separated, men killed, women and girls violated daily. Children were thrown into the rivers or sold to strangers by their mothers to save them from starvation. The facts contained in the reports received at the Embassy from absolutely trustworthy eye-witnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolical cruelties ever before perpetrated or imagined in history."

The estimates of the number of victims differ greatly. It would, however, seem that not less than

half a million and probably three-quarters of a million of non-combatant Armenians perished as a result of the Turkish-Kurdish massacres and persecutions. In retaliation probably a quarter of a million of civilized Kurds and Turks were exterminated by the Russians and Armenians in their victorious advances of 1915 and 1916.

Meanwhile the Armenians in Russia not only failed to receive autonomy from the Tsar's government, but were subjected to the reactionary measures from which all Russia suffered in 1916. This oppression created the ground for an understanding among the Armenians, the Tartars and Georgians. All the three nationalities of Transcaucasia were now opposed to the government and engaged in secret revolutionary activities. When the Revolution finally came in March, 1917, the Caucasus was ripe for it. The old governors and officials were swept away with the first tide, and Grand Duke Nicholas, the Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus armies, soon followed them into oblivion. The oppressed nationalities awoke to a new life. Revolutionary councils of soldiers, workmen and peasants sprang up throughout Transcaucasia. A joint executive council met in Tiflis. It sup-

ported the Russian Provisional Government until the rise of the Bolsheviks to power in November, 1917, when the Russian army abandoned the Transcaucasian front and the Armenians were left to defend themselves.

In January, 1918, there met in Tiflis elected representatives of the Georgians, Tartars and Armenians, who constituted themselves into a supreme Transcaucasian Diet. This did not prevent each of the three races from developing its own institutions and national autonomy. On January 31 delegates representing most of the Armenian provinces met in Erzerum, where the Armenian legions were concentrated, and declared Armenian independence. Meanwhile Turkey had concluded a peace with the Bolshevik government at Brest-Litovsk by which Russia was compelled to cede to Turkey parts of the provinces of Batum, Kars and Ardahan; the Ukrainian troops, which occupied Trebizond, retired as soon as their government concluded a separate peace with the Central Powers. Armenia and Georgia were directly affected by the pacts. A verbal agreement was reached between the Armenians and Georgians according to which the former were to defend the Erzerum line and the latter the Trebizond front. When the Turks advanced, however, the Georgians did not show up at Trebizond and the Armenians were left alone to fight the Turks. They offered heroic resistance, but in March Erzerum fell and the Ottoman forces occupied the provinces ceded them at Brest-Litovsk.

A crisis was soon reached in the life of the Transcaucasian Diet. The Tartars were not disposed to fight the Turks who had encouraged the Tartar national movement. The Georgians took the view that Transcaucasia was not in a condition to oppose the Turkish realization of the Brest-Litovsk provisions and the Armenians were advised by Ghegechkori, President of the Diet, to drop all resistance. This advice was not followed by all the Russian Armenians, who together with their Turkish brethren continued to harass the Ottoman invaders. The latter continued to advance, occupying territory which had never been legally surrendered to them. This finally brought the Turks into conflict with the Diet, which addressed to them a request for peace. The Turks demanded as a preliminary condition for peace negotiations "that the Diet should declare the secession of Transcaucasia from Russia and proclaim the independence of the Caucasus," so as to enable them to negotiate with sovereign peoples. The Diet agreed to do so against the protests of the Armenians, who thereupon left it in a body. In spite of the terrible ravages of forty months of war, the Armenians were able to offer such violent resistance to the Turks that the Ottoman government, in July, 1918, consented to sign a peace with the Ar-

menians, recognizing the "Armenian Independent Republic of Ararat," with its capital at Erivan.

Then, in October, Turkey surrendered to the Allies. The armistice provision calling for Allied occupation of the six Armenian vilayets in Turkey in case of disorder did not satisfy the Armenian nationalists as radical enough. They dispatched a military mission to the Allied countries, headed by General Torcom, who issued on November 12, at Archangel, before departing for western Europe, a remarkable manifesto, calling on Armenians everywhere to form an army of 100,000 men and help their glorious Allies to take possession from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, of all Armenian countries, where martyrs are to be counted by hundreds of thousands.

On December 4, 1918, the Armenian National Delegation, formed in Paris, under the presidency of Boghos Nubar, declared the independence of integral Armenia and Cilicia under the collective protection of the Allies and the United States. On December 29 Foreign Minister Pichon of France announced: "Our rights are incontestable in Armenia, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. They are based on historic conventions and on more recent contracts." These contracts were the secret treaties and understandings concluded among the Allies in 1915-19, whereby France was "to guide the affairs" of Armenia, Syria and the Lebanon. Pichon's announcement occasioned a great stir among the Armenians, who protested strongly against being put without their knowledge under the protection of a single European Power.

The Armenians realize that without outside help they cannot expect to set up a durable government, but they wish it to come from international authority. If Armenia should be reconstituted on historic lines, then against three million Armenians it would comprise at least five millions of Kurds, Turks, Greeks, Persians and other races. It is possible to carve out an ethnographic Armenia in which the Armenians would be in the majority, but in order to do so successfully the Armenians would have to forget their historical claims and consent to the creation of an autonomous Kurdish state in Kurdistan. As the Kurds in Armenia are still largely nomadic, the erection of an autonomous Kurdistan would re-absorb the Kurds who migrated from there to settle on the Armenian plateau. An ethnographic Armenia would include those parts of Georgia and Azerbaijan, where the Armenians predominate, although historically these parts are not Armenian; it would necessarily fail to include certain historical sections of Armenia where the Kurds now predominate.

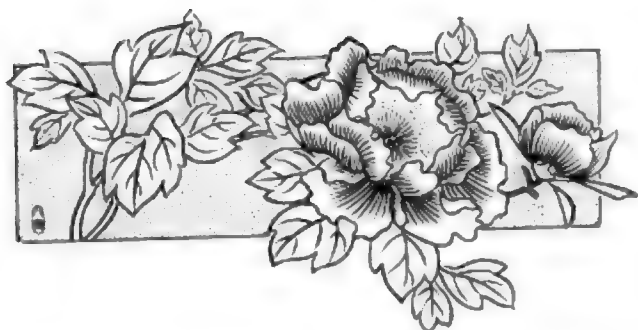
Historic justice and a powerful national consciousness are the strongest arguments for Armenian independence.



# THE UTTERMOST ISLES

By HELEN WADDELL\*

Illustrations by S. Ichikawa



"Then she said to the mother of Hasan, the mourning, the wretched. 'O my mistress, thou wilt render me desolate by thine absence: but when thy son hath come, and the days of separation have become tedious to him and he desireth approach and meeting, and the winds of love and longing desire agitate him, let him come to me in the Islands of Wak-wak.' And she flew away with her children and sought her country."

THE Thousand and One Nights are a little sultry: this is the only sentence through which the wind blows. But then the story of Hasan of El Basrah, by so much the greatest and most neglected romance of them all, was born of the desert and the sea. It is Arabian, not Persian: there is no scattering of perfumes in it, no buying of Othmanee quinces and peaches of Oman, jasmine of Aleppo and water-lilies of Damascus. But there is sea-light, a sea blue and foaming, and a "long coast" of pebbles, white and yellow and blue and black, more convincing than Sinbad's sea-coasts. One suspects Sinbad's roaring sea: It is too consistently agitated with waves. And there is a vast blue mountain, of which even the stones were blue, and in it a cavern with a door of iron from China: a ride through the desert on a steed "swifter than the blinding lightning," with all the wild horses of the desert racing beside him, "numerous as drops of rain"; and a flight on the shoulders of the 'Efreet, Dahnash the Flyer, "who rose with him to the clouds of heaven and proceeded with him a day and a night till he heard the praises of the Angels in heaven: and when the dawn came he put him down on a land white like camphor, and departed." But the finest invention is the half lyrical fragment with which the slow rhythmic movement of the prose is haunted. Its creator never wearies of it: whenever Hasan pauses in his wanderings to tell his tale anew—and in the manner of the *Arabian Nights* he tells it many times—his story ends with

the challenge of Menar-es-Sena to the Islands whose name is like the crying of wild birds. Lane has a footnote to the effect that the Islands of Wak-wak are to be identified with Sarawak in Borneo: but it is better to listen to 'Abd-el-Kuddos, the paternal uncle of the eldest damsel of the Palace of the Mountain on whose top the clouds divide: "O my son, relinquish this most vexatious affair: for thou couldst not gain access to the Islands of Wak-wak even if the Flying Jinn and the wandering stars assisted thee, since between thee and those Islands are seven valleys and seven mountains of vast magnitude." or to the Sheykh Abu-r-Ruweysh who said to his fellow scholars, each of them seated on a divan before a perfuming vessel containing fire and incense, while students read aloud to them their own works, "O my brothers, verily this is a great and perilous affair, and I have not seen any hate life except this young man." For the creator of Hasan is one of the great enchanters: and his Islands to which one travels through "valleys and thirsty lands and fatal places" are

*Born of old love and unfulfilled desire.*

Yet not the uttermost isles. For these, one goes farther east and farther west. For Hasan came back with Menar-es-Sena from the Islands of Wak-wak to Bagdad the Abode of Peace, entering his house by the private door which opened to the desert and the plain: and there they ceased not to pass the most comfortable life and the most agreeable, until they were visited by the Terminator of Delights and the Separator of Companions. It is the end of all things for the story-teller: his hearers acquiesce. There is passion in the *Arabian Nights*, once or twice passion transcendent; but it does not go beyond the Even Pass of Yomi, which is the halting place between the living and the dead. "Mourn not for thy wife," said Sinbad. "God will happily compensate thee by giving thee one better than she, and thy life will be long if it be the will of God, whose name be exalted!" There are seven valleys and seven seas and seven mountains of vast magnitude between that and Heine's

*Mein süßes Lieb, wenn du in Grab,  
Im umkehn Grab wirst liegen,*

or the fragment from the Odes of the Royal Domain,

*Living, we lie asunder,  
Dead, we shall share one grave.*

\* The following translations have been used: the *Ko-Ji-Ki*, translated by Professor Chamberlain for the Asiatic Society; his fragment of the "Rotan-Doro," supplemented by Lafcadio Hearn in *In Ghostly Japan*; and the translations of Japanese street-songs in Hearn's *Gleanings in Buddha-Fields*.



"'Know,' said the king, 'that this is the custom in our country, when the husband dieth, we bury with him his wife, and when the wife dieth, we bury with her her husband: that we may not separate them in life or in death.' 'By Allah,' said Sinbad, 'this custom is exceeding vile.'"; wherein, outsider as he is even in the Arabian Nights, he voiced the sentiment of the waking half of literature.

But the dream-half: in Lafcadio Hearn's translations of Japanese folk song;

*Even the knot of rope tying our boats together  
Knotted was long ago by some love in a former birth.*

*So that we stay together, even the Hell of the Blood Lake,  
Even the Mountain of Swords, will signify nothing at all:*

in the *Koh Sang* of the Odes of T'ang;

*Through the long nights of winter  
Through the long days of summer I abide alone  
Till the lapse of a hundred years,  
When I shall go home to his chamber:*

in Donne's *Relique* and *Nocturnal*; in Heine's;

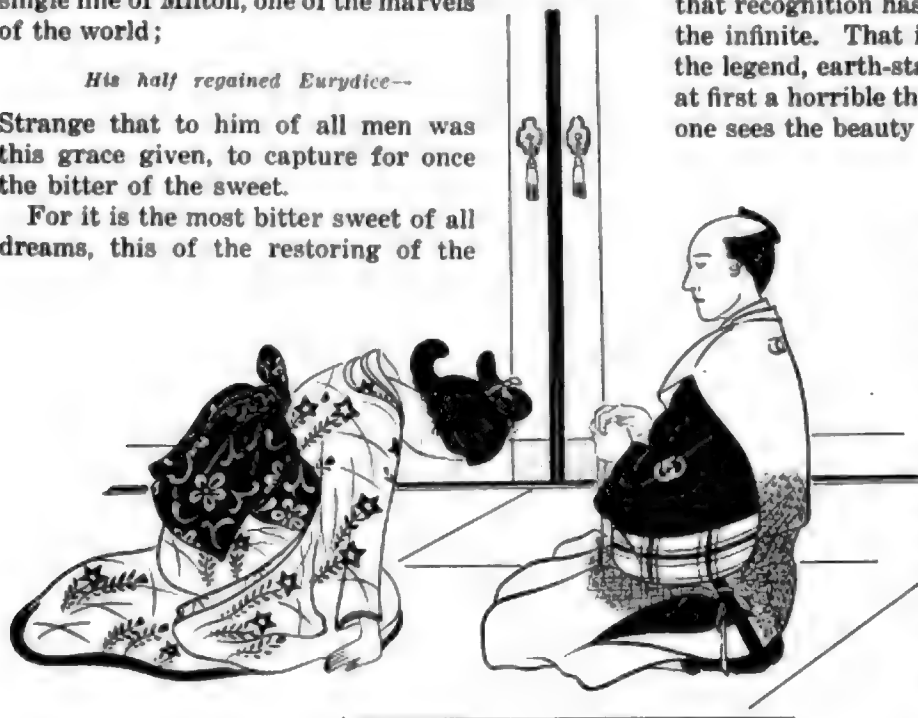
*Wir beide bleiben in der Gruft  
Ich liege in deinem Arme.*

The sum of it is in the greatest of all legends, the single line of Milton, one of the marvels of the world;

*His half regained Eurydice--*

Strange that to him of all men was this grace given, to capture for once the bitter of the sweet.

For it is the most bitter sweet of all dreams, this of the restoring of the



"IF YOU DO NOT COME BACK," SHE SAID, "I SHALL DIE"

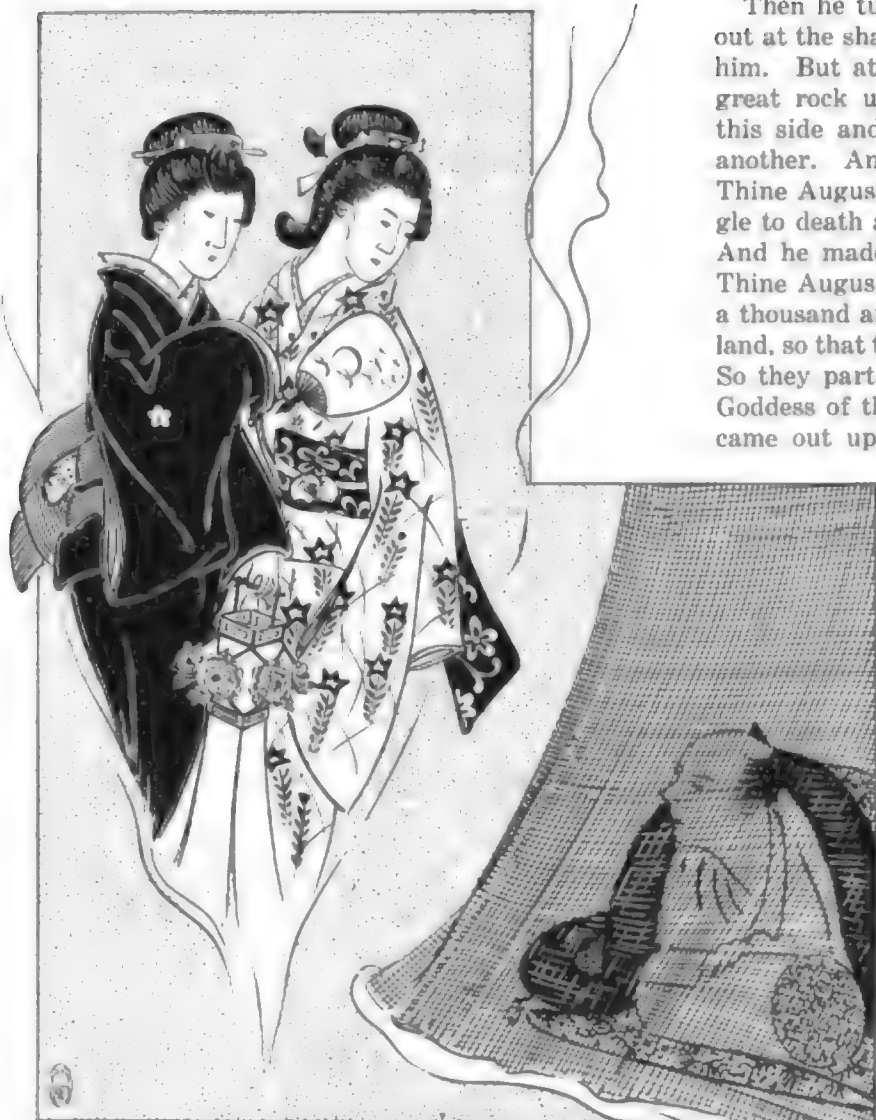
dead: the core of fire that makes luminous the burial rites of the Egyptians: the grain in the mummy's hand. "Women received their dead raised to life again: and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a bet-

ter resurrection"; one remembers one's childish pondering over the strange refusal of the intimate sure sweetness of return to this world of sunlight and trees. And even yet it is "to the sentiment of the body, the flesh of whose force and colour that wandering Platonic soul was so frail an abstract," that we cling. Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; but the craving that it might be so still shelters in the wording of the Creed. St. Paul fought it, his metaphors breaking and straining with too much way, sublimating the flesh by the intolerable radiance of the spirit: "mortality swallowed up of life." Buddhism fought it, with less transcendent weapon; "neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." It is death, not in its priest-like task of cold ablution, but death the revealer of the secret taint, the sickening flavor of mortality, that veins the illusion of the sensuous world. "Spirit must brand the flesh, that it may live."

We deceive ourselves better in the West than in the East. Persephone comes back with no shadow on her face. Clarimonde, carrying the small sepulchral lamp that is left in tombs, is unchanged, only for the fainter scarlet of her smile, and the withering of the blue flowers in her hair. Orpheus saw Eurydice before she sank back into darkness, and that recognition has become one of our symbols for the infinite. That is why the Japanese version of the legend, earth-stained and cavern-lighted, seems at first a horrible thing: and it is a long time before one sees the beauty in the horror.

They were the seventh of the divine generations, Izanami and Izanagi, the mortal gods of whom the Immortals were begotten. They stood together on the Floating Bridge of Heaven, and Izanami plunged the Jewel-spear into the green swirl of the sea. Drops of brine fell from it, and they saw an island born. Together they went down to see the land that they had made, and parted, going their different ways upon it: and when they met again, each found the other fair. There were no men in the Land of the Reed Plains, which is now Japan, nor any gods but their two selves, and there they

lived together. All the islands of the Island Sea were of their making: until the day that Izanagi brought the God of Burning Fire to birth, and died of the anguish. Then Izanami wept for her, saying, "O Thine Augustness, my lovely younger sister!



THAT NIGHT THEY CAME AGAIN, AND THE NIGHT AFTER, AND  
FOR MANY NIGHTS, STILL LIGHTED BY THE PEONY LANTERN

That I should have exchanged thee for this single child!" and drawing his sword he slew the child, and took up his wife and buried her. But he was not comforted; and after some days he rose and went to seek her in the Land of Yomi, which is the country of the Dead. She saw him coming, and raising the door of the Palace she stood within the shadows while he cried to her, "Thine Augustness, my lovely younger sister, the lands that thou and I made are not yet finished making: wherefore come back." But she made answer, "Alas that thou didst delay thy coming! I have eaten of the furnace of Yomi. But I would fain go back. Wait for me, while I plead with the Gods of Yomi. And look not upon me." For a long time he waited: but she was long of coming. And when he could no longer endure the hunger of his desire, he lit a torch and crossed the threshold to find her. She lay within the threshold and she had seen corruption.

Then he turned and fled. And she rose, crying out at the shame he had put upon her, and followed him. But at the Even Pass of Yomi he hurled a great rock upon the path, and they stood, he on this side and she on that, and took leave of one another. And she said, "My lovely elder brother, Thine Augustness, for this I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the people of thy land." And he made answer, "My lovely younger sister, Thine Augustness, for this I will in one day set up a thousand and five hundred houses of birth in my land, so that the living shall be more than the dead." So they parted, and she returned and became the Goddess of the Land of Yomi. But for himself he came out upon the clover fields in the island of

Tsukushi, which of all the islands lies over against the sun. And he cried aloud "Oh hideous! I am come from a hideous and polluted land," and plunged into the river to purify himself. And from the waters of his purification the gods were born.

It is the oldest Japanese legend: that shrinking from corruption is part of the elemental fastidiousness of the race. Buddhism only intensified it: bound up with its own mistrust of love as the fleshliest of the lusts that bind the soul to the senses. It is hard at best for a man to see the world as a mirage flung upon eternity, to let its affairs go past him like cloud rack, "indistinct, as water is in water." But when love comes upon him, and all the sweetness of the world become incarnate in one "small but ravishing substance"—"nothing else is."

*There is no lantern can lighten  
The dusk of the way of love,*

says a Buddhist proverb: and the story of the Botan-Doro is the story of the Peony Lantern that lighted one fool the way to death.

It is the Japanese contemporary of *La Morte Amoureuse*: written in the last century, and on the same theme, the love that binds the living and the dead. But there the likeness ends. For Gautier's city lies always under the shadow of a cloud: the "insubstantial pageant" of the love between the priest and his dead mistress is the stuff of dreams; the one reality is her beauty, and it shines through a twilight of green water. Encho's city is Tokyo at the end of the eighteenth century, with daylight on its streets. There is a brawl between *samurai* before a sword-smith's shop in Hongo, and Encho, great master of the colloquial as he is, records the ecstatic comments of the crowd with an affectionate detachment, a little like Chaucer's. There is no heightening of the style: no attempt at intensity:

the story ends in terror, but it is the slow term that grows in sunlight; a worse thing to those who know it than any terror by night.

*Two things change not since the Age of the Gods:  
The flowing of water, the coming of Love.*

It is as idyllic an opening as the meeting of Troilus and Cressida in the orchard: a scene that has never had its due. Only for Cressida's sophisticated white-foxglove beauty, there is O-Tsuyu-san, Dew of the Morning, as perishable and fair as the purple flower of the convolvulus; and for Troilus, Hagiwara, the *samurai*, one and twenty, "handsome to the pitch of making one think what a beautiful woman he would have made," and rather more of a scholar than a *samurai* should be. Pandarus had routed him from his books to see the plum blossoms at Kameido, and on their way from the great temple, a little flown with beauty and cold saké, suggested a private view of the plum trees in the garden of his old friend Iijima Heizaemon. For Iijima, who at two and twenty killed his man in the brawl with which the novel begins, is now a middle aged *samurai*, inheritor of the paternal estates, married for the second time, and something harassed in consequence. O-Tsuyu-san was too fair for the young wife: and so it came that her seventeenth year found her solitary mistress of her father's garden-villa in the suburb of the Hill of the Willows, with her maid O-Yoné to wait upon her. It is not customary in Japan for a woman to be from under authority. "And this it was," says Encho, who is something of the mediæval moralist, "which was the beginning of the downfall of the house of Iijima."

Yet Pandarus was a guileless Pandarus: the old family physician of both their houses, pleasantly facetious, fond of "the ladies"—even in Japan one says the ladies—and given to the improvising of verses. He improvised several as they strolled on the old stone paths, guided by O-Yoné;

*Plum trees in blossom!  
What a background  
For lighting one's pipe—*

Hagiwara lingering a little, for behind the sliding screens he saw the flowing of a faint purple sleeve. Thereafter they sat on the mats in the place of honour, while O-Yoné waited upon them with tea and sweetmeats. Her young mistress sat in the shadow, her long sleeves sweeping to the floor: after the first inaudible welcome to the stranger *samurai*, she had not opened her lips. Hagiwara too sat silent, his eyes fixed on her face. O-Yoné and the old physician had much to say to each other; the waiting woman of fiction does not alter with race or generation: and above and below the flying shuttle of their wit the web of the Great Illusion

wove about these two. The afternoon light on the paper shutters behind O-Tsuyu faded: the faint purple of her dress grew grey. The guests rose: O-Yoné lighted lanterns, and passed with the old man to the entrance way. For a moment the two were left alone.

"I shall come back," said Hagiwara, stumbling in his speech. O-Tsuyu-san shivered and stirred.

"If you do not come back," she said, "I shall die."

Now if O-Tsuyu-san had been a *geisha*, her story would have been the sorry little tragi-comedy that is the life of most *geisha*. But she was of the house of a *samurai*, and, by her mother's side, of the *hatamoto*, the proudest of them all. That Hagiwara should return alone would be to outrage an immemorial etiquette: and the old physician was no fool. Already he was regretting his weakness for seeing the young people enjoying themselves; and Hagiwara's importunities for a second visit found him supple and evasive. Hagiwara chafed and sulked at the vexatious delays of age: the old man meditated the finding of an official go-between for both their houses: and while he pondered, O-Tsuyu-san fell strangely ill. There is an eighteenth century *hokku* of lament for the noon-convolvulus, born when the sun is fiercest, beyond succor of the morning or the evening dews. It might have been written for her. "Love that availeth more than you or I" was too fierce a passion for anything so fragile. She died, withered by its heat.

Months after, Hagiwara sat solitary in his house. It was the thirteenth night of the seventh moon: the night of the Feast of the Bon. All over the darkening streets lanterns were lighted to guide the returning dead. Hagiwara had lighted his lantern, but as he hung it above his threshold his heart named one name only. He had written it in his fine scholar's hand on the white tablets of the dead: had set wine and flowers below it: and now he sat and dreamed in the silence of the July night. Never, it seemed to him, had he so known solitude. For in April and May the spring nights had yearned with him for her: in June the rains dripping from the eaves and running mournfully in the leaden gutters had wept for her. But in July the earth is at rest and quiet: it is the stillness of satisfied desire. By August the glory is a little tarnished: in September it quickens toward a diviner thing. But July has the fulness of possession, and the nights are of quiet breath. Once the tinkle of a *samisen* drifted across the bamboo fence: *geisha* returning late. It was a plaintive little song, but a laughing voice that sang it.

*Three years thought of her,  
Five years sought her,  
Only for one night held her in my arms.*

"Not for one night," said Hagiwara.

—"And never twice in a single birth the same night comes."

There was no sound for a long time after the tinkling of the *samisen* passed by. The house was a lonely house, and out of the track of wayfarers. A haze drifted across the moon, and after that the night seemed yet more still. Hagiwara stepped down from his verandah, and paced the glimmering garden. Suddenly, from very far off, he heard the



THROUGH THE LONG HOURS HAGIWARA KNELT, RECITING THE TREASURE-SUTRA, FOR WHICH THE BUDDHA OFFERED HIS LIFE TO THE EVIL ONE

faint musical clink of women's *geta*. The sound came nearer; they were in the lane beyond the bamboo fence. Hagiwara went swiftly to the wicket in the bamboo, his silk *hakama* rustling as he strode, and opening it, stood in the shadow. Two women came through the dusk, one gayly dressed, holding a silken lantern, with a bunch of scarlet peonies drooping from the handle: the slighter figure behind her he could not well see but she wore the long sleeves of rank, and her shadowy robes fell about her like the flower of the purple convolvulus. Hagiwara made a step forward.

"O-Yoné!" he cried.

The girl raised the lantern so that the light fell upon his face.

"Hagiwara *sama*! And they told my mistress you were dead." "It was she they told me was dead," said Hagiwara: the slender figure in the shadow had not stirred. "And your house was shuttered and empty."

"They took us from it," said O-Yoné, "and we found a small house in the Yanaka-no-Sasaki. It is a narrow house: there is only room for our two selves. And it is hard for us to live. My mistress is pale and thin."

Then Hagiwara held out his hands to them and

drew them in. But as his mistress passed him, she shrank a little, and hid her face in her long sleeve. "Sir," she said, "I have no beauty now." In a passion of pity he caught her and swept the sleeve from her face. O-Yoné raised the lantern, so that the glow from it fell upon her. And when he saw her, his strength went from him, for he had not remembered that she was so fair.

It was near the dawn when they left him, stepping across the grey dews. That night they came again, and the night after, and for many nights, still lighted by the peony lantern. All day Hagiwara went restlessly to and fro; the lines of his face grew sharpened, and there was a sleepless light in his eyes. Tomozo, the old retainer who slept in the courtyard, watched him sorrowfully: night after night he saw the lamp burn late: was it for a *samurai* to sit so late at his books? On the eighth night he rose from his bed, to plead with him. His hand was on the sliding screen when he was startled by a sound: his master's low contented laugh. Much learning had indeed made him mad. Tomozo stooped and peered through the slit in the screens. His master lay under the mosquito net, pillowed on a woman's arm. Her face

was bent over him: but as Tomozo gazed she lifted her head and he saw it. It was the face of a woman a great while dead.

Now Hagiwara had a friend, the great scholar, Hakuodo Yusai. He too had pondered over his changed looks: and when he awakened in the moonlight to find Tomozo clawing his lattice-shutters with shaking hands and trembling in an ague, he had the old man in and heard his story to the end. In the morning he came himself to Hagiwara. Once again he listened, though to a different story.

"And your mistress—where is her honorable dwelling?" he asked politely.

"I do not know," said Hagiwara, taken aback. "Only that it is in the quarter of Yanaka-no-Sasaki."

"It is a large quarter," said Yusai; and at the irony of it Hagiwara flung from the house. All that day he went up and down Yanaka-no-Sasaki: it is a poor quarter; there are many houses and the streets are dim. But in none was any trace of O-Tsuyu, nor her maid O-Yoné. Reluctant and very sore, he turned to go home: and it chanced that his way led him through the temple grounds of Shin-Banzui-In. It was twilight, and the grey peace of the graves was grateful to him. His



anger fell away from him; and when he saw down one of the aisles the scarlet glimmer of a lantern, his heart leaped, for surely it was she. He would make haste to overtake her, and upbraid her for lingering so late in that solitary place. He reached it: it was indeed solitary. Two graves were there, one, a tomb of fresh-cut stone, with wealthy offerings before it: the other a little grave, neglected and poor. Before the tomb a scarlet lantern hung: it was a silk lantern, with a gay bunch of peonies drooping from the handle. Hagiwara stood a long time looking at it.

There came a patter of quick feet behind him, and he roused himself and turned: it was a small belated acolyte hurrying to reach the temple before the great bell boomed. He caught the boy and questioned him.

"It is the tomb of O-Tsuyu-san, daughter of Iijima Heizaemon," said the boy. "She died young. That is O-Yoné her maid beside her. They say she would not live after her." The sound of his flying sandals echoed behind him. Hagiwara stood, still gazing at the peony lantern. He knew now. Had he not always known? *"They took us from our house . . . we found a small house in the Yanaka-no-Sasaki. It is a narrow house: there is only room for our two selves. And it is hard for us to live. My mistress is pale and thin."* He turned and went slowly from the place.

"There is no help in me," said Yusai, when he had found him. "It is the blind man who is wise in the dark. But there is Ryoseki, high-priest of Shin-Banzui-In. I know him, and will give you letters to him." It was dark in the temple courts when Hagiwara again passed under the great gateway. He stood silently by while Ryoseki read the letter in which Yusai had told his story for him, watching the light of the *andon* shining on his shaven crown. There was no change on the unmoved face: it seemed to look on the writhing brood of human desires, remote as the quiet Buddha in the shadows behind him. At last he raised his head, and looked on the young distraught countenance before him; the desire of the dead was an old story to him: he had heard it many times. "It is death

for the body and damnation for the soul," he said. "Wherefore take these. Paste the sacred scrolls over every lattice in your house, that no evil thing may enter it. This image of the Buddha, wear it in the folds of your girdle, and the dead will have no power on your body. And in the hour of your temptation recite the holy sutras, that you may keep your soul."

As the priest counselled, it was done. Through the long hours Hagiwara knelt, reciting the Treasure-Sutra for which the Buddha offered his life to the Evil One. The night dragged slowly. At last, very far off, the sound of women's *geta* struck upon his ear. Above the sound of his chanting he heard it coming near. It stopped; the paper shutters turned rosy in a sudden glow; and above the name of the Buddha he heard her call his own. The chant died on his lips. Again she called him; he heard her small hands struggling with the shutters, and it was as though they struggled with his heart. She touched the sacred scroll: there was a terrified cry, and a sudden burst of bitter hopeless weeping. Hagiwara flung himself on his face, clutching with his hands and crying on the name of Buddha. It did not drown the sound of her pitiful sobbing as O-Yoné led her away.

The next night she came again, and the night after. But on the third night O-Yoné came alone, and not to Hagiwara. Rousing Tomozo from his sleep, she bound him with curses so terrible and so potent a fear that the old man swore to do her bidding. And when the darkness fell again, and Tomozo spread his master's *futon* on the floor, a single scroll was gone from the lattice above his head, and the image of the Buddha had been slipped

from the folds of his girdle. Worn out and over watched, Hagiwara flung himself down, and the invocation of the Buddha died on his drowsy lips. Before midnight he was sound, so sound that when the light of the peony lantern fell on his face, he stirred and held out his arms without waking from his sleep. In the morning they found him dead, with that which had been the body of O-Tsuyu-san beside him. At his feet stood the peony lantern: it had gone out.



BEFORE THE TOMB A  
SCARLET LANTERN HUNG:

IT WAS A SILK LANTERN, WITH  
A GAY BUNCH OF PEONIES  
DROOPING FROM THE HANDLE

# TALES OF A CHINESE VILLAGE

By WILLIAM L. HALL

## THE WEED-GATHERER

SHE is only a poor weed-gatherer. With her basket strapped to her back she comes every morning to pick weeds and grass in our compound. She always has a smile for every one she meets, and a word of kindly greeting. She radiates happiness and good-will. More than once we have seen her share her pitiful gatherings with two little orphan boys who come in the same errand. One old woman, who never seems able to fill her basket, always seems to expect help from the younger woman.

Life is lived at its hardest here, and even at the best holds neither comfort nor pleasure for these over-crowded people. Mustard is gathered a little before the time when the oil is present in the greatest quantity; wheat is cut before it has hardened properly; peaches are picked and sold when the first faint blush of red appears. All this is not from choice,—but from necessity. At the earliest possible moment everything must be turned into food or into money to buy clothes.

Her feet are very small,—no false binding when she was a girl. Her hands are shapely, in spite of the hard, rough work she is doing every day. Her speech is gentle and her language high. These show good birth and early association with the better class. Her poor clothing is worn with a jauntiness which instantly appeals to one. We forget that it is made of cheapest blue cloth, and is so old and worn that it seems ever on the verge of slipping from her body. One day we asked her to sit awhile, and, as she sipped her tea she told the story of her life. Not once was there a thought of complaint,—not once did she show a sign of a spirit of rebellion. She is controlled by custom and ancient rules,—and from their decision she knows no appeal. She held her cup daintily, not clumsily, as one might expect, with so many self-evident signs of poverty. She is always thanking us for letting her come here to pull weeds and grass. She sells these to men who own ponies or cows, at one cash a catty. One cash equals about one-thirtieth of one cent, and a catty is one and one-third pounds. Let her tell her life-story, in her own simple, unaffected way, with truth and sincerity shining from her face as a light set on a hill.

"I cannot tell much about myself. There is not much to me. I know very little. When I was a little girl my father lived in a great compound. High brick walls were on every side, and the houses were all made of brick and stone. There were ser-

vants beyond counting, and many rooms in the compound were occupied by the members of the family. I do not know how many brothers I had. Yes, we had girls, too, but girls do not count. My father had more than five wives. One of the first things I can remember was my serving-woman beating me because I had torn the bindings from my feet. We begin binding the feet when a girl is three years old. My feet were hurting dreadfully, and I tore off the wrappings and hid them under a flower-stone in the date-court back of our home. When my serving-woman had finished beating me I ran to my father and told him what she had done. He laughed at me, and told the serving-woman to beat me to death if I did not mind her. My brothers always had the best of the food. They had all they wanted to eat, every day. The girls had to wait until their brothers had finished and then we ate what was left. If they ate it all we had to wait until the next meal. Sometimes the boys would not let us have any food, for they wanted to feed it to the dogs and the ducks after they were satisfied. We always had many dogs and pigs in the compound. The courts were always dirty. The servants ate their food wherever they chose, and the dogs and the pigs picked up the scraps that were thrown in every direction.

"My brothers went to school very early each morning, and were away all the day. Only on birth-days, feast days and temple days were they at home. They would not return from school until the sun was far down beyond the houses and the darkness was slipping over everything in the courts. Once I asked one of my brothers to teach me characters. He told me as I had neither brains nor soul a knowledge of characters would do me no good. Then my mother said it was not necessary for me to know anything. She did not know a single character, and she had a good home,—so what more should I expect? When I was eight my serving-woman taught me to smoke tobacco. At first I did not like the taste of the tobacco, but after she taught me to use a water-pipe I wanted to smoke all the time. She also taught me to do the embroidery I used on my shoes. The servants did all the cooking,—so I did not learn to cook until long after, when I was older.

"Sometimes we would go to the fair. My brothers would go first, and then the cart would come for us. When the boys reached the fair they would leave the cart and wander all over, to see the things on sale. When the girls went to the fair we had to sit

still in the cart, outside the door, and all we could do was watch the people pass in and out. We might not even speak to the girls in the other carts. Boys and young men would pass among the carts, and speak unkindly to us, but we might neither answer them nor look at them. Our carter and our serving-woman carried sweets and dried meats and fruits to the cart, and we chose that which suited us best. Sometimes they brought peanuts, or bowls of hot flour-strings. When the theatre was going the carter would drive up as close to the stage as possible, so we might hear the music and see the actors. While the day was still here we had to go home, so the cart could return for our brothers. They would not come home until the stars were all over the sky, and we were all asleep in our beds.

"When I was ten years old my serving-woman made a mark here in the middle of my forehead. It was made with red face-paint, and had to be renewed every time I went outside the compound. That sign meant that I was old enough to become engaged, and that my parents would consider offers for me. Soon after, an old woman came to see me. She made my serving-woman remove all my clothing. Then she looked me over. She made me thread a needle,—to test my eyes. She made me sew a seam,—to try my skill. She looked at my teeth, and pinched my body all over,—to see if I was healthy. Then she went away.

"One day, when I was twelve, I heard my mother talking about me,—with the old woman who had been to see me before. They were talking about my clothing. The middle-woman said I should have four pairs of silk trousers and three of cotton. I was also to have six white under-garments of cotton, and four linen for the hot weather. My outer garments were all to be of silk, and all must have embroidery about them. Two heavy garments were to be lined with silk, and padded with new cotton. These were to wear in the cold weather. They talked half a day about my trunks. The middle-woman held out that I should have four, all covered with pig-skin, but my mother was determined I should have only two. At last it was agreed that I should have three pig-skin trunks and two boxes covered with plain cloth. When they came to an agreement about anything a teacher wrote it down, so there would be no forgetting after. He would read it over to them often and had to change the writing when one or the other said they did not so understand. The middle-woman grew very angry when they were talking about the bedding I should have, and left the court. A servant called her and she returned. All the while they were talking about me I felt most important, for I had never before had a value placed on me. Then I thought I had not understood my mother all my life. She had

always treated me with unconcern, because I was not a boy, and now she was pointing out all my good qualities and setting a value on each one of them.

"Then they told me I was to be married. I was to marry a man I had never seen and they would not even tell me his name. I asked my mother if he might come to our court and play with me. She scolded me. He lived eight miles away, and could not come that distance just to see me. Silly child! Then she sent me away to another court and made me go without food for the next meal. One day, when I was full sixteen, my serving-woman made me dress in my finest silk garments. She put my hair up on my head in a way I did not like, and rubbed red powder on my long finger-nails. She pinched me hard when I wanted to put my hair back in a braid. I saw the servants sweeping the courts. By that sign I knew a visitor of importance was expected, for nothing else ever made them clean up like that. When the day was past the middle the gateman announced the arrival of the visitor. I was taken into the best room, up to the top of the court, and made to sit with my face turned partly from the light. This side of my face could not be seen from the door. I was told that I must not speak,—neither must I look up. By the color of her trousers I knew it was the middle-woman who came into the room. She walked up toward where I sat and stood without speaking. Some one was with her. He spoke. It was the voice of a man. He came near to where I sat. He spoke again. The middle-woman took hold of my head and turned me partly around toward the door. My heart was full of fear, so I closed my eyes. I liked to hear his voice and I wanted him to speak again. Soon they went away. Then my mother told me I was satisfactory, and that my future husband was pleased with my appearance. He came to our house just that one time.

"Soon after, when a lucky day had been chosen, I went to his home as his wife. He was rich, and I had fine mirrors, clocks and silken hangings in my room. On the second day after my arrival at his home his mother beat me with her stick,—to make me know she was master, she said. My husband pulled my hair when I did not light his pipe as he wanted it. He took opium. He cursed the serving-woman who had always roasted his opium and sent her away. Then he made me do the work for him. I had never roasted opium before but was soon able to do it just as he liked it. Always, when I lighted his pipe, I took two draws, to see if it was going right. Soon I wanted to keep on drawing. He took opium all the time. He could not manage his business affairs properly, and lost much money. Other men took advantage of him and took his

money away. Thus his property rapidly dwindled.

At the end of two years his mother informed me that she was bringing home another wife for her son, as I had failed to bear a son for him. The new wife came,—and still there were no sons. I told the mother her son was a weakling, and she struck me in the face. The blow was so hard it cut into my flesh, and left this scar you can see over my left eye. Another wife was brought. My husband liked her best of all. He made the others wait on her. Soon she was taking opium. She failed to bear the coveted sons.

I was sold to a merchant, in exchange for opium and lumps of silver. The merchant had a family, but he was going away to another Province and wanted me to take along. I wanted to visit my mother before starting on the long journey, but he said the trip would cost him several thousand cash,—and he had already spent as much money on me as I was worth. We were traveling for many moons. We went only a few miles each day, and sometimes we stopped at one city for many days. When we reached the end of the long journey he told me he would give me just one year to bear him a son. At the end of that time, if I had not fulfilled my mission, I should be severely punished. In his home he had many daughters, but only one son, and that son was not strong.

When the year was full I was sold to a traveling merchant who was ready to go on the overland trip to Tibet. Robbers attacked us and he was killed. One of the robbers took me to his home in the hills, but his wife tried to poison me. I was then passed on to a farmer, and went to live with him as his wife. I had to pull weeds in the field every year. The mustard had to be kept free from weeds, and the kaoliang had to be thinned in the spring. The curse still clung to me. My eyesight was growing dim, and my strength was failing. When he thought I could not bear him a son, and that I could not do the work he wanted done, he gave me to a laborer. He was owing the laborer five thousand cash for his work, so it was agreed that the man should take me, call the debt paid, and go away.

Five years ago we came here. His mother was living, and he wanted me to wait on her. His mother reviled me all the time, and made him hold me while she beat me with her stick. She made him beat me on the first and fifteenth of each moon, to keep me from feeling myself better than them.

Then he got his sickness in his lungs. He coughs all night, and I have to fan him while he sleeps. That is he you see when you go out your small gate and walk towards the temple on the hill. Now he cannot walk. He must have his rice-gruel early every morning, and often before the day is over. I drag him out of the room and let him lie by the door

every morning before I come away, and drag him back at night. He gets lighter all the time, and now it is very easy to move him about. He did not want me to leave him this morning. He says the pain is worse when I am not there to change him about. I cannot stay there with him all the time, for I must pull weeds to get the money to pay for his food. He does not eat much. I never eat as much food as I want. I do not dare. He comes first.

My father gave me this piece of Jade when I was a little girl. I have always worn it about my neck. I keep it wrapped in this piece of old cloth to keep people from knowing what it is. Some man would take it away from me if he knew it was Jade I carry. He does not know I have it. If he did know he would want me to spend it for food and clothes. When I look at the Jade I think of my father and mother and the nice home I had when I was a child. I have never heard from them since I left home. No, I do not want to sell the Jade now. I must keep it to bury him. It will pay for a place for his body and for the wood to cover him. Then I shall feel I have done my duty.

No, I do not know why I have never had children. I have prayed to every image I have seen, and made prostrations in the dirt to each. I am thirty-three years old this year. I suppose the gods do not love me, and have sent their greatest punishment to me. They have laid their worst curse on my body. I have no thought for the future. I have no pain. I have never had to think of what was best for me. I have never been asked to express an opinion about anything. I am only a woman. He will soon be dead. I do not know who will have me next. I do not care. I thank you for the weeds and grass. I earn twenty to thirty cash a day. That is not much,—but we do not need much. I am glad the gods give me strength to pull the weeds. I am glad you have the weeds and grass for me to pull. It would be harder for him if you did not let me come here every day. I could not earn half that much by pulling outside along the road-ways. There are so many women and children outside, and the goats are eating all the time. I am not worthy. I thank you. He will scold if I do not hurry home. He does not like me to leave him at all. I do not like to leave him alone so long. He might die while I am away. Then a greater sorrow might be laid on me. I thank you . . . I am not worth . . ."

She balanced the heavy basket on her back, jerked the shoulder-straps to make both sides equal, bowed to each of us in turn, lowered her head and drew her body forward to balance the load, and started off toward the gate,—to home, . . . and him!



## MEETING SPRING

**S** NOW fell last night. The wind has been high for three days. The thermometer stands at twenty above zero this morning. Our cart is waiting at the great gate, all ready to carry us to the city. When we are properly piled in the word is given and off we go—to meet the spring.

As we pass through the village we see every street crowded with people—all dressed up in their best garments—and all faces are turned toward the city. Some travel in carts, some on horse-back, but by far the greater number are on foot. A few of the wealthy are being carried in chairs. Our progress is slow. Here we must stop until a group of villagers will climb up out of the middle of the road where they have been walking, to go single file along the narrow footpath running on top of the dyke. There some one coming our way is having a wordy war with another carter, each claiming the right of way, and each demanding that the other back his cart into one of the places dug out of the bank to enable carts to pass each other. As we near the city the carts and horses and men and women and children and dogs increase in number. Very few women are walking—only the poorest people—but from almost every cart window beams a painted face. All are wending their way to the east gate. The roadway is a mass of people, swaying like grain before a wind. The wind now blowing is so bitterly cold that the greater part of the human mass appears to have noses stuck into the loose sleeves of the outer garments. Women who would not dare remove an outer garment to permit an examination for a serious illness, for fear of "receiving cold," will sit for hours in the cold wind to see a theatre, or the wonderful spectacle that brings us all from home today.

Sometime, somewhere, someone, ordered that on a certain day in the year must be observed the solemn function of "Meeting Spring." The gods charged with the care of the house and the state have first place in the hearts and minds of these millions of people. No one has yet fully determined whether they are most controlled by love, fear, respect or habit. A close study of their manners will almost incline one to believe that it is the last. This "Meeting Spring" in mid-winter, with the wind blowing at a blizzard rate, the people bundled in their heavy wadded garments, the ground showing only in spots through the frozen snow, the sun making a feeble effort to break through the cloud-masses which overcast the sky, and the terrible earnestness of it all, presents a strange picture for occidental eyes.

A crowd in China makes little noise. Even the children at play seem wondrously quiet. All that noise we hear as we approach the east gate is made

by vendors of things to eat. Be the occasion a wedding, a funeral, a theatre or "Meeting Spring," these sellers of good things to eat are always at hand. Some of the sellers squat in the doorways, with their array of foods spread out on dirty mats on the ground. Others stand by the wayside, dangling toothsome dainties from shoulder-poles, and mingle their calls to eat with the undertone of invitation with which the air is filled. Hot stoves, set up under rush-mats, with chopsticks and bowls all ready, furnish steaming portions to those who prefer their food hot. Cold relishes, made colder still by exposure to the biting winter air, tempt appetites and open cash-bags on every corner. As the vendors draw cold noses from warm sleeves to call their wares the sounds we hear are something like this: "*Buy pears,*" "*buy grapes,*" "*eat meat balls,*" "*eat peanuts,*" "*buy good candy,*" "*pots mended,*" "*steamed sweet potatoes,*" "*donkey liver,*" "*sheep heart,*" "*pigs' feet,*" "*nice soup,*" "*piping hot,*" "*chestnuts,*" "*steamed bread,*" "*not enough, not enough, below cost,*" "*water here, for your mule,*" "*bean cakes,*" "*hard boiled eggs,*" "*no, six cash, five will not buy,*" "*duck eggs,*" "*bean sprouts,*" "*have you taken rice?*" "*medicines here for all diseases,*" "*vegetables here, new and sweet,*" "*onions, leeks and garlic,*" "*mountain medicine balls.*"

Of course one must keep an open ear to distinguish all these different sounds, for the calls are all confused. The best way is to listen for some special call until it rings out full and clear above the others. After a little practice any desired refreshment may be located by eliminating all the other noises.

A murmur passes through the waiting throng. The magistrate is coming! Yes, the official must meet the Spring. That is one of the emoluments of his office. First there comes through the city gate a man on foot carrying an immense red umbrella, fastened to a long red pole and swaying back and forth in the air high above the heads of the expectant multitude. This emblem of authority is everywhere recognized and acknowledged. As the bearer passes, the people crowd closer together and tumble over each other in an effort to make clear the way. The group of men following after the bearer of the umbrella are all personal servants of the magistrate. They are proud of the honor of being allowed to march under its protecting care. After an almost interminable line of attendants, each bearing a properly inscribed banner, we see, not the magistrate but the sacrificial cow! Today she has the right of way. Gaily decorated with bright paper flowers and cloth banners this holy animal meanders on her triumphal march. She is fastened to poles by strong iron spikes; for she is not the product of grassy slopes and quiet dales, but is the

handiwork of man. The body consists of a round pole about eight feet long. The legs, the head, the neck, the ears and the tail are made from smaller pieces of wood and mortised into the body-frame at rakish angles. A coat of mud was applied to the whole frame, and other coats on top of that, until the body was regulation size and of ideal proportion. Then the huge paper skin was pulled on. The tail is of red and green paper, and curls up over the back with a graceful sweep, with the end dangling at the mercy of every breeze. The bristles set near the jaws are long and bright, and are evidently intended to strike terror to the soul of every beholder. Chosen men carry the precious burden. Carefully these pick their way, and watch their steps. They are careful for two reasons. They are afraid to drop the cow, and their cloth shoes do not hold well on the ice. Down go the heads of the people as the cow passes.

Sure, now His Honor cometh! In state, his green chair, resplendent with its hangings of yellow, is carried at a rapid pace by the men whose master he is. They turn not from the beaten path even the breadth of a hair. Woe betide the common mortal who might chance to stumble or linger in their way. At a spot outside the city gate, selected by the wise men for its proper condition of "wind and water" the magistrate descends from his chair. He bows to the east, to the north and to the west, then prostrates himself to the earth three times. He bows to the cow, then strikes her on the head with a gaily decorated wooden sword. Then he turns to his chair, enters, his procession moves off to the city—and Spring is met! The admiring populace then falls to and beats the poor cow to pieces. Lucky the man who secures a bit of dry mud or paper or a piece of the precious wood to carry to his home. This talisman bestows a good crop, at a good price, with waiting customers.

Carried along with the procession are numberless floats. These are furnished by the guilds, and by private individuals. Here come some stumps of trees, each bearing banners showing the virtues resident in each separate float. Now we see a deer, but from the attitude one is tempted to call it a tired dog. The mouth is wide open, the legs are twisted and bent, and the tongue is hanging out. The Dragon, carried by half a hundred men, creeps its sinuous way along the road, emitting fire, in the shape of red paper strips, from mouth and nostrils as it moves ahead. The two men nearest the head run back and forth across the street, and the men behind try to follow in their tracks. The last man at the tail, realizing the importance of his position, waves the tail over his head and shakes it in the open mouths of the highly-entertained audience.

Four men carry a square platform or frame. Near the centre is a slender bamboo pole about ten

feet long. Attached to the pole by a hidden tether is the swaying form of a young girl. Each float carries two girls. They are gaily dressed. A rhythmic motion is imparted to their bodies by the movements of the carriers. A rope attached to the waist holds the girl fast to the bamboo. The right hand clasps the pole lightly, giving illusion that the girl is thus supported. In the left hand she carries a fan and streamers of bright colored silk. This hand moves in unison with the beats of the drum carried just ahead of the float. 1-2-3, 1-2-3, 1-2-3-4, 1-2-3, it goes, without waver or change. The occasion may be a funeral march or a martial quick-step—the movement continues with incessant monotony. These girls remain thus suspended in the air for hours at a time. They are carried about the city streets after the ceremony of the day is ended, the most admired attraction in the whole display. Men wanting wives make bids for them, and parents are more than willing to have their daughters exploited, without charge to them. Any man interested may easily ascertain the name, age, place of abode, and the sum required to secure any girl desired. They are scantily clad, the better to advertise their charms. Their faces are painted, and their feet are encased in the smallest possible shoes, and these are made to show, in the most attractive, seductive manner. Men especially trained are engaged to carry these floats. Competent carriers are able to impart suggestive movements to the bodies of the girls swinging over their heads.

It is a common saying that in some period of time far, far in the past, there existed on the earth a most wonderful animal. That animal, for some great miracle performed, was deified, and is now an object for universal reverence. Every procession "Meeting Spring" must carry a representation of this great King of Beasts. The people are crowding close to a float now approaching, and from the marvelous banners displayed from poles moving this way, we know it must be that for which the multitude waits and shivers. The center of attraction seems to be two men, wrapped in an indescribable mass of clothing. They wear enormous green trousers and top boots. A frame held between the two is covered with green and yellow cloth, wound in strips of equal width. A man in front has his head out through a hole that is made in one end of the animal. He could not resist the temptation to have a look at the "foreign devil." On the ground lies an enormous head—so we shall be seeing the great animal soon. The two men inside greet us, the drum taps, the leader picks up the head, pulls it down over his shoulders, the man behind crawls into the skin. The tail shakes, the banners wave, the music sounds, the people look on approvingly—and the King of Beasts stands before us.

# NEW CHINA



Rita T. Crowley

*The dust eddying upward from the hard little bare feet that will never do anything but walk to the end of their owners' lives, the handful of promiscuous grey-blue rags that constitute a solitary claim to personal property, the weight of the great processional lanterns, these are lesser things of life, utterly insignificant. For this day will be momentous among all days to come. Many times have fascinating processions wound their way through the street—a funeral party bound for the cemetery of the open fields beyond the city walls, a bridal party, the mysterious unknown bride enclosed behind thick screens in a gay palanquin borne on red lacquer poles and carried by men, processions of trade guilds, with giant figures of paper and cloth marching on men's feet, festival processions, with sinuous dragons weaving a pattern in and out down the narrow streets. But actually to be a part of such splendor! To have the honor of carrying the great lanterns with the characters that speak eloquent things, to have a thousand eyes turning to stare in awe! Who would change this lot with that of the Emperor himself? The piercing flutes, the din of the drums and gongs, the shuffling feet, the scarlet and gold of it all—this is life!*



*Edmond A. Salihara*

*Yes I am a girl, but please notice my brother. It was unfortunate for my parents that I was a girl, because they needed a son. They beg for coppers just inside the great gate at the edge of the city. I beg, too, but it is more important for me to look after my brother. We call him bad names, such as "Puppy," so that the evil spirits will not want to steal him away. I am not afraid of devils. I have mirrors in my cap so they can see how ugly and terrible they look and be frightened away. My brother has mirrors in his cap and some good gods there to protect him. The devils don't care about girls. This is a lot of money you gave me. I am going to take it to my mother right away. She will buy food with it. I don't mind if you are taking a photograph of me, with your black box. I told my brother to turn his face away, because maybe you might be able to do him an injury if you had a picture of his face.*



Edward A. Salisbury

*I put some sticky paste on the end of this bamboo pole to catch dragonflies and crickets with. Sometimes when we get two crickets we put them in a wooden box and make them fight with each other. In the end, one is always killed. When I catch a dragonfly I tie a long string around it and run. I feel just as if I were flying myself. I am glad my father is a keeper here in the Temple. It is a fine place for kites. There is plenty of room, and the wind takes the kite up better than it does outside the walls of the Temple compound. When the kite is up in the clouds it looks just like a bird. Thousands of cranes sleep in the trees around the blue tiles of the Temple. In the morning they fly away into the City to get their food but when the Great Dragon shuts his Shining Eye they come back to sleep in these trees. We don't have to go out into the City to get a living. The strangers who come here to see the Temple always give us money. My father wouldn't open the great gates if they didn't give him enough. Strangers are all very rich, but their faces are ugly and red, and they speak in such a queer way. I am glad I am Chinese.*



Maynard O. Williams

*My baby is a boy. I am blessed in having a fine son, because when I die I shall have someone to perform all the proper services to my spirit, just as I perform the required services before the tablets of my father and my father's ancestors; furthermore I shall have someone to go on with the trade. But my son shall be carefully educated. He shall have a better education than I had. I cannot afford to pay for an expensive education, but perhaps a mission school will educate him for nothing. Besides, if he should learn to speak English fluently, it might be useful to him later on in business. A western education is a good thing these days, though the Chinese of the old school don't like to say so. Of course, I shouldn't want my son to be like the Westerners—only to know their ways of doing things. They say our new President is a foreigner. I don't know; I never saw him. My son here looks like a fine little mandarin, with his hands tucked into his sleeves. It will be a long time before his baby hands know what work means. I hope the gods keep him in good health.*



Maynard O. Williams

*My baby is a girl. It is a pity, but it can't be helped. At first I hoped she would die, because my mother-in-law and my husband were very angry. You see I had the misfortune to be the mother of three other girls, and I have borne my husband no son. A curse must have been laid on me. I was careful to tie a charm around my daughter's neck as soon as she was born, and she has worn it ever since. It is to keep away the curses of the evil spirits, so that she will have nothing but sons when she marries. The best thing I can wish for her is that she may have a kind mother-in-law. When I go to the Temple I always pray for that. I don't know whether I shall have her feet bound or not. Of course, I don't have to decide till she is six or seven years old. There is a law forbidding it now, they say, but it might be hard to get her a good husband if she had natural-sized feet. The mother might not accept her as a daughter-in-law. Not having any sons myself, I shall have no one to wait on me when I am old, unless my husband should adopt a son.*



Maynard O. Williams

In recognition of the importance of Chinese agriculture the Emperor himself, in the days of the Empire, followed the wise custom of turning a furrow of ground once a year in the sacred precincts of the Temple of Heaven at Peking. It is the farmer still who is the truest representative of Chinese society, and the farmer's baby who carries on the tradition in its soundest aspects. His life as he grows up may be narrowly circumscribed by the mud walls of his humble thatched home, which he shares indistinguishably with the pigs and livestock; the rise and fall of dynasties or republics trouble him not at all. If the year passes with no devastating floods, wrecking the work of many months' labor, food will be sufficient; no more can be asked. Now and then strolling actors come through the village and set up their grass-mat theatres; a story-teller makes his appearance at the temple festival, recounting the strangely living deeds of miraculous beings in centuries long since harvested; itinerant traders, their wares on their backs, pass down the deep-sunken road, bringing the gossip of the outer world. If life is lived according to the irreducible denominator it is not wholly barren. There is the vast accumulated thought of the past, the immeasurable world of the countless dead, toward which the present reaches out like a ring ever widening toward eternity.





International Film Service

*It is exciting to be a bride. This morning they dressed me in three beautiful silk clothes and put on the bride's headdress, with pearls and long silken tassels. I always thought it would be pleasant to be a bride, but this morning I was terribly frightened. When I was in the red chair and was being carried to the groom's house in a long procession, I cried behind my veil all the way. I had seen the groom once before, but I didn't dare look at him. He is a great deal older than I am, but he is rich and will give me many jewels and pretty dresses. He has a first wife. I hope she will be kind to me. I shall obey everything she says and try to make her like me. I only hope she will not be jealous. The garden of my husband's house is strung with lanterns in honor of the wedding and everyone is feasting. Somehow I do not feel like eating. I brought my doll with me, but I miss my mother. It is going to be strange in my husband's house.*



Edward A. Schaubert

A baby may be monarch in China as well as any other country in the world, even when he means another hungry mouth to feed. Countless are the frail lives that flicker out in those first few months of existence, in spite of the red paper symbol of good fortune pasted on the gate, in spite of all sort of charms hung around the neck of the new arrival to protect him from malignant influences. Fortunately, indeed, the baby born into the world as a boy, because he at least has the affectionate cooperation of the community in his struggle for existence, but the girl baby too often comes into life unwanted and deserted. Not much ceremony attends the first days of a coolie baby's life. The first official recognition that the little one is duly admitted into society takes place at the end of one month, when on a lucky day chosen by a diviner, the baby's head is ceremoniously shaved and he is taken to the temple or ancestral hall to announce his arrival on earth to the august ancestors. It is on this occasion that he first receives a name known as the Milk name, but later he may acquire a Book name, a Great name, an Official name, and finally a House or Ancestral name, if his position in society warrants the successive honors.

# CHINA AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

By PATRICK GALLAGHER

**C**OINCIDENT with the declaration of international independence, drafted in Paris as the unanimous will of the civilized nations of the world, China adopted and successfully asserted a definite foreign policy. In the realm of Far Eastern affairs, this is the great event of the Conference of Paris—because it was done in Paris and not in Peking, and if it had not been done by the Chinese themselves there is scant reason to believe that even the Wilsonian World's Charter could be applied to aid and to protect China without creating new international alignments that might very easily wreck the most sincere efforts to maintain peace by just government of the world under law. Americans may take pride in the fact that China's leadership came from three Chinese who learned the science of world politics in American schools—Dr. C. T. Wang, of Yale; Dr. Wellington Koo, of Columbia; and Mr. Alfred Sze, of Cornell.

Friends of China have often, and with reason, exclaimed: "How can we help China when the Chinese won't help themselves?" Wang and Koo, particularly, have opened a more honorable chapter of Chinese history. They have demonstrated real leadership and won the respect and admiration of all nations represented in the Conference. The Japanese? Yes, the Japanese. A member of the Japanese delegation said some of the handsomest things I heard from any source about the ability of China's new leaders. Unless all signs fail, Wang and Koo will leave Paris at the end of their labors with the prestige and power to lead their four hundred million compatriots in unity to strength.

From 1868, when Anson Burlingame, as United States minister to China, performed his great service to the Chinese and to the world by convincing the mandarins that friendly coöperation with the West was as necessary as desirable, to the present day, the Chinese can reasonably claim that they have never had an honest chance to set their house in order and to play a worthy part in the affairs of mankind. Their own blunders were numerous and serious, but these blunders do not excuse the international sins against China. As the biographer of Hay has expressed it, China was treated like a stranded whale. The only nation capable of wounding China that did not hurl the harpoon into her was America. The European War provided Japan the opportunity to apply with greater freedom to China the policy she had previously applied successfully in Korea, which, within a few brief years, had transformed the Hermit Kingdom of Korea into the Japanese province of Chosen. To succeed in her

new program, it became necessary to attain two objects: (1) control over China's foreign affairs; and (2) control of a large part of China's more important natural resources.

The failure of our own government to act vigorously in China and to convince the government of Japan that the American protest of May, 1915, is a document with teeth, undoubtedly aided Japan and embarrassed China. It seemed evident in support of the oft-repeated Japanese remonstrance to the Chinese that China makes a great mistake in manifesting "friendship for the far off and enmity for the near." When a gun-barrel is pressed against your forehead, it is small comfort to remember that a friend across the water will shed a tear over your grave. During the most critical period in our Asiatic relations, the four years of the world war, we had one policy in Peking, another in Washington and none at all in Tokyo. And China had failed to develop a definite foreign policy. Thus it came about that Tuan Chi-jui, now Chinese minister of war, and his associates were to Viscount Motono, foreign minister of Japan, as clay in the hands of the potter. Whether through fear or out of sheer cupidity, they sold out. They acted in a manner that would have reduced China to a state of vassalage under Japan had their acts been legal, which they were not. Tuan's government was overthrown none too soon. The Motono-Tuan conspiracy and its reactions imperilled the unity of China just at the moment when Germany collapsed and delegates were being chosen to lay down the lines of world peace.

The Chinese succeeded in sending to Paris a united delegation. If they were given only two seats at the Peace Conference, despite a reasonable and dignified protest, the panel system enabled them to utilize fully their five plenipotentiaries, Lou Tseng-hsiang, C. T. Wang, Wellington Koo, Alfred Sze and Wei Sun-sou. Messrs. Lou and Wang sat at the first two plenaries, and Messrs. Koo and Sze at the third plenary; while Dr. Koo took an important part in drafting the covenant of the League of Nations and Dr. Wang was chosen for not less vital work as a member of the commission on Ports, Railways and Waterways. The significant fact in the situation was that China came into the Conference on her own feet. She was not barred as a vassal state, nor received as in any way subordinate to any of the Great Powers.

After his election as President of China, Mr. Hsu Shih-chang sent the usual conventional message to the Emperor of Japan, availing himself of the op-

portunity to express the hope that the relations between China and Japan would be harmonious. The Japanese were quick to rise to the occasion and their reply echoed the desire for harmony. At the opening plenary conference and at the second conference, the Chinese delegation voiced its deep interest in the peace-making business then begun. China came out in frank support of the League of Nations. The Japanese delegates sat, listened—and said not a word. But they were not idle. Nor was the Japanese foreign office idle. Mr. Ijuin, an able member of the Japanese delegation, a personal friend of Mr. Lou Tseng-hsiang and Japan's ambassador at Rome, called upon two of the Chinese delegates and did his best to come to some understanding. He did not succeed. The Chinese delegation remained solid as a rock, Japanese pressure was then brought to bear upon the Chinese in Peking and in Canton, and upon the Chinese minister in Tokyo. It is an historical fact that China's destiny hung by a mere thread, when an important incident happened.

M. Clemenceau might best be described as the business manager of the Paris Conference. Determined upon speed, he gave the nineteen nations not numbered among the Great Powers from Saturday evening, January 25, until Monday afternoon, January 27, to pick five representatives, to act for all on each of the four special commissions, League of Nations; Railways, Waterways and Ports; Responsibility for the War; and Labor. Koo and Wang received the votes of the non-Chinese electors, thus seating China on the two commissions most important to China—the League of Nations and Railways, Waterways and Ports. That did not look as if the Chinese delegation were weak or unpopular. And Wang and Koo have proved their right to the trust the Chinese of North and South at home have thus far had the good sense to put in them, by giving China a real foreign policy and asserting it, so far with splendid success.

The afternoon of Monday, January 27, upon which the lesser nations chose Wang and Koo as two of their special commissioners, these statesmen of Young China sat at the table of the Council of Ten and heard the Japanese delegates put in Japan's claim for reversion of all Germany's forfeited holdings in China. Japan asked for everything. A day before this eventful secret session, a highly placed and justly respected Japanese official advised me that Japan would restore Kiaochau to China. "You will see," I was told; "Japan will not merely be just, she will act generously toward China." Right on top of this came the Japanese claim for all enemy holdings in China. Now, the curious thing about this apparent inconsistency between Japanese assurance and Japanese action is that there is not the slightest inconsistency in fact.

The assurance and the seemingly hostile action are both in line with Japan's fundamental policy in the Conference of Paris. What is that policy?

It stipulates, first, that Japan is in possession of the former German holdings in China; that she came into possession by her services as an Ally; and that it is the duty of the Peace Conference to confirm her title. She denies China's right to intervene. The policy admits Japan's moral obligation to restore Kiaochau to China, but it asserts that the time, terms and manner of restoration are matters that do not concern the world or the peace-makers but must be left to Japan and China. It holds that the Asiatic question, demanding answer by the Peace Conference, regards the natural right of Asiatic races and nations to equal treatment under the new régime.

Japan's position would have been much better understood by the world if the peace-makers had lived up to the Wilsonian principle of "open covenants, openly arrived at." Japan, through her delegates, has been one of the strongest opponents of public procedure and the chief champion of the utmost possible secrecy. The Japanese delegates have issued statements, each one of which has been along the line of the old diplomacy—intended to cover up the truth. This is no reflection upon the Japanese. The Japanese delegates are admirable and honorable gentlemen—but of the old diplomatic school. That is not an individual conclusion. I merely confirm the opinion expressed to me by the very ablest Japanese journalist in Paris. He goes much further than I should care to go. He thinks that Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda are "twenty years too old for their job." I think that he is wrong, and that Makino and Chinda and their distinguished colleagues are just of the right age to represent Japan—Japan's policy in the Conference of Paris being an integral part of her application of the Korean policy toward China.

What actual proof is there that Japan is still applying the Korean policy to China? It has been furnished, reluctantly, by the Japanese themselves.

On Tuesday, January 28, Dr. Wang and Dr. Koo presented the case for China. The splendid unity of the Chinese delegation was illustrated by the fact that Koo was given the "star" part and delivered one of the great speeches, so far, of the Conference. His English, needless to say, tickled the expert ear of our own President. It made a strong impression upon that veteran author, philosopher and parliamentarian, Arthur James Balfour. It amazed Lloyd George. It charmed Sir Robert Borden. Premier Hughes, I am told, deprecated his unfortunate deafness—for the first time in the life of the Conference. Business Manager Clemenceau patted China's representative on the back—and began to take China seriously.

How did the speech affect the Japanese representatives who heard it? Baron Makino made the Japanese reply. He speaks very good English, but he answered Koo in French. While Koo spoke freely and with scarcely a note before him, the Baron read the greater part of his rejoinder from a formidable foreign office volume of aide-memoires. In order to meet the moral and legal arguments presented by Dr. Koo, showing cause why Japan should get off China's chest in Kiaochau, Makino read some notes—a few, but by no means all, of those secret notes that form part of the unlovely Motono-Tuan "arrangement."

"China," he said in substance, "has a secret understanding with Japan. She is bound by these notes, which are supplementary to the notes and treaties of 1915."

Mr. Kawakami tells the story of how the Hermit Kingdom, Korea, lost control of its foreign affairs and, with tragic swiftness, its national identity:

"It was, therefore, inevitable that in November, 1905, Japan should assume control of the foreign affairs of Korea, sending Prince Ito to Seoul as resident-general, who was invested with the power to direct all matters relating to the external relation of the country."

Makino, Okuma, Shibusawa, Motono, Sakatani, Nishihara, Obata, Kato, Hioki—all these Japanese gentleman still believe in the self-same Korean policy.

Immediately after England entered the War, while the British cabinet was mobilizing the financial power of the Empire to meet the crisis, Baron Shibusawa proposed to British bankers and business men a lucrative plan of coöperation in China. It might have helped to relieve Britain's financial strain, but the British would have none of it. Then followed the "Twenty-one Demands" upon China, and the London *Daily News* (March 19, 1915) protested in the following words:

"A scheme of this kind, if carried through, would put all China under Japanese suzerainty. Of course, it would also imperil extensive British commercial interests in China, and it would knock the bottom out of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, which guarantees the integrity of China and equal opportunity to all Powers."

America also protested against the Sino-Japanese proceedings, which Baron Shibusawa came to America to finance. Then came the Ishii-Motono-Sazanof agreement resulting in the New Russo-Japanese Convention of 1916. The Manchester *Guardian* said (December 24, 1917):

"The public (Russo-Japanese) treaty professes to aim at maintaining a lasting peace in the Far East, and makes no specific reference to China; the secret treaty (made public by the Bolsheviks) is not concerned with peace,

but with the interests of both contracting Powers in China. . . . The public treaty indicates consultation between the contracting parties as to the measures to be taken, the secret treaty points to military measures and is definitely a military alliance."

Russia collapsed and Viscount Ishii was hurried to Washington. As foreign minister of Japan he had directed Motono, who, as ambassador in Petrograd, signed the Alliance with Sazanof. Motono took his place as foreign minister under the Terauchi administration. The Lansing-Ishii agreement was signed, and M. Krupensky tells how Motono and Japan interpreted it as recognizing,

"A condition that would to some extent establish a Japanese control over the foreign affairs of China."

The extracts read by Baron Makino to the Council of Ten in Paris were from the sheaf of notes extracted from Motono's tool, Tuan Chi-jui. They are valueless in law, but they are cast-iron proofs of the continuity of Japan's application of her Korean policy to China. Baron Makino rests his case upon them. Koo's successful argument forced the Baron to read part of the notes. President Wilson thereupon proved his great diplomatic ability. Very blandly he turned to the Japanese statesman and inquired,

"You will lay the notes on the table, will you not, Baron?"

The Baron on the spur of the moment said, "Yes." Then, upon second thought, he explained that he would first have to obtain the permission of his government. Will the notes be placed in evidence? That is another story, and I hope to write it. So far (notwithstanding an official Japanese statement purporting to create a contrary impression) the notes have not been disclosed to the Ten, not even confidentially.

Japan's policy toward Asia is selfish, foolish, shortsighted. It succeeded in bringing Korea under the brilliant banner of the Rising Sun. But the Korean night, thank God, has passed from the world with the passing of the Mailed Fist that inspired it.

It was my good fortune to be one of that favored audience before whom Woodrow Wilson read the "riot act" to Old Diplomacy in the Salon of the Clock, within the Palace of Foreign Affairs on the Quai d'Orsay. I had the luck to secure one of the best available seats, just a little bit in front and to the left of the President. Listening to him, watching the play of his face and hands, my thoughts went back to quite another scene, in England, nineteen years ago. The stage was that of the Empire Theater in Oldham, Lancashire. The speaker was Joseph Chamberlain. It was that great night during the Khaki election when Chamberlain, support-



ing the candidature of Winston Churchill, hurled his defiance at the Kaiser. "What I have said, I have said." Chamberlain, expressing truly the Anglo-Saxon mind of that period, said, "We are all imperialists, now." It was a Parthian shot at the Majuba policy of his former chief, Gladstone. Also it had in mind the American entry into the Philippines and Asia.

Now, here in the Salon of the Clock was the arch-angel of anti-imperialism smashing into fragments the Chamberlain idea of Anglo-Saxon development. Chamberlain was a true friend of America; he was a great democrat and the personification of British imperialism, at the same time. He was also in platform appearance, manner, and sometimes in speech, Wilson's double. The strong, yet delicate, gentle face. The fine eyes and brow and the lips of the born elocutionist, talking even when silent and in repose. The freedom from unnecessary gesture, yet telling sweep of the hand as when the President almost pointed at M. Clemenceau, while he reminded the Conference that this is to be a peoples' peace and not a peace of governments. Take one glass from Wilson and insert a white orchid in the lapel of the frockcoat and you have Chamberlain—his political opposite, nineteen years ago. It would be well to write a book on the text of that curious resemblance, and it would be well to write it in Japanese. It would show that the world has really already gained something out of the horrible tragedy inflicted upon it by Germany's vaulting ambition. It would assert that were Chamberlain alive and in his prime today, he would be on the President's side. And he would be on the side of Wang and Koo and their Chinese policy and a redoubtable opponent of the Japanese Korean policy toward China, which has nothing to offer Japan except unhatched hell in some hour of the world's tomorrow.

The trouble with Japan's foreign policy is that it nourishes dangerous fires of Asiatic racial resentment, taking us back to Ghenko days, the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century; and that it utilizes these fires to warm up the blood of the youth of Nippon as crafty Prussians employed the Venusberg legends. For whose benefit? For the benefit of the people of Japan? Some of the very best men in Japan say otherwise. These Japanese say that a small coterie of dangerous Chauvinists have grasped hold of Ito's mantle, that the secret springs of the Japanese Korean policy towards China rise within the vaults of half a dozen Japanese banks. Joshua commanded the sun to stand still. So we are told. Did the sun obey? Some of us have our doubts. Can Baron Shibusawa and his son-in-law and their allies in the Japanese foreign office and the Japanese war office cause the Rising Sun to stand still in the arc of world progress. Hardly. These are not the days of Hojo Tokimune. They

are not even the days of Chamberlain, nor of those who saw in the bridgehead fight at San Juan del Monte, Manila, the death and burial of America's old and tried Asiatic policy.

Not once since 1868 has China had a fair chance. But it is also true that she never did give herself a chance. She made practically every blunder it was humanly possible to make. From Kung's salad days to the mean treachery and trickery of Tsao Ju-lin, the part played by China in world politics suggested the baby hippo at the circus in the skirts and paces of a ballet dancer. C. T. Wang and Wellington Koo have fought for a definite, manly positive policy that would lift China out of the baby hippo stage of political development, because they have put something under the League of Nations plan to help others to sustain it.

When Koo spoke at the third plenary, he made a palpable hit by reminding his historic audience that what he said was uttered in his capacity as the representative of a full third of the total population represented in the Conference. A foreign policy promoted in the interest of such a large block of humanity cannot be ignored. Here it is, as I have gleaned it for ASIA from the lips of Dr. Wang:

China approaches the future as a reconstructive asset, not as a liability. Peace, not war, is on her tongue and in her heart; but she declines to be dominated by any Power. She is quietly determined to exercise her right as a sovereign nation to choose her own friends and associates. She neither needs, nor will she accept, political tutelage offered in any guise. She comes before the world in full comradeship, not to lean upon the world, but that she may bear her full share of the world's burdens. To that end, there must be respect for Chinese sovereignty, in fact as well as in assurance, throughout the length and breadth of China. She does not ask for the return of ceded territory, but she does ask for the termination of all the leases wrung from her against Chinese interests and in jeopardy of the peace of the world as a direct consequence of Germany's act of war in 1897 in Shantung.

She insists upon three points: (1) territorial integrity; (2) political independence; and (3) economic independence. She invites western coöperation on fair terms—her own terms; not terms made for her, without her counsel or consent. She desires to throw all China completely open to foreign residence and foreign trade; and to that end she asks that her officials be helped and not hampered in their efforts to bring her laws and their administration up to the highest point of modern western efficiency, as rapidly as possible. She seeks technical assistance, not direction or tutelage. China will enter the League of Nations as a man, not as a mendicant.

That is the policy of Wang and Koo.

# BUDDHIST ART IN ASIA

## Its Origin and Development in India

By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

IF we except the pre-Buddhist and the strictly Taoist art of China, and the arts of Islam in Persia and Mughal India, we may say that the development of Asiatic art is entirely determined by the growth and development of the two closely related systems of Hinduism and Buddhism. And this art follows more closely and elucidates more definitely the inner life of innumerable races speaking different languages and divided by geographical barriers and competing political interests than even their literature or the forms of their social order; so that we may fairly say that it is not possible to understand the East unless we are prepared to read its history in art.

The crisis of Indian thought was passed a little before and after the sixth century B. C., and finds expression in the philosophy of the *Upanishads* and the psychology of Gautama, which form the background of mediæval Hinduism and Buddhism. With local exceptions, only the former survived as a distinct cult in the land of its origin after the seventh century A. D., while the latter in its metaphysical development spread over the whole of the Far East and retains its hold in China and Japan as well as in Burma and Siam up to the present day. We should note, however, that the period of Indian influence on China is chiefly from the third to the seventh century A. D., when Indian Buddhism had already become something very different from what it had originally been: and the content of the canon carried over into China is not only essentially Indian, but almost as much Hindu as Buddhist. But it is the history of Buddhist art that we have to consider here: and that of Hindu art must be dismissed with the remark that its development exactly parallels that of Buddhist art, though the evidence of the early remains is not so definite.

Cardinal doctrines of Gautama's teaching are the inevitable connection of desire and pain, *dukkha*; the non-existence of the soul or ego, *anatta*; and the transitoriness, *anicca*, of all experience. He who re-

alized these truths about life, understanding that a rigid causality links together all phenomena whatsoever, and in whom all passion, *raga*, self deception, *moḥa*, and resentment, *doṣa*, died out, obtained release, *nirvāṇa*—a release at once from suffering and from becoming. What might be the after-death state of such a being, Gautama refused to discuss;



RELIQUARY MOUND AND SCULPTURED GATE AT SANCHI

The Stupas, Surrounded by Massive Stone Railings with Lofly Gates on Four Sides, Were Constructed to Enshrine Relics of Buddha or His Disciples. Early Buddhist Art, As Illustrated in These Gateways, Is Naïvely Realistic and Narrative Rather Than Idealistic

in this life he continues to function, just as the potter's wheel continues for a time to revolve, when the pressure of the potter's hand is lifted—for the state of spiritual freedom cannot be debated in the language of contingency. As the Hindu philosopher would say, This Brahman is silence. Those who attained release were called by the name of *arahat*:



EXCAVATED BUDDHIST CHURCH AT AJANTA IN  
THE STATE OF HYDERABAD

In the Vast Chain of Churches and Monasteries Cut into the Rock,  
Dating from 200 B.C. to A.D. 600, Are Still Preserved Some of the  
Finest Examples of Buddhist Sculpture and Fresco Painting

and the goal before those who set out on the "paths" and entered the monastic order was sanctity, *arahatta*. It will be evident that this was a highly intellectual discipline. Presented as it was in the austere manner, it was practicable only for those who were prepared to adopt the rule of the wandering friars, and could never have become, in its original form, a popular religion. It was only under protest that women were finally admitted to the orders; and only as it were incidentally, although inevitably, that there grew up behind the monastic community a body of laity, who believed, indeed, but did not hasten on the way of salvation.

Not only did the gospel of early Buddhism not demand expression in art, but the expression of purely spiritual ideas in art could hardly have been imagined at this time, since the arts were regarded by Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophers alike

simply as a means to pleasure. All this began to be changed with the development of a Buddhist cult—mainly to meet the needs of the lay community; but it prepares us for the discovery that "early Buddhist art," interesting and delightful as it is, is naive and sensuous and realistic, rather than intellectual or idealistic, an art about Buddhism rather than Buddhist art. Only the severe form of the early *caityas*, or funeral mounds, erected over relics and marking the sacred sites visited by pilgrims, and the austere simplicity of the early rock cut monasteries actually reflect the spirit of early Buddhism. But this art is of great importance, both for its artistic qualities and the light it casts on Indian life and ideas of the time. In narrative fashion it sets forth the edifying anecdotes of the former lives of the Buddha, as recorded in the *Jatakas*, or birth stories; and likewise the leading events of the last incarnation, when the Great Being took birth for the last time, as Prince Siddhartha, attained to Buddhahood and spent the remainder of his life in showing to all men the way of release from suffering. We see, for example, depicted in low relief on the Sanchi gateways, the dream of Maya, his mother; the Illumination and Temptation; the First Sermon in the Deer-park at Benares; and the Death. All these events are depicted as we have indicated in a realistic manner. But

there appears an exception to this in the case of Buddha himself: we are surprised to find that the Master is represented only by symbols, and never in human form. In the Great Renunciation, for example, Kanthaka's back is bare and the presence of the Prince is indicated only by the royal umbrella borne at his side; the First Sermon is indicated by a representation of the "Wheel of the Law," sometimes accompanied by deer, to suggest the Deer-park site; the Death is represented by a funeral monument and worshippers. Similarly, the seven previous Buddhas are represented only by their empty thrones and the sacred trees under which they attained enlightenment.

We can only account for this anomaly, as it seems to us, by pointing out that the earliest Buddhist documents—coins or medals—make use of the same abstract symbols, and the Sanchi sculptors in ex-



tending their compositions to cover larger spaces, did not depart from the old tradition. At the same time we must correlate it with the absence of cult images, at least in the orthodox tradition, for they may already have been in private use, as we know to have been the case with images of the Brahmanical gods in the second century B. C. We might, indeed, attempt to explain the absence of representations of the Master as according with the doctrine that he who has attained to Buddhahood is released from name and form, he is "no more to be gauged by the measure of the corporeal world." But the simple fact is that idolatry—we use this term in no derogatory sense, but merely to denote the use and service of icons—is a comparatively late development in Indian culture. It is quite certain that there was no use of images in the time of Buddha or for several centuries afterwards. It is to the development of cult and ritual, and the human impulse to worship rather than to know, that we owe the development of a definitely religious art. We see at first the adaptation of a secular and popular art to edifying purposes, while adhering to the old use of abstract symbols to establish the presence of the Master; then the development of an intellectual and hieratic art of imagery, deeply felt in its early phases, so far as these are purely of Indian origin, but afterwards becoming more and more mechanical; and finally with the emergence of a more profound mysticism, a new art that is no longer hieratic or necessar-



SIXTH CENTURY AJANTA FRESCO  
REPRESENTING A BODHISATTVA  
A Saviour and Future Buddha

ily sectarian, but one that interprets the world itself in a spiritual sense (Sung in China, Zen in Japan, and medieval Vaishnava painting in India). Such is a summary of the history of Buddhist art, in the fewest possible words.

It is the spirit of adoration, then, called in India *bhakti*, and in the case of Buddha, *Buddha-bhakti*, that necessitates the visual icon. We can understand something of the force of this demand from the passionate gesture of the worshippers in a relief (of the first or second century A. D.) from Amaravati, where the Buddha is represented still only by the "Feet of the Lord" upon an empty throne. No purely abstract symbol such as this could long have contented an adoring worshipper.

If the creation of an icon was necessitated by love, the form of the seated image was determined in another way. A very great part of the discipline of early Buddhism belongs to what is known as *yoga*, a system of concentrated meditations widely known in India long before the time of Buddha. His own teachers had followed the Yoga system: and it is recorded that on the night of the Illumination, when he must have been seated in this very pose beneath the Bodhi tree, that he passed through the four classic stations of Yoga trance or ecstasy. It may be remarked that the cross-legged pose is adopted by the Yogi because it is "firm and easy," and needs no effort to maintain, and so does not distract the thoughts. In this way were determined the outer form and inner con-



WORSHIPPERS AT A BUDDHA SHRINE IN AMARAVATI, MADRAS PRESIDENCY

With the Development of a Devotional Cult, the Spirit of Adoration Began to Call Forth for the First Time the Visual Icon As a Substitute for Abstract Symbols. Such As the "Feet of the Lord," to Indicate the Presence of the Master

tent of the seated Buddha image, perhaps the supreme expression of Asiatic art. If the Buddha is to be represented as teaching, all that is necessary is that one hand should be raised; if the Temptation is to be represented, he allows one hand to fall across his knee, calling the Earth to witness to his status. The standing and reclining images are possibly of slightly later origin.

By this time, however, the whole content of Buddhism has undergone a change, of which we see the evidence already in the "First Council" in the third century B. C., when the relative status of *arabak* and *Bodhisattvas* was discussed. The change is on the one hand intellectual and metaphysical, and on the other, as we have already seen, devotional. The practical result is to create a pantheon of Buddhist divinities—additional to the lesser Hindu gods already recognized as dwelling in various heavens, and still in need of salvation. This pantheon embraces a host of Buddhas, no longer regarded as wholly indifferent to the world from which they are released, and of *Bodhisattvas*, or Wisdom-beings, who are self-dedicated to the work of salvation, renouncing their own release until, in the words of a characteristic vow, "the last particle of dust shall have been set free before them." Henceforth the captain is to be the last to leave the ship. The most important of these *Bodhisattvas* are Maitreya, the friendly one, and the next Buddha, Avalokitesvara, he who looks down in compassion, and

Manjusri. With them are associated gracious feminine saviours under the name of Tara. The *Bodhisattvas* and *Taras* have also fierce forms, as "Guardians of the Law"—and these defenders of the faith are often erroneously confused with the actual demons of Buddhist mythology, of whom the chief is Mara, whose vain assault upon the Buddha on the night of the Illumination was followed by the equally vain temptation by his daughters, who are past mistresses of all the arts of seduction. In these ways Buddhist theology becomes a very extensive science.

But just at this point a strange cross current is introduced into the stream of artistic development. For it is at Gandhara on the northwest frontier of India that we first perceive the complete victory of the tendency to represent the Buddha in human form, both as the central figure in scenes from the life, and as a separate cult object. This art of Gandhara comes into being very suddenly about the beginning of the Christian era—actually in the reign of Kanishka—and lasts for three or four centuries. Its most remarkable peculiarity is its combination of western (Hellenistic) formulae with Indian themes, whence it has been styled "Græco-Buddhist." Many of the figures of Buddhist divinities are simply adaptations of the forms of Greek gods. The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Indo-Scythian kings of this period and district were in close touch with the western world,



THE GREAT BUDDHA OF ANURADHAPURA, CEYLON

*In the Early Sculptures of the South the Seated Figure of Buddha Most Clearly Expresses Both in its Outward Form and Spiritual Significance the Intellectual Vigor of Distinctively Indian Ideas*

and constantly employed western craftsmen. It goes without saying that these were no better than the average of provincial Roman workmen of the time; and in any case, the illustration of Buddhist themes by men of quite another tradition could not have produced a very satisfactory or convincing result. In fact the Gandhara sculptures exhibit a sort of woolly realism or at the best a kind of elegance that is very remote from the intellectual

vigor of early Buddhism or from the devotional passion of the Mahayana. There is far more vitality in the southern work of Amaravati and Ceylon, where the influence of the Hellenistic technique is practically negligible. It is here that we find the truest approach to the genuine primitives of Buddhist art, in the aesthetic sense: the great Buddha at Anuradhapura is perhaps unsurpassed by any other Asiatic sculpture, while some of the standing figures

from the same place and from Amaravati are almost equally fine.

None of the images so far discovered at Gandhara, though perhaps the earliest known, can be regarded as the first that was ever made, for the images are "already stereotyped," and imply the existence of earlier models. Nevertheless Gandhara has been the chief route by which a host of western formulæ have entered into Asiatic tradition: and the effect of this is to be seen clearly, for example, in the northern Indian school at Mathura. On these premises has been based the theory of the Greek origin of the Buddha image. In any case, however, this could only have been true in an external sense, and not in respect of the content or actual theme: while for the seated figure, which is the most important type, alike from the dogmatic and aesthetic point of view, it is difficult to see how even the external form could have been borrowed, for we can hardly imagine a Greek or Roman thinker seated in *padmasana*, his hands in the *dhyani mudra*, in the "likeness of a flame in a windless spot that does not flicker."

The influence of the Hellenistic technique soon died away in India, and little of it survives after the fourth century. In the imperial age of the Guptas (broadly A. D. 320-600) Indian art at last attains to complete self-confidence: the Buddhist cave temples are now much more lavishly decorated, and Hindu sculptures also come into prominence. It is the suave and gracious types of this period that form the sources for mediæval Buddhist sculpture, not only in Indonesia, particularly Java, but also for



STANDING BUDDHAS OF AMARAVATI, 2ND CENTURY A. D.

With the Sinhalese Sculptures of the Same Period, Those of Amaravati Represent the Nearest Approach to the Genuine Primitives of Buddhist Art, in the Aesthetic Sense

Buddhist art in China. After this time Buddhism and Buddhist sculpture survive in India proper only in Bengal, up to the end of the twelfth century, and in Nepal and Ceylon to the present day. Certain bronzes of the early mediæval period from Ceylon exhibit all the qualities of dignity and grace which characterize what has been called with reason the zenith of Indian art (seventh and eighth centuries). A little bronze of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, now in Boston, is of special interest from this point of view. In Bengal, under the Pala dynasty, eighth to twelfth century, Buddhism continued to flourish until the destruction of the monasteries by the conquering Mussulmans: and innumerable sculptures, now often erroneously worshipped as Hindu gods, are still preserved in Magadha, the land of Buddhist origins, and at Sarnath, near Benares, where the recent excavations of the Archaeological Survey have unearthed them.

Long continued emigration from India to the East resulted in the establishment of colonies in Siam, Cambodia and Java, with Indian institutions and art. Some of the more important developments of Indian Buddhist art are to be

found in the latter island, in the great monument of Borobudur (about the ninth century). This is a vast pyramidal pile of nine stages, but more remarkable for the magnificent reliefs adorning the galleries than for its architecture. The reliefs are illustrations of the life of Buddha according to the *Lalitā Vistara*, a late expanded text, the same which formed the basis of Sir Edwin Arnold's

*Light of Asia*, and of Buddhist legends from another late composition known as the *Divyavadana*. Laid end to end the panels would extend for a couple of miles. The compositions are typically tender and lyrical in conception, but also grand and solemn, or swift in movement, as occasion may require. They cover the whole cycle of Indian life, alike in villages and courts. There is exquisite expression of human emotion, but the sense is always rather of affection than passion. There is throughout a sense of peace and serenity or sweetness of character that is very impressive—only traversed, as it were, by the inevitable tragedy of the Great Renunciation; for whatever else is changed or forgotten in the development of Buddhism, this at least is always remembered, that the order of the world is subject to change and decay. We see the underlying tragedy of life not only in the group of women bending over the body of the dead man, by the sight of which the Bodhisattva is reminded of his vocation, but also in the scene at night where his father vainly endeavors to dissuade him from his quest, and in the scene of the Temptation, where all that human love and art can offer beat in vain against the stronger passion of spiritual freedom.

It remains to speak of Buddhist painting. Almost all that remains is preserved on the walls of the excavated temples at Ajanta. But this is much, and of the first importance. Only a small proportion of this painting can be described as hieratic: the greater part on a superficial inspection might be thought to have a secular theme. Closer examination shows that the subjects actually represented are the usual ones, scenes, that is, from the life of the Buddha and from the "birth stories," *Jatakas*, of previous incarnations. We see, for example, the six-tusked elephant of the *Shaddanta Jataka* nobly and movingly depicted: or the Bodhisattva as a golden goose preaching the Good Law to a former king. When he is represented in human form, it is typically as a prince, in the setting of a court, "sleeping and waking to the sound of anklets," and it is mainly this fact that gives a secular aspect to the whole. In other compositions the spirits of the air, charming and dainty figures, are floating past. The ceilings are decorated with panels of floral ornament, sometimes with love scenes (such as the earliest Buddhist texts expressly forbade) in the spandrels. Perhaps the finest composition and the best known is one called the Great Buddha—probably a Bodhisattva—and there is another of the same character which we reproduce here from a copy in the South Kensington Museum, by the kindness of Mr. S. C. Clarke.

Ajanta painting does not in any obvious way reflect the contempt of the world which is so conspicuous in early Buddhist literature, where the world of living beings is so bitterly denounced as "unclean,"

but represents life under conditions of highest perfection, with an almost passionate emphasis on all its loveliness. The beauty of women, for example, is praised as frankly as in the contemporary literature, and there is music everywhere. We should note also that this is a highly sophisticated and



FIFTH CENTURY BUDDHA AT MATHURA

Indian Buddhist Art of the Gupta Period is Fully Evolved, Retaining, However, Some Traces of the Hellenistic Formulas of Gandhara

technically accomplished art: the research of gesture, for example, has been carried to the utmost limits. And here we recognize the close associations of plastic and dramatic art in India, for all these gestures which appear so unaffected and spontaneous in the painting had already been studied and classified, each with name and significance, in the technical books of the dancers.

But if this is neither hieratic nor primitive art, like the great Buddha of Anuradhapura, neither is



9TH CENTURY RELIEF REPRESENTING THE TEMPTATION OF BUDDHA, BOROBODUR, JAVA

Long Continued Emigration from India to Cambodia and Java Resulted in the Establishment of Colonies and the Development of Both Buddhist and Brahmanical Art in These Outposts of Indian Civilization

it psychologically secular, like the art of Sanchi: we have travelled a long way in seven hundred years, from a naïve and pagan consciousness (I speak only of what is expressed in the actual works of art), through a hieratic phase, at its best of great austerity, to an art that does not so much express a fear of life as a sense of its frailty and transparency. The scenes of the Ajanta paintings seem to be passing by like the waters of a clear flowing river: but even in delineating sunny landscapes such as this (to continue the metaphor), the Buddhist spirit, the sense of those who have experienced everything and are disillusioned, rather than disgusted, finds expression—we are reminded that we cannot see the same scenes twice, because fresh waters are ever flowing by. "Who can be a friend, and unto whom?" as Shanti Deva asks us. Behind the mask of life there is the timeless Void. We cannot hold fast youth or love or health or life itself; and to cling to life will only bring us back again and again to similar conditions. This is the sorrow of the world, the *Dukka* or Evil or *Weltschmerz* of the old doctrine, the mortality from which the Lion of the Sakya clan, as Buddha is often called, sought a way of escape, finding it in the attainment of Sanctity here, and in Unqualified Deliverance of the saint after death. But something has changed, for the emphasis is now no longer on the immediate release; Nirvana is, so to say, postponed, and in the meanwhile the Bodhisattva has many births before him, in which, indeed, he will constantly sacrifice himself for the sake of others, but which will at least be "favorable." He will be born a king,

for example, in order that he may exhibit one of the great virtues of his kind, the supernatural generosity of a superman. For those whose feet are on the Path, this life, or many lives, is after all to be regarded as a blessed thing, and as such it is accepted in this later Buddhist art.

But I think the painting goes even farther still, though less explicitly. The apostles of the Mahayana were already mystics, and had come to see that life itself and the great Void are after all to be identified, that the world of birth and death, *samsara*, is also *nirvana*. The Mahayana has accomplished a reconciliation of religion in the world, not in the sense of serving both God and Mammon, but in the power to see all things as they are, infinite, or in its own phraseology, void: and this is mystic vision. And so the cycle of Indian Buddhism is completed, and in many ways it has seemed to follow the course of individual experience; for the individual rising above his individuality (the non-existence of any ego is the cardinal doctrine of Buddhism from first to last) into imagination, attains to perfect experience, only after pursuing the mirage and after disillusionment and revulsion. Then at last he stands aloof and sees the grandeur of the spectacle, sees the mirage in all its loveliness, without entanglement in all its implications—accepting things as they really are, as none can do who is still a pursuer of possessions, or swayed by pleasure or pain. The continuation of this development in India belongs to the history of mediæval Vaishnavism: as a form of Buddhism, to the history of China and Japan.



# INDIAN BORDERLANDS

## The Russian and German Pressure Before the War

By SIR VALENTINE CHIROL

IT is my purpose to deal with one of the most vital issues, which, in the light of German policy for the last two decades, the British people saw from the very outset to be involved in the war, namely the maintenance of British power in the Orient. Americans will naturally want to know whether its maintenance is desirable, not from the narrow point of view of purely British interests, but from the larger standpoint of the interests of human progress and the world's peace. Now the answer to that question must in a very large measure stand or fall with the case which Great Britain can make out for British rule in India, for it is in India that British power in the Orient has always centred and must continue to centre. With all its inevitable imperfections, British rule in India has given to one-fifth of the human race a measure of internal security and external peace which had been denied them for centuries. The principles upon which it had been consistently based for the last hundred years, after raising the peoples of India out of the slough of irresponsible Asiatic despotisms and internecine strife into a higher plane of well ordered and upright government, are now being rapidly molded to the yet higher purpose of emancipating them gradually from the paternal tutelage which they claim to have outgrown and of setting their feet in the path of self-government towards the final goal of equal partnership in the commonwealth of nations that form the British Empire. My purpose

now is to show that, if British rule in India has been justified on the whole by the fruits it has borne, so also the expansion of British influence and the maintenance of British power in those parts of the Orient which command the approaches to India, can be justified for the security of British rule in India; and that, in so far as the Kaiser's scheme of world dominion aimed at their destruction, it was in this respect also not an imaginary,

but a very real and direct threat at the existence of the British Empire, which the latter was bound to resist at all cost or renounce its position and its duties as trustee for that fifth of the human race.

It is sometimes more than a mere coincidence that the future destinies of India and of the North American continent were decided at almost the same moment by the greatest of the wars—the Seven Years' war—waged between Britain and France during the eighteenth century for maritime and colonial supremacy. The battle of Plassey in 1757 definitely committed to Britain and not to France the task of evolving order in India out of the chaos resulting from the disintegration of the Mogul Empire. The battle of Quebec in 1759 broke the power of France on the St. Lawrence and made North America safe for the Anglo-Saxon race. That France had still a part to play in North America by assisting the large portion of the British colonies on that continent to sever their connection with the British Crown, few Englishmen are nowadays inclined to



THE LATE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN

Habibullah Khan, Loyal to British Interests During the War, Was Murdered February 20 Last and Succeeded by His Brother, Nurullah Khan

regret, though we may all deplore the manner of the severance. The persistent hostility of France produced very different results in India. It was Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt and his titanic plans for a Franco-Russian invasion of India along Alexander the Great's route, that first gave a definite orientation to British foreign policy in the East.

British merchants had obtained from the Shah of Persia as far back as 1749 important rights of settlements at the head of the Gulf at Bushire, but official diplomatic relations with the Persian Government were for the first time established in 1801 when Lord Wellesley, then Governor General of India, hearing of the massing of Russian forces on the Volga and of arrangements for the passage of a French army through Persia to join hands with them in the plains of northern India, sent Captain John Malcolm to Teheran to conclude a defensive alliance with Fath Ali Shah. In 1814 a final treaty was signed, sealed and delivered. Though France, after Napoleon, never again played any conspicuous part at the court of Teheran, Russia soon began to loom large and menacing as the one great European power capable of threatening the safety not merely of Persia, but of India's land frontiers. The northeast frontier was covered by the almost impassable barrier of the great Himalayan ranges, behind which lay the vast inert mass of the Chinese Empire. But the northwest frontier had too often afforded a passage to the invading armies of successive conquerors to ensure any complete immunity from attack under the pressure of the political and economic forces that were driving the huge empire of the Tsars to expand across Central Asia. On the other hand the consolidation of British

authority, essential to the internal peace of India, involved the gradual extension of British rule up to those natural frontiers, which were finally reached with the conquest of Scinde and the overthrow of the war-like Sikh Confederacy towards the middle of the nineteenth century, about the same time that Russia was making a first, if temporarily abortive attempt to extend her Asiatic dominions down to Khiva, then one of the chief Mohammedan Khanates of Central Asia.

The security of the long drawn coast line of the Indian peninsula was effectively guaranteed by British sea-power; but, with the development of steam navigation and the opening up of a shorter and more rapid line of communication between England and India by what was called the "overland route" across Egypt in contradistinction to the old all-sea route round the Cape of Good Hope, the naval control of the Mediterranean assumed increasing importance in British eyes as a condition essential to the safety of Anglo-Indian communications. Hence the two governing principles of British foreign policy during nearly the whole of the second half of the nineteenth century were the exclusion of Russia from the Mediterranean and the opposition to any French ascendancy in Egypt. It was mainly in obedience to the former of these two principles that in 1854 Britain undertook to save Turkey from Russia by joining France in the Crimean war, upon which Napoleon III embarked for quite different reasons; and in 1878, again risked war with Russia and sent her fleet through the Dardanelles in order to avert a more complete dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire at the close of the Russo-Turkish war. On both occasions and especially on the second, British public opinion was



THE SENUSI, TAKEN PRISONERS WITH THEIR CAMELS BY THE BRITISH IN WESTERN EGYPT IN 1916  
One of the Few Mohammedan Tribes Beguiled by German Propaganda for a Holy War Against British Infidels





LOADING UP CAMEL FODDER ON AN EGYPTIAN CANAL FOR THE CAMEL TRANSPORT TRAINS

The Camel Express Played an Important Part in the Near Eastern Campaign, Which Aimed at the Maintenance of British Power in Those Parts of the Orient Commanding the Approaches to India

very much divided as to the expediency of trying to bolster up an effete oriental empire incorrigibly corrupt. But it must be borne in mind that the Russian record was by no means immaculate, and that, whilst British influence at Constantinople always aimed, if with scant success, at the introduction of some measure of reforms into the Turkish system of government, Russia's influence was consistently exerted to obstruct any improvements calculated to delay the process of disintegration, upon which she speculated for the achievement of her own purposes of conquest. As regards Central Asia especially, Britain can justly claim that throughout the prolonged period of Russian expansion she never wearied of seeking with Russia a reasonable understanding which would have removed the chief dangers of conflict between the two great European powers in Asia long before Muscovite ambitions were at last chastened by the Russo-Japanese war and the sudden apprehension at St. Petersburg of a far graver menace at her very doors.

Britain herself sought no territorial aggrandizements beyond the natural boundaries of India, and her chief purpose was to preserve intact the two states, Afghanistan and Persia, which covered them where they were most vulnerable against land attack. This task was rendered no easier by the inherent weakness of both those states, and the oriental faithlessness of their rulers. The most tragic of the many blunders committed, often with

the best intentions, by the British rulers of India in their endeavors to create stable conditions in Afghanistan, was unquestionably the first Afghan war of 1841-42. The fanatical Mohammedan tribes of the wild Afghan highlands were ready enough to fly at each other's throats, but they sank their differences to fly at the throats of the British infidels who ventured to interfere in their affairs. For many years afterwards the British refrained from plunging their hand again into that hornet's nest and Anglo-Afghan relations were gradually restored to such a tolerable footing that in 1869 the Amir Shere Ali himself paid a friendly visit to the Viceroy of India, and in return for an annual subsidy, pledged himself to have no dealings with any other European power. But nine years later his reception of a Russian embassy and his acceptance of Russian protection, when the Russo-Turkish war had strained our relations with Russia, were more than British patience could stand. After a vain attempt to secure satisfaction by diplomatic means, British forces moved up into Afghanistan. History seemed to be repeating itself, for a British convoy was again treacherously murdered in Kabul. But a second expedition not only broke the resistance of the Afghans, but indirectly paved the way for the accession to power of a strong Afghan ruler. The Amir Abdurrahman knew how to curb his unruly tribesmen and, with the growing menace of Russia pressing steadily up to the very banks of the Oxus, he came to realize the supreme value of

British friendship. He died in 1901 and his son Habibullah, who succeeded him, showed an equal appreciation of British friendship in far more critical circumstances. For, during the great war, German agents were busy magnifying all through Central Asia the triumph of German arms, and nowhere did the story of the Kaiser's conversion to Islam find readier credence than amongst the belliscose *mollaks* of Afghanistan, whose fanaticism was stirred to a white heat by the proclamation at Constantinople of a holy war against the British infidels. Habibullah played a difficult hand with great skill and never swerved from his loyalty to the

and made safe for the commerce and navigation of all comers, had helped to preserve at any rate the semblance of the Shah's authority in the southern position of his dominions. In the north, Russia was still holding her hand, though the conversion of the Caspian into a Russian lake, the construction of the trans-Caspian Railway which skirted the northern provinces of Persia and the conquest of all the old Central Asian Khanates, had laid the whole of northern Persia, including the capital, Teheran, practically at the mercy of her formidable neighbor. The accession of a miserably weak and recklessly extravagant monarch, Shah Muzaffer-ed-Din gave

Russia her opportunity. He clamored for loans to be squandered in the satisfaction of his vanity and of his vices. Britain turned a deaf ear to his solicitations. Russia was ready to oblige. The security was good enough for her and she asked no questions. She was equally ready to prop up his tottering throne by the creation of an armed force to maintain order in his name, but drilled, armed and officered by Russians and under the direct authority of the Russian minister of war. She soon wielded at Teheran the two fold power of the purse and of the sword, whilst, except where she chose to uphold the Shah's nominal authority, disorder and lawlessness increased throughout the whole country, and especially in the south, where most of the trade-routes



Maxwell D. Stewart

#### PROCESSION FOR INDEPENDENCE IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN

A Hot-bed of Modern Unrest Due to the Insidious Propaganda of Germany, Which Aimed at World Domination Through the Control of Central Asia

British, who wisely asked nothing of him but the maintenance of a friendly neutrality.

In Persia, the difficulties with which British policy was confronted were of a different order; though it was consistently directed to a similar purpose, the preservation of a friendly buffer-state between Russia and India. Until the assassination in 1898 of the Shah Nasr-ed-Din, who had reigned for nearly half a century, the disintegrating forces of corruption and incompetence which were steadily undermining the ancient fabric of the Persian state, had only been intermittently and partially revealed. The people, though stricken with the palsy of national decay, still draped themselves proudly in the tattered rags of an ancient and cultured civilization. British influence in the Persian Gulf, which British men of war charted and buoyed and policed

were practically closed against British commerce by organized bands of marauders and insurgent tribesmen. Nor did Russian plans for constructing, as she had already constructed the trans-Siberian railway to the Pacific, a trans-Persian railway down to the Persian Gulf and establishing a naval base on Persian territory in close proximity to India, leave any doubt as to the purpose for which Russian ascendancy was to be used. From Constantinople right across Asia to China and Manchuria, the forward policy of Russia seemed systematically bent on provoking a conflict with Great Britain, who by the Defensive Alliance of 1902 had to call in Japan to restore the balance.

But the German temper—for behind the whole Russian front in Asia stood the evil influence of the German Emperor on the Tsar Nicholas and his



PERSIAN PILGRIMS SPENDING THE NIGHT IN A CARAVANSERAI  
These Inns, Supported by Each Locality, With Provisions for Camels and Mules, Are a  
Necessity for Travelers in Central Asia, Where There Are Few Hotels and Railroads

advisers—overreached himself. In the very forefront of William II's schemes was the capture of the moribund Turkish Empire as his "bridge-head to world-dominion." In vain the old Chancellor pleaded that "world-dominion" was a term which had no place in his "political dictionary." The old Chancellor had to go, and the young Emperor found in the "Red Sultan" Abdul Hamid an ally after his own heart. Besides the re-organization of the Turkish armies under German officers, Germany undertook to paralyze "the Concert of Europe" at Constantinople, whenever any one ventured to suggest reform; in return for a free hand to massacre Armenians or other obstreperous subject races, Abdul Hamid lavished concessions on his German friends which culminated in the Bagdad Railway Concession, that was to project German militarism across Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. This was in 1898.

Great Britain and France realized in time the menace of a new and tremendous danger to the peace of the world. The traditional rivalry between them had survived chiefly in Egypt and in Morocco; and though, after the failure of a friendly attempt to save Egypt from the worst consequences of the

Khedive Ismail's misrule through the establishment of an indirect Anglo-French control, Britain did not intervene single-handed to rescue the Valley of the Nile from anarchy at the time of Arabi Pasha's military insurrection, until she had vainly sought for the active coöperation of France, the presence of a British army of occupation and the maintenance of a virtual British protectorate at Cairo, however discreetly veiled, were wounding to French susceptibilities. For France had played a great historic part in Egypt and it was the genius of a Frenchman that, in spite of our short sighted opposition, had made the Suez Canal, by which none ultimately profited more than Great Britain. French and British statesmen at last saw that Germany had speculated too long and too successfully on this ancient rivalry, which, as recently as 1898, had brought the two countries to the verge of war over the Fashoda incident on the upper Nile. By the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 the old differences were composed, and in return for Britain's recognition of French interests in Morocco France accepted the British protectorate over Egypt.

France had no sooner become reconciled with Britain than she began to exert all her influence

as the ally of Russia to bring about a peaceful readjustment of Russo-British relations in Asia. Sobered by the disastrous failure of the Russian adventure in the Far East and by the revolutionary movement in Russia itself which had followed the Russo-Japanese War, Russian statesmen, and above all the Tsar Nicholas, realized in their turn the sinister purpose with which the Kaiser had steadily encouraged every move that could lure Russia further and further into a maze of Asiatic entanglements and divert her attention and her resources from the chosen field of his own deep laid activities. Particularly illuminating had been the share traced

a free hand in the whole of northern Persia and even in central Persia as far down as Isfahan. A relatively small and mostly barren corner of south-eastern Persia, deemed essential on military grounds to the strategic safety of India, was marked off as a British sphere of influence. The rest was vaguely described as a "neutral" zone, supposed to be open to all comers. But obviously with Russia supreme over the best half of the country and entrenched behind the throne of Teheran, there was little left of Persian independence. Popular discontent provoked not less by indigenous misrule than by foreign tutelage had produced a



INDIAN SOLDIERS SENT TO SEISTAN AS AN ESCORT TO A BOUNDARY COMMISSION  
The Boundaries of Seistan Have Often Been Disputed by Persia and Afghanistan, and in 1872 the Claims Were Arbitrated by a British Commission Which Did Not Complete Its Work Until 1905

almost beyond doubt to Berlin in spreading rumors of the presence of Japanese destroyers in British waters, which led to the Dogger Bank panic in the Russian fleet and, but for great self-restraint on the part of both governments and the good offices of France, might well have achieved Germany's ends by plunging Russia and Britain into war. German influences were nevertheless still strong at the Russian Court and in Russian official circles. It was not till 1907 that they were overborne and an Anglo-Russian agreement established a reasonable *modus vivendi* with regard to those central Asian countries, Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, on the threshold of India, which were still potential causes of conflict between Britain and Russia.

With regard to Tibet and Afghanistan all that we required from Russia was a self-denying ordinance which she was willing to concede; but, though we succeeded in obtaining from her a formal recognition of the independence and integrity of Persia, its value was largely neutralized by the implications of the Agreement which, in effect, gave Russia

movement in favor of constitutional reforms and parliamentary government, which both Russia and the Shah equally resented. Whilst Britain could not deny it her sympathy, she had always to bear in mind that its leaders included many mischievous elements capable at any moment of providing the Russians with an excuse for a military occupation of the capital. Then there would have been only two alternatives left, both equally repugnant to British policy, either a rupture with Russia under most unfavorable military conditions, or a final partition of Persia into spheres, not merely of influence but of permanent domination. In the Shah Mahomed Ali, who came to the throne in 1907, and in his son, Ahmed Mirza, who succeeded him as a mere boy in 1911, Russia had even more pliant tools, and the Anglo-Russian Agreement practically restricted British influence to diplomatic representations at St. Petersburg, always courteously met but generally ineffective against the high-handed proceedings of Russian agents. There was a nucleus of honest but crude and inexperienced

patriotism in the Persian *Mejliss*, but it was helpless to stem the wild revolutionary current that flowed into Persia from the Caucasus or to defeat the reactionary machinations of the Court party. All over the country there were outbreaks, sometimes political, sometimes religious, which the Russians from time to time ruthlessly repressed. Whatever might be charged against Russian methods, they maintained at least a larger measure of security for life and property than British policy, alternating between absolute non-intervention and timid half measures, was able to maintain in southern Persia. The importation into the Persian

ing as *tertius gaudens*. Hence British policy in Persia had to go on turning in a vicious circle for fear of yet greater evils. Except for the preservation of peace, British statesmen were indeed often hard put to justify the sacrifice of principles to which they were driven. But if in Persia they might be charged with having sacrificed the interests of the wretched Persian people even more than British interests, it may at least be said that they did not hesitate to give a final and striking proof that where British interests were alone concerned, and where they were face to face with Germany alone, they showed themselves equally determined



CAMEL CARAVANS ON THE HINDU KUSH ROAD, ONE OF THE MAIN ARTERIES OF CENTRAL ASIA  
The Passes of the Hindu Kush Range, One of Which, the Chahardar, is a Link in the High Road from Afghanistan to Turkestan, Were Surveyed by the Russo-Afghan Boundary Commission in 1886

service of officials recruited from smaller or more disinterested countries merely made confusion worse confounded. A very upright and able American, Mr. Shuster, who came from the United States to act as financial adviser to the Persian Government, might have found his position less untenable had he not refused to look facts in the face and set himself deliberately to ignore the abnormal situation, not indeed created, but confirmed by the Anglo-Russian Agreement. The fact is that for fifteen years before the outbreak of the Great War, Persia, partly as the result of her ruler's vices and the demoralization of her people, and partly as the victim of her geographical position as a buffer-state, had ceased to be a living nation. Russia was ready to humor Britain by respecting the outward forms of Persian independence as long as nothing was done to arrest the process of decomposition which only too well served her purposes, and Britain was fain to acquiesce lest she should actually precipitate the mortal crisis and all its formidable consequences on which William II was still reckon-

ing as *tertius gaudens*. Hence British policy in Persia had to go on turning in a vicious circle for fear of yet greater evils. Except for the preservation of peace, British statesmen were indeed often hard put to justify the sacrifice of principles to which they were driven. But if in Persia they might be charged with having sacrificed the interests of the wretched Persian people even more than British interests, it may at least be said that they did not hesitate to give a final and striking proof that where British interests were alone concerned, and where they were face to face with Germany alone, they showed themselves equally determined

to shrink from no sacrifice to prove that the greatest of all British interests was peace. As Prince Lichnowsky has publicly admitted, only a few weeks before the war they were prepared to sign an agreement with Germany in regard to the Baghdad Railway which verged on a surrender. But William II preferred to throw that and everything else into the melting pot of war. In that fiery furnace, the German B. R. B. has perished with all the other German plottings against British rule in India. Through the strange workings of destiny the Russian autocracy has perished too, and with it, the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. How profoundly the war itself has affected not only Persia, but the whole borderlands of India, and all those ancient countries between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean which British arms have liberated from Turkish oppression, and how their future is likely to shape under a League of Nations in which it is to be hoped that America will not hesitate to bear her share, are matters that cannot be included in the present discussion.

# PRESENT-DAY GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN

(Second Paper)

By WALTER WALLACE McLAREN

**I**N the preceding article in which we presented the powers of the executive and the method of their exercise our most important conclusions were as follows: The emperor is legally the head of the state, the source of all executive and legislative authority, his powers being limited only by the terms of the constitution. The ministers of state are responsible for all the public acts of the sovereign, not to the house of representatives, but to the sovereign himself, by whom they are appointed and dismissed. In such a constitutional monarchy the monarch is legally an autocrat, but by custom dating from the beginning of the feudal period, the Japanese emperor is a figurehead. The actual repository of the executive power, of which the sovereign is the symbol, is an extra-constitutional council, the Genro, the members of which, by their immense prestige as the founders of the modern empire and leaders of the military party, virtually exercise sovereign powers in all emergencies of domestic and foreign politics. The routine of administration is performed, under the supervision of the Genro, by the cabinet ministers, whose functions and competence have been decreed by imperial ordinances issued between 1885 and 1890.

## THE LEGISLATIVE

Coupled with this autocratic executive government is the imperial Diet, the legislative organ. Without ministerial responsibility and substantive powers over legislation, the representatives of the people in the lower house cannot exercise a dominating influence in the determination of the policy of the state. Nevertheless, though the powers of the Diet are imperfect for democratic control, the members of the house of representatives have not been without considerable influence in the counsels of the government, for by criticism and obstruction in the house and by actual violence and demonstrations in its precincts, the political parties have contrived to obtain some recognition of their claims to office in the government, and occasional adoption of their policies.

Twice within the last five years the cabinet offices, with the exception of the army and navy posts, have been filled by party politicians. Last year the office of prime minister, for the first time during the constitutional era, was bestowed upon a commoner. Significant as are these departures from the strict rules of bureaucratic succession to office in the government, it would be easy to over-

emphasize their importance. To point to these changes as a proof of the final triumph of democracy is nonsense, for the cabinet, even though a majority of its members belong to the dominant political party, is not kept in office by the confidence of the representatives in the lower house, but by the support of the Genro. When the Genro tire of a ministry and advise the emperor to dismiss it from office no amount of support from its party can keep the cabinet in office. Public opinion as expressed by the majority of the representatives in parliament is not the controlling power in such matters. The power to appoint and dismiss ministries is part of the imperial prerogative. On the other hand the appointment of Mr. Hara to office as minister president is an important sign of the times. There is a trend to democracy manifested by the event, but the goal is still a long way off. Moreover that goal, democratic control of the policy of the state, is not to be reached directly along the present lines of progress. The Japanese cabinet is now as democratic as it can be under the existing rules and customs of the constitution; party men hold all the offices that are open to them, and yet they do not control the government. Before the goal of democratic control is reached, fundamental changes in the laws and customs of the constitution must be made.

The formal relations between the Diet and the executive are regulated by the constitution and the law of the houses. The only method of communication between the legislature and the Crown is an address, which like any other resolution of either house, must have the support of the majority of the members present at the sitting. The Crown may communicate with the legislature at will by means of imperial rescripts addressed to either of the houses through the medium of its president. There is no avenue of approach to the Genro open to the Diet; but just as the Genro is an extra-constitutional council, so access to the individual members of that body is possible through their friends; that is, through informal channels. Communication between the Diet and the cabinet is carried on by divers means. Either house may make representations to the ministry concerning laws, or upon any other subject. These representations like other resolutions of the house must, to be in due form, be supported by a majority of the members. Further, members of either house may interpellate the ministers, and if the questions are

presented in due form, and are not objectionable in content, the ministers must reply or state in writing their reasons for not doing so. On the other hand, members of the cabinet, though they may not be members of either house, have free access to the Diet. Ministers of state or their delegates may attend the sittings of either house, and all committee meetings, and may speak at any time, provided that the floor is not already occupied. The cabinet may introduce projects of laws, and such bills have the right of way on "the order of the day," unless the government consents to a postponement of the debate. The cabinet may withdraw any of its bills at any stage of their progress through either house.

The organization and legal powers of the Diet are provided for by the constitution, the law of the houses, the law of election and various other imperial ordinances issued in 1889 and 1890. But in addition to these laws and ordinances it is necessary, for a complete understanding of the powers of the Diet, to refer to the relevant articles in a series of laws published in 1880 establishing the local assemblies. The strict limitations imposed upon the local assemblies in 1880 were to a considerable degree perpetuated by custom, if not by specific enactment, in the case of the imperial Diet of the nation some ten years later.

The Diet is a bi-cameral legislature consisting of a house of peers and a house of representatives. The upper house is composed of the following members:—members of the royal family; princes and marquises; counts, viscounts and barons who have been elected thereto by their respective orders; persons who have been nominated by the emperor on account of meritorious service to the state or for erudition; persons who have been elected, one member from each *Fu* and *Ken*, by and

from among the tax-payers of the largest amounts of district national taxes on land, industry or trade therein, and who have been subsequently nominated thereto by the emperor. The members of the imperial family who are entitled to sit in the upper house are males who have reached their majority, eighteen years in the case of the crown prince,

twenty in other cases.

The male members of the orders of the princes and marquises take their seats on reaching the age of twenty-five years. The representative peers must have reached the age of twenty-five, and when elected sit for seven years; not more than one-fifth of the members of the respective orders may sit at one time as representative peers. The imperial nominees must have reached the age of thirty-five years, and when nominated sit for life. The representatives of the highest tax-payers must be at least thirty-five years old, and when elected sit for terms of seven years. It is further decreed that the peers, hereditary or representative, shall never be outnumbered by the imperial nominees and the representatives of the highest tax-payers. In 1917 the upper house was composed of 215 peers, 119 imperial nominees and 44 representatives of the highest tax-payers. The control of the upper house by the aristocracy, especially

when coupled with the fact that the two houses exercise identical powers, helps to explain the weakness of the Diet as opposed to the government. The upper house on account of the aristocratic traditions of the majority of its members has little sympathy with the strivings of the representatives for popular government. In fact the peers are always willing to assist a bureaucratic cabinet to coerce the lower house, provided that the cabinet will disavow any connection with the party politicians. To the majority of the peers the very exist-



H. I. M. THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN  
Legally the Emperor Possesses Every Autocratic  
Power But Actually He Delegates the Executive  
Authority to the Genro, or Elder Statesmen an  
Extra-Constitutional Council



KEI HARA, FIRST COMMONER TO FILL THE POST OF PREMIER  
*Premier Hara Has Served a Long and Faithful Political Apprenticeship As Leader  
 of the Seiyukai Party and Holder of Many Important Offices*

ence of the parties is a threat against the established order and the constitution; hence any ministry which will spurn the party men is sure of the support of the peers. It is this fundamental cause of hostility between the two houses of the Japanese Diet that explains the success of bureaucratic cabinets in conducting the affairs of state in the face of a hostile majority of the lower house. Contrariwise, the inherent distrust of the party politicians entertained by the majority of the peers accounts for the small success of the so-called party cabinets, even when they are supported by a majority of the representatives of the people. It is not intended to imply that Japan is the only country in which there is friction between the two houses of the legislature, for in fact there is no bi-cameral legislative body in the world in which the members of the two chambers think as one on all questions. But in Japan, to almost as great a degree as in Germany and Austria before the war, the meager powers of the representatives are nullified by the opposition of the aristocratic elements in the upper house to everything that savors of popular government.

The house of representatives is composed of members elected by the people in accordance with the provisions of the law of election. The electorate consists of all male subjects at least twenty-five years old who are permanent residents of the district in which they vote, and who have paid for

at least one year previous to the compilation of the voters' list and are still paying the sum of ten yen or more direct national taxes on land, or a like amount of direct national taxes on property other than land, or on income, for at least two years prior to the making of the list. Any male subject who has reached his thirtieth year and whose name is on the voters' list is eligible for election to the lower house, except priests and teachers of religion of any kind, teachers of elementary schools, government contractors, election officers (within the limits of their jurisdiction), officers of the imperial household, judicial officials, revenue and police officers. In addition the following classes of people are disqualified both as voters and candidates for election:

—incompetents, bankrupts not yet discharged from bankruptcy, persons deprived of civil rights, heads of noble families, men in active service in the army and navy and students. As a result of these provisions of the election law the franchise is exercised by about twenty-seven per thousand of the population, or one voter in every thirty-six. Still another way of illustrating the restricted nature of the franchise is to contrast the number of males of voting age with the number on the voters' list. In 1913 there were over thirteen million males who could qualify as far as age was concerned, but out of that number only one million five hundred thousand were on the list, or one in every nine. But startling as are these figures, they do not tell the whole truth about the restrictions upon the Japanese franchise. In the large industrial cities a vote has nothing like the power it has in the country or the smaller country towns. Thus Osaka with 1,400,000 population, sends six members to the Diet, while Kochi with just less than 40,000 sends one representative and Yamanashi prefecture with a population of 619,000 elects five members. Putting these figures in another way: the industrial population of Osaka, the greatest manufacturing city in Japan, sends one member to the lower house for every 233,333 inhabitants, Yamanashi, one for 123,800, and Kochi, one for every 40,000. This example is not an extreme one, and fairly represents the discrimination against the industrial



classes which is involved in the distribution of the seats among the various election districts.

The legal powers conferred upon the Diet may be summarized as follows: every law requires the consent of the Diet; both houses shall vote upon bills submitted by the cabinet, and either may initiate projects of laws; either house may make representations to the government, or present addresses to the emperor, or receive petitions from the people, provided they are presented in due form and through the proper channels. The houses may also adopt rules of procedure which are not at variance with the provisions of law or ordinance. During the sessions the members of the Diet are free from arrest, unless with consent of the houses, except in cases of flagrant delicts. Likewise no member of either house can be held responsible outside the houses for any opinion expressed or any vote given in the houses.

The actual powers of the legislature are of necessity limited by reason of the facts that the lower house cannot hold the cabinet responsible for its public policy, and the Diet merely consents to legislation introduced in the main by the government. Legally the members of either house may initiate projects of laws, but as a matter of fact the great bulk of legislation, and certainly all important bills, are introduced by the cabinet. For example, the budget and the tax laws that are incident to it are often the only important bills presented to the Diet during a session, and they are all government bills.

In the matter of the budget the powers of the Diet are not as great as in the case of other bills, for if the Diet does not vote the supplies asked the proposed financial arrangements of the year fail; even in that event the ministry is not left without resources, for by constitutional provision the budget of the preceding year may be reapplied. The upshot of this provision is that under no conceivable circumstances can the Diet withhold the funds necessary to enable the government to continue. It is true that when the cabinet's financial legislation fails to pass the Diet, a certain amount of embarrassment ensues, particularly if new expenditures have been projected on an elaborate scale. But even so, the difficulties are not so great as might be expected, for the expenditures of the government which do not come in the list annually voted in the budget are of very wide range. The sixty-seventh article of the constitution exempts from the competence of the Diet either to reject or reduce, without the consent of the cabinet, all expenditures involved in the exercise of the imperial prerogative, such as salaries of civil and military officials, departmental expenses, expenses on account of the army and navy, the gendarmeries and the militia, expenditures arising out of treaties. Furthermore, by the same article, all such expendi-

tures as may have arisen by the effect of law or that appertain to the legal obligations of the government are placed in the same category. From this list it is apparent that a large part of the expenditures of the state are permanently provided for by the constitution. Moreover, the list not subject to annual vote tends to increase as time goes on. If the Diet at any of its sessions grants funds necessary to increase the military establishment by the addition of a new division of infantry, the pay of the officers of that division appears in all subsequent budgets as a part of the fixed expenditures, which the Diet cannot reduce without the consent of the government.

While it cannot be said that the Diet, as a result of this constitutional provision, has no hold on the public purse,—for within limits it can refuse supply,—yet the power of the purse as it is exercised by the Parliament of Great Britain, or the Congress of the United States, is unknown in Japan. In English constitutional history nothing is so striking as the manner in which Parliament used its power to refuse supply in bargaining for constitutional reforms. Especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the kings of England habitually sold portions of their autocratic birthright for messes of potage, in the form of funds with which to prosecute their dynastic schemes in France or Scotland. But in Japan the Diet's feeble grip on the public purse is sufficient only to enable it to prevent the government from undertaking some new project which involves the expenditure of large sums of public money. Even this power it is usually able to exercise only for a short period, especially if the proposed increase of expenditures is connected with projects of national defense. Thus the "two divisions" project, which caused the disruption of the last Saionji cabinet in 1912, was put through the Diet during the Okuma administration, some three years later.

There are, however, numerous instances of important government bills, which do not enjoy the same immunity as the budget, being rejected by the Diet. In 1898 almost the whole legislative program of the Ito cabinet failed to pass. In that program were included a series of tax bills, a project to amend the election law and a bill to provide for the enforcement of the new civil code, but of these measures only the last mentioned was enacted into law; of the other bills only one came to a division, upon which occasion the cabinet found itself without support, the remaining items of the program dying stillborn.

Not only does the Diet sometimes exercise its will upon the government bills other than the budget by rejecting them, but upon other occasions the representatives have been able to wring from the cabinet a certain amount of consideration as the

price of a favorable vote. In too many cases the concessions granted have taken the form of money bribes to individuals, or of cabinet posts for the leaders of the dominant party, but in some instances, at least, the Diet has been able to strike a bargain with the ministry which has modified the policy of the state. In 1909-10, for example, the price which the Seiyukai demanded from the government for its support of the ministry's program was a reduction of the land tax and a scaling down of other contemplated expenditures. Another illuminating illus-

by reducing the number of roads to be nationalized from thirty-two to seventeen. In this form the measure finally became law.

The legal power of the members of the houses to initiate projects of law has not been exercised to any great extent. The handicaps imposed by the law and custom of the constitution are so serious as to discourage the members of the houses from attempting to secure legislation by private bills. In the first place, the emperor has the veto power and exercises it freely. Such laws as receive the imperial sanction must, according to the constitution, be promulgated before the next session of the Diet. But it does not follow that laws which thus find their way into the statute books are enforced. In many cases the administration of a law involves expense, and until an item covering that expenditure has been put into the budget by the government and voted by the houses the law lies dormant. Thus the Factory Act of 1910 was not enforced until 1916. In the same way another act passed during the same session, the Foreigner's Land Ownership Act, though it was printed in the *Gazette*, was not enforced for several years. Handicaps such as these naturally fall more heavily upon private than public bills, though the latter are not free from the effects of deliberately delaying tactics. It is the cabinet which advises the emperor when to use his veto power, and if it is not wise for any reason to veto a bill it is the government which can obtain the imperial sanction, and yet let the law remain unenforced by refusing to secure the funds necessary to carry out its provisions.

Again the shortness of the session, and the power of the cabinet to still further reduce the opportunities for debate and interpellations by suspending the sittings, have tended to minimize the actual powers of the houses. Three months is the length of the annual session as fixed by constitutional provision, but in the law of the houses (Article xxxiii) it is provided that at any time, and as often as it wishes, the cabinet may prorogue either house for a period not exceeding fifteen days. More often than not, such a suspension of the sittings of the lower house is in the nature of a warning that continued recalcitrancy will result in a dissolution. The contemplation by the members of the lower house of the expenses involved in an appeal to the people is, except under circumstances such as existed in the opening months of 1913, when feeling ran extremely high, enough to bring them to time.

Another and even more serious abbreviation of the length of the annual session has arisen from the custom of assembling the houses about the twentieth of December, organizing for the session, hearing and replying to the speech from the Throne, and then rising for the New Year holiday to reconvene about a month later. This device for cutting



*Press Illustration Service*

#### VISCOUNT KIYOURA

Who Has Been Rapidly Promoted from the Humble Position of Schoolmaster to That of Vice-president of the Privy Council

tration of the power of the Diet to modify the government's policy is to be found in connection with the fate of the Railway Nationalization Bill of 1906. The program as introduced into the lower house provided for the taking over of the property of thirty-two railway companies, and in spite of bitter opposition in the house the bill finally passed, though in the upper house it was radically amended

off a whole month of the session was adopted in the early years of the Diet. It is interesting to note that during the Okuma administration, 1914-16, the practice was given up on the ground that three months was not too long a time in which to carry out the legislative work of the government. This elimination of the long New Year recess was one of the few proofs of Okuma's desire to forward the cause of popular government. His successor, however, dropped back into the original practice, and the present cabinet, though supposed to be a people's government, has continued the well established custom of its predecessor.

By the rules of procedure of the lower house a still further shortening of the actual time for debate is effected. Plenary sittings of the house occur only on alternate days, committee meetings occupying the rest of the time. Furthermore the daily sittings are short, commencing at one o'clock and ending before six. In the *Japan Year Book*, 1916, p. 646, figures are given to show the actual time occupied by the sittings of the lower house since its foundation in 1890: on the average the house sat 25 days a session for an average of 3 hours and 8 minutes a sitting.

So much for the negative side of the question, the forces which tend to diminish the actual powers of the Diet in controlling the policy of the cabinet. But there is fortunately another side to the subject which must be considered in any fair-minded treatment of the subject. As we have seen, complete control of the public purse is not among the powers conferred upon the Diet, and yet a considerable amount of supervision over the national expenditures is exercised by the houses. The government can neither increase the tax levies nor impose new taxes, nor borrow money by floating loans without the consent of the Diet. The bureaucratic and military establishments as they exist at any given time may be financed for a few years, at any rate, and existing taxes can be collected from year to year, without any new budgetary legislation. The Diet's power to prevent any radical changes in national expenditures, taxes and loans, is not absolute, however, because of the possibility of an imperial order commanding compliance with the plans of the cabinet or ordering the dissolution of the lower house, or because of the ease with which the cabinet is able to secure the support of some one or more of the political parties.

The parties are the more easily managed because



THE GALLERY FOR VISITORS IN THE DIET

An Important Bill Up for Discussion in the House Brings a Packed Gallery in Which the Wives and Mothers of Members Are Not the Least Interested Spectators

they are not founded upon distinctive principles. All alike have platforms, but the planks in all are about the same. The Seiyukai, the Kenseito and the Kokuminto, the three principal parties, all believe in the maintenance of the constitution, in the reduction of expenditures, in a strong foreign policy, in the development of industry and commerce, in the spread of education and in national defense. The Kokuminto seems to be committed to perpetual opposition, while the cardinal principle of the other two is to keep in office. Hence any government can win the support of one or other of the two largest parties, and either of these two when allied to the cabinet can support it adequately, though it is less expensive and less troublesome for the ministers if they can take office enjoying the confidence of the majority of the representatives. But if the cabinet cannot or does not choose to ally itself with the majority party, the very next session of the Diet is sure to witness a dissolution of the lower house, and at the general election which follows, the supporters of the government will find little



IKUZO OOKA, PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE

Once Before, in 1912-14, He Served As President of the Lower House and Later As Minister of Education. He is an Able Member of the Seiyukai Party



VISCOUNT KATO, LEADER OF THE KENSEIKAI

The Party (Originally Called Doshikai) Was Formed in 1913 and Became a Formidable Rival of the Seiyukai, Securing a Big Majority in the House in 1916

difficulty in obtaining a majority of the seats. Thus when the Okuma ministry was formed in 1914 it was opposed by the Seiyukai and supported by the Doshikai (later renamed Kenseikai), one of the minority parties. As a result of the continued opposition of the majority of the members of the lower house to the government's program during the session of 1914-15 the house was dissolved and a general election was held in March, 1915, and the Doshikai was returned with a handsome majority. When Okuma was succeeded by Terauchi late in the following year another dissolution of the lower house ensued, for the government forces, the members of the Seiyukai, were in the minority. Again the people proved complainant and sent the Seiyukai back from the polls with a substantial majority. The change from Terauchi to Hara in 1918 has been followed by a different set of consequences owing to the fact that Hara as the president of the majority party, found himself from the outset in a strong position in the house.

The anxiety of the party politicians to be in office, or at least to be recognized as the official supporters of the cabinet, is to be explained by the fact that it pays. If a bureaucratic ministry of

the Terauchi type is in power, cabinet posts are not given to the party leaders, but large sums of money are distributed each session. If a so-called party cabinet is in office all the portfolios except those of the army and navy are given to the party leaders, and in addition valuable considerations of one sort or another are bestowed upon the rank and file. A further advantage which the party associated with the ministry enjoys comes to light at the time of a general election. As elections are conducted under the direction of the home office, and as the whole police system is controlled by the home minister, the cabinet can do a great deal to pave the way to success for its supporters by its instructions to the police. Furthermore, the supporters of the government have access to the funds which the cabinet secretly sets aside out of the revenue for the purpose of influencing the Diet and the electorate.

To some extent, at least, the problems which face the party politicians in realizing their ambition to be associated with the government have changed during the last six years. In the early years of the constitutional régime, and before the parties were subdued by a series of punitive dissolutions of the

lower house, the politicians had brought the conduct of affairs by the cabinet practically to a standstill, thereby demonstrating their power as well as the defects of the system of government set up by the constitution. In the end they were compelled to cease their obstruction because the expenses of election to a house that was dissolved every year was ruinous. During the first four years of the Diet's history the popular parties preserved an attitude of inveterate hostility to the government, demanding responsible ministry or nothing. After the war with China both sides modified profoundly their courses of procedure; the cabinet sought to obtain the support of the parties, thus assuming a moderate position in the controversy then raging over independent versus responsible ministry; the parties on their side with a similarly conciliatory spirit allied themselves, the Jiyuto in 1895, and the Kaishinto in the following year, with the government. But in both cases the alliances were unsatisfactory. With the exception of the few months in 1898 when a party cabinet under Okuma was in office, the precedent set up in 1895 was consistently followed until 1914. During this long period the Seiyukai kept itself in close touch with the government. As one cabinet followed another it was the policy of this party to sell its support for the best price obtainable, to be paid partly in cash, or considerations easily convertible into cash, and partly in the coin of political power. The result was to create a name for the party as a great political force indispensable to the success of the government in the conduct of the affairs of state. Whatever may be said of the policy of the Seiyukai, and it may be called opportunist and other disagreeable names, its long career between 1900 and 1914 produced a tradition in Japan, perhaps we might even say added a custom to the constitution; namely, that the cabinet with the support of the majority party governs.

In the very beginning of the reign of the present Emperor, as if to signalize the beginning of a new era, a powerful new political party, the Doshikai, was organized. With the advent of a rival the Seiyukai's monopoly of office was threatened, and with Okuma's accession to power in 1914, it was compelled to yield to the Doshikai its traditional place. It is too soon to generalize as to the effect upon the Japanese system of government of the presence of two parties, each capable of supporting a ministry. At present both these parties are in the nature of groups dominated by men rather than principles, and for that reason it is impossible now, just as it has always been impossible, to anticipate the policy that will be pursued. Of one thing only can we be certain—that the leaders of the parties will seek office or alliance with those in

office, and as a result of this competition for its favors a bureaucratic cabinet will be in a stronger position than formerly in bargaining with the parties.

In attempting to estimate the extent to which the executive power has been held in bounds by the pressure of the legislature, some tentative conclusions may be stated. No cabinet, not even a reactionary bureaucratic cabinet, now disdains wholly the support of the political parties. Further, the practice of admitting the party leaders to the cabinet has hardened into a custom. Too much importance, though, should not be attached to such a tradition, for in the first place Japan is peculiarly liable to reactionary movements in politics, and in the second, the executive still holds in its hands complete power over the cabinet, as an administrative organ, through the rules of the privy council regulating appointments to the army and navy posts in the ministry and by reason of the fifty-fifth article of the constitution. Some importance must be attached to the fact that the Diet, even though its legal powers are slight, has managed to compel almost every cabinet during the last twenty years to take public opinion into consideration. The methods adopted to achieve such an end have been reprehensible in the extreme at times, as for example in 1913, when the Seiyukai and its allies incited a great mob in Tokyo to acts of violence upon the persons of the government's supporters and then and there actually frightened the Katsura cabinet out of office. Moreover, with the spread of popular education, especially in the capital, the lower house has found increasing support among the masses, and this growing weight of public opinion has impressed the government, for even an oligarchy must make shift to rule in a fashion not too unsatisfactory to the people.

But to achieve democratic control of the state is a goal out of the reach of the Japanese until new lines of endeavor are adopted. Constitutional reform must be accomplished. So long as all the parties put maintenance of the constitution at the head of their statements of principles, projects for the amendment of the fundamental law are out of the question as practical political measures. Without new constitutional provisions the Diet cannot obtain substantive powers in legislation, and it cannot enforce responsibility upon the cabinet. The rules of the privy council must likewise be amended so that the ministerial posts of the army and navy may be on the same footing as the others. To support such a series of changes the franchise must be greatly extended so as to include all adult males. The old lines of progress toward democracy have been followed as far as they lead, but the journey is by no means ended. New lines must now be constructed.

# RUSSIAN CASTLES

By Igor Y. Chanuris-Anopolsky



DRAWING BY I. Y. CHANURIS-ANOPOLSKY

Build  
Beautiful castles,  
My children,  
And see  
That they be  
High—  
High—  
Above the clouds.  
Also  
See,  
My children,  
That you point the towers  
Told—  
Bright gold—  
Brighter  
Than the sun  
That shall dim them.

See,  
My children,  
See  
That forests,  
With beautiful gardens,  
Surround them.  
But remember,  
My children,  
That they be  
Thick—  
Thicker than the rushing waters  
That shall destroy them.

In them,  
My children,  
Place  
Soft  
Soft  
Hugs,  
And forget not  
To hang  
Beautiful colored curtains—  
More beautiful  
Than the wild birds  
That shall pass them.

Then,  
My children,  
Lie down  
And dream,  
Dream  
Till the weight  
Of those passing grey-clouds  
Awakens  
You . . .  
I, also,  
Was a child. . .

# DAYS WITH VEILED WOMEN

By E. M. M.

*Illustrations by Wilfred Jones*

IT was woman's day at the Eski, the largest and best managed of the baths in Brusa, the city of baths. In many Mohammedan countries Christians would have been permitted to enter neither a bath nor a mosque. But although the Turks are more superstitious in certain respects than other Moslems, they are not in this. In the bath even native Christians may meet them on equal and friendly terms.

About fifty carriages stood under the trees before the Eski on this summer day, while the drivers, assured of a morning's siesta, sprawled or squatted on the ground. In the courtyard an old Turk, the keeper of the place, peacefully smoked his *narghile*, or water pipe, studiously paying no attention to the veiled figures that passed in. To the left was a stall for the sale of coffee and lemonades of various colors. Immediately inside the entrance one stepped on to the marble floor of a vast domed room, and at first glance one might have thought oneself suddenly transferred to the setting of a famous picture of the slave market. A heavy composite odor filled the place—not very agreeable, in spite of the element of attar of roses. Upon the raised marble divan surrounding the room were a few black slaves among the white women who were leisurely changing their outer garments for those of the bath. The hum of many voices drowned the pleasant sound of water bubbling at a fountain in the centre. Though dimly lighted, the scene was a bewildering display of color, for every woman, young or old, black or white, vied with her neighbor in the brilliancy of her towel and her covering *burnous* and the fine rugs brought by some of them to sit upon.

Families apparently came to spend the day. There were infants in gaudy clothes sleeping peacefully in hammocks strung up in the corners; and there were children who wailed equally whether their mothers took them into the hot room or left them behind. There were baskets of provisions, not yet opened, and others already spread out. A few women in their loose *burnouses* were in the act of preparing a meal, and others, fresh from the hot room, with their clinging saturated garments, puffed cigarettes and sipped tiny cups of coffee brought to them carefully by little slave girls and by other children walking uncertainly on clogs over the slippery floors.

Before entering this room you had to drop your shoes for a pair of Turkish clogs—slipper-like toes tacked to wooden shoes two inches in thickness—on which you splashed through the water that was constantly flowing over the floor. Then you proceeded to find a vacant space on the broad divan for undressing; or, if you preferred, you sought a small private room at the side, which cost a few *piasters* extra. The private rooms fitted with iron bedsteads in place of the divan seemed to have been designed solely for the use of fastidious Europeans, and no natives occupied them.

An old hag in a black *feridgi*, or mantle, a creature of expansive proportions and prodigious volume of voice, was settling a dispute between two harem beauties. Each of the disputants, supported by her friends, claimed a wooden bowl used for dipping up cold water; and they appeared to be on the verge of blows when the elephant, who proved to be the manager of the place, pushed in between them. With one terrific wave of her massive arm the whole crowd fell back; whereupon she snatched the contested bowl and threw it into a pile of similar ones from which the ladies might help themselves. More peaceful was the hot room, where the bathers, separated from all possessions but their towels, sat beside little fountains in the wall, pouring water over themselves, or reclining in the steam. A group of tiny boys and girls played and gamboled like puppies, laughing, teasing and splashing one another with water from the central fountain, and drinking it as it bubbled from the topmost basin.

The advent of a group of English ladies caused quite a stir. Two or three of the bathers rose and came clattering over on their clogs. They fingered the visitors' clothes, touched their gloves and hair and hats, indicating that they should take them off and bathe. But the ladies were only visiting, and had no desire to take the risk of a long sojourn in a bath where persons with fatal diseases may go at will without restrictions of the law.

"*Francisma?*" asked one of the Turkish beauties.

"*Yok, Inglisi.*" "No, English," was the reply.

Their eyes showed pleasure. But they could not understand why the ladies would not join them in the bath, where old and young plastered their hair with henna and stained their finger-nails and eyebrows, or, if they were ailing, sweated away their



IN THE CENTER OF AN OCTAGONAL ROOM SOME  
SMALL BOYS WERE AMUSING THEMSELVES AT THE  
EXPENSE OF THE MORE TIMOROUS PERCHED LIKE  
SPARROWS ROUND THE EDGE OF THE BASIN



aches and their pains. What more could one want?

The hot rooms were dimly lighted and the air laden with steam, and it was some moments before we could distinguish the beautiful blue tiles of the wall out of which ran the little fountains of water, both hot and cold, from natural clear springs. In the centre of an octagonal room was a broad round basin more than twenty feet across, in which some small boys were amusing themselves at the expense

a *feridgi*, a voluminous, armless mantle, generally of rich black silk, though sometimes of blue, brown, red and even light yellow, completely concealing the woman's figure, including her head, over which the tight-fitting hood of the garment fastens; a pair of overshoes; and a painted parasol for all occasions, rain and sunshine. At first glance every woman resembles every other in size and shape; once outside the harem she is known only to her



WHEN THE SUN SHINES THE WOMEN ARE TEMPTED OUT INTO THE OPEN AIR, PERHAPS TO THE SWEET WATERS OF ASIA

of the more timorous, generally girls, who sat like sparrows round the edge.

In all, that morning, some five hundred Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish women and children were crowded into these rooms, bathing, resting, smoking, eating and drinking. Undoubtedly, each of the women, accustomed to the indolent ways of the Levant where many hours of each day are devoted to gossip and where the bath is a protracted event, would consider the English dip in cold water most uninteresting, not to say uncleaning. The impression of the average English man or woman, however, is that to be able to enjoy one of these public baths in the manner of the Levantine one must be bred in the country where it is the custom to bathe at the public bath which every little village provides.

The Turkish woman's outer dress in Constantinople consists of a *pashmak*, a little curtain veil, which can be thrown back over the head or lowered;

husband, children, or maid. On closer inspection you discover that there is a difference in these black sheep. It may be in the quality of the *feridgi*, a trick in the lifting of the skirt in walking, a manner of carrying the head, a peculiar taste in stockings, gloves, or shoes, but the difference is marked and can be recognized by the initiated. During the winter months, when streets are covered with snow and slush, you may wander around the city for days and see no more than a pair of black-robed figures who may be bargaining with a coachman about a fare. Deep pools of liquid mud fill the gutters and lie in the uneven roads. The wind, whistling down the narrow streets, drives the falling snow blindingly into your face, puffs out the loose garments of the women and distorts their figures as they stand with petticoats gathered up to their knees, arguing with the stolid cabman. But when the sun shines and the dust rises, many Turkish women are tempted into the open air, per-

haps on some shopping expedition, which they adore, or out to the Sweet Waters of Asia in a skimming caïque.

Sometimes the Turkish woman is accompanied by her servant, who walks beside her in this democratic country, and sometimes by a friend or sister-wife, similarly dressed. No lady ever appears alone, though a few became bold enough to do so in the early days of the Constitution. When they



AN OLD HAG IN A BLACK "FERIDCI" WAS  
SETTLING A DISPUTE OVER A WOODEN  
BOWL BETWEEN TWO HAREM BEAUTIES

cross a muddy road they are careful to lift their skirts sufficiently high to show a short pink silk or flannel petticoat; but the Turkish women would be thoroughly shocked at the display of face and neck that takes place nightly at the foreign embassies in their midst.

A few of the better class speak a little English, French or German, and more of them now are learning European languages. Many have acquired French from governesses, and, it is said, read too many of the latest French novels. But the mass of them cannot read or write even their own language.

for, like the majority of their men up to the present time, they have had no real education, and it will be a long time before the ordinary woman can dispense with the services of the public letter-writer. The secluded life they lead reacts on their intelligence. Not being educated themselves, they do not appreciate the value of educating their children.

There are among Turkish women, as among the men, a group who advocate absolute liberty of conscience and action, and also a great majority who stand only for power for Islam and better life for Mohammedans, according to the lessons of the Faith. There are, too, reactionists who regret the passing of the old régime. It is not only reactionists who support the rigid seclusion of women; some of the leading Young Turks favor the same policy. One of the half dozen men formerly controlling the Committee of the Union of Progress, a staunch Mohammedan, the son of a highly intelligent *mullah* or priest of Salonica, told me after a visit to Paris and London, where he went with friends to see the public dance halls, that he could not help advocating a continuance of the veil for the women of his own race. The Koran permits True Believers to "marry what seems good to you by twos, or threes, or fours, and if you fear that you cannot be equitable, then only one, or what your right hands possess"—which is taken to mean female slaves. To a Turk the Christian system of one wife until death is slavery, to which he believes a man cannot adhere. The Moslem law is much simpler to keep, for not only may the man marry four times and possess as many slaves as he likes, but he may also divorce wives as he chooses without cause, putting them off, the Koran enjoins, "in kindness"—taking from them none of their worldly goods and making provision for them.

The subjection of woman is naturally due to the tenets of the Mohammedan religion. The liberties granted to men by the Moslem Prophet are generally, it would seem, upheld by the women. Virtuous women are content to share their wifedom with others, even with slaves. The loss of feminine influence under the Mohammedan system is a serious matter. The boy leaves the harem at the age of ten or twelve and goes to live in the men's side of the house, the *selamlık*. There, while he lacks the finer restraining influence of women, he nevertheless belongs to a generous fraternity which has many virtues and few feminine failings. But the fault is not only in the system; it lies in the root of the religion itself. A creed that teaches and encourages men to segregate and enslave their own women must necessarily be in fault. If the Mohammedan shared his opportunity for enjoyment and expression of life with women, he would run counter to the tenets of his religion.



G. H. Paine

## THE AINU OF JAPAN

By FREDERICK STARR

PLACE names, scattered here and there over the different islands of Japan indicate that the Ainu formerly occupied a much larger area than at present. While it is not likely that they ever formed a dense population it is quite certain that they occupied the greater part of the main island of Japan and probably overflowed into Shukoku and Kyushu. Even the sacred mountain, Fuji, pride of every loyal Japanese, bears a name which has no significance in Japanese and is, no doubt, an Ainu word. Probably the Ainu entered Japan from the north by way of the peninsula of Kamchatka and the islands of Saghalien and Yezo. The Japanese, on the other hand, appear to have come from the mainland of Asia by way of the peninsula of Korea, entering Japan from the south. The Ainu retreated before this new invasion. Japanese records give account of struggles and battles under different heroes. The Ainu retreated slowly through the centuries until at the beginning of the nineteenth century they were practically confined to Yezo and the islands farther north.

The Ainu, then, stand to the Japanese in the same position that the American Indians do to us. They were the indigenous population of Japan. It is true that obscure references in the Japanese annals and some stories of the Ainu speak of an earlier population; if there was such a population, however, it has left but scant evidence of its existence.

The Ainu differs in many ways from the Japanese. His physical type is emphatically not the same as the Japanese; differences in character are as great as in physical traits; mode of life, customs

and religious practices are strikingly different among the two populations.

Many writers speak of this aboriginal people of Japan as "The Hairy Ainu." It is, perhaps, true that they are the hairiest of human types. It is not true, as some writers claim, that they are covered with a fine fur. Head hair is abundant in both sexes; males have a dense and heavy growth of beard on the face; the growth of hair upon the body is notably abundant and vigorous. Many individuals among European peoples might be found as distinctly hairy as the average Ainu; among Ainu themselves there is a great difference in this respect; but it is also true that no European population is as characteristically marked by pilous growth as the Ainu. In stature the Ainu is rather short, adult males averaging about five feet four inches in height, while females are five feet two. The complexion varies, but is much lighter than that of the Japanese, without its yellowish brown tint. The abundant hair is black or dark brown, wavy and worn long, hanging down upon the shoulders. The beard in men is long, thick and dark. The eyes are dark brown, though occasionally an individual is seen with light brown or even bluish eyes. The features are regular and fine; the forehead is broad, square and high; the nose rather thin and prominent; the cheeks are not high and the face is not particularly broad nor flat. The eyes are not oblique, and are liquid and full of expression. The head is long in proportion to the breadth. In all these respects the contrast to the Japanese will be evident.

Whether the Ainu are holding their own or slowly approaching extinction is debated. They are now but a little handful. Years ago Dr. John Batchelor, who knows them as no one else does, estimated that only seventeen thousand of them remained in Yezo. The number in Saghalien, the Kuriles and other islands is much smaller. It is certain that they have hardly increased since this estimate was made. To some degree they have been concentrated in model villages, which may be more compact and larger than their old towns, thus giving an appearance of prosperity and increase. As they have been crowded in upon more and more by the Japanese, their mode of life has been profoundly affected. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were almost no Japanese in Yezo. Today there are perhaps more than a million of them there. With increasing contact purity of Ainu blood will disappear, the number of mixed breeds will increase, and the old race will practically be absorbed. Life and customs are yielding rapidly. Even since my own first visit to the Saru River towns, great changes have taken place; the Japanese language, Japanese dress, Japanese life, are replacing the old. In this article I shall speak of the



AINU FISHERMEN PUTTING OFF FROM SHORE IN THEIR RUDE BOATS

The Ainu, Who Are an Island People, Were in the Old Days Great Fishermen. They Ate Whale and Fish Eggs But the Mainstay of Their Diet Was the Salmon.

Ainu as I observed them on my first journey in 1904.

The Saru River villages were probably typical. Each one was stretched along a single street or road. The dwelling houses were all situated to the east of this main street, while on the west was a line of little storehouses, one or more correspond-

ing to each of the dwellings. The house consisted for the most part of a single room, rectangular in form, with its length east and west. At the east end was a single window, which was considered sacred; at the west end was the door which opened into a small shed, called a *shem*, used as a receptacle or storage place for tubs, utensils and other articles not always needed; this shed opened to the outer world by a door upon the south. To enter such a house then, one came into the *shem* by the south door, then turned at right angles into the main living-room. There was sometimes a window in the south wall of the house, but often the only light from outside came through the east window and by the west doorway through the *shem*. There were no chairs, tables, beds or other articles of furniture usual with us. At the center of the room was a rectangular open space for the fire, over which cooking was done and around which the family gathered. Low platforms serving as sleeping-places, ran lengthwise of the house and were covered with neatly made rush mats, often worked in ornamental patterns. Above the fireplace was a sort of hanging rack of poles and sticks, upon which articles might be laid to be dried or smoked by the fire below. In such a house every man, woman and child had his or her proper place for sleeping and sitting and no one would be expected to occupy another's space. The east end of the fireplace was considered particularly honorable and was reserved for respected guests or visitors. No one in entering the Ainu house assumed that he was entitled to sit at the east side of the fireplace; it was proper to wait until the host indicated the place the guest should occupy. The northeast corner in every house was occupied by a mass of objects making up the household treasure; lacquered tubs for saké, lacquered bowls and cups, swords and knives—sometimes complete and genuine, more frequently without blades or with wooden blades replacing the original steel blades in the sheaths—these things and others like them were set upon the floor or suspended on the wall, and with them was the great *inao*, guardian spirit of the household.

We have already stated that on the other side of this street was a line of storehouses. These were



A TYPICAL AINU VILLAGE COMPOSED OF A SINGLE STREET OF REED THATCHED HUTS

To the West of the Main Street Are Little Storerooms, to the East the Rectangular, Single-Roomed Dwellings with a Window at the East End, Which Is Considered Sacred and Reserved for Honored Guests

small rectangular constructions, with two-pitched thatched roofs; they were perched high up from the ground on piles or posts to protect food supplies from destruction and from animals.

In the good old days Ainu garments were made of skins of animals killed by the hunters or from elm bark-thread which was woven into a coarse and thick, but substantial cloth. The elm bark itself, thread, cloth and garments, all were called by the same name, *atush*. The one objection to this native cloth was that it became brittle through drying, but on the whole it was fairly good material. The garments of men and women differed only in details. The chief garment was a large cloak with sleeves, which covered and enclosed the entire body, somewhat like the Japanese *kimono*. A kind of belt was used to hold the garment closed. Leggings were made of *atush*; they were separate, one for each leg, and when worn extended from the knee to ankle. Footwear was generally made of skins, sometimes with the hair in place, in which case the hair was worn on the inside of the shoe. The great garment of elm cloth was decorated with embroidered designs. Patches of Japanese fabric were often cut into panel forms, sewed to the *atush*, upon which the embroidered lines or patterns were worked. This kind of appliqué work was quite effective, and the embroidered patterns, done in colored or white threads, were made up of curious and characteristically graceful curves. As the designs differed from village to village, one familiar with them could recognize the district from which

a man had come by the decoration of his gown. On festival occasions men commonly wore a sort of head-dress, to which the name "crown" has been given. It consisted of a band encircling the head, with stitched decorations, and with attached inao; six little rectangular flaps hung around the lower border, and at the front, upon the center of the band, was a bear's head, or some other ornament, carved from a bit of wood. These crowns were not marks of regal power. They were worn by almost every man of consequence taking part in the feast; it is said, however, that only good men—men of character—wore them. Women wore narrow neckbands decorated in various fashions; they also wore great quantities of necklaces, many of them of large and heavy beads—the most highly prized of which were probably brought from Manchuria and other parts of the mainland of Asia.

One of the first things to attract attention of a visitor to the Ainu is the tattoo borne by the women. Three different kinds of tattooing are found among lower peoples; coloring matter may be pricked into the skin by points, it may be forced into open cuts, it may be carried under the skin by means of threads. The commonest method is pricking, and the tattooing of the Japanese is such. Less common and on the whole more painful in application is tattooing by cutting; this is the method practised by the Ainu. Tattooing begins in childhood and the first designs are made upon the backs of the hands and arms. It is done gradually, bit by bit; the design is finished at the end of child-



Howard O. Williams

**POPULAR AINU BELLES ARE ALWAYS TATOOED**

The Green-Blue Tattooing Circling the Mouth is Begun in Childhood and Finished Before Marriage



Howard O. Williams

**AINU WEARING CEREMONIAL "CROWN"**

It Consists of a Band with Stitched Decorations and a Bear's Head or Some Other Ornament of Wood

hood when the woman is ready for marriage. The final design is the most striking. It consists of a broad band of color, completely encircling the mouth and extending at the sides into points upon the cheeks. In tattooing razors are used for cutting; birch bark is burnt under a pot until the bottom is well coated with soot; the lines to be tattooed are cut, the soot is rubbed thoroughly into the cut and the place is washed with a cloth dipped into a decoction of ash-bark; this final design is not produced at a single operation; the center of the upper lip receives the first touches, then the lower lip, and so on, alternately, until the marks reach almost from ear to ear. The color of this tattoo is of a bright green-blue, which grows duller and darker with the passage of time.

The salutations of the Ainu are suggestive. When men meet the ceremony is formal. Let us imagine a visit. The guest, coming to the door, makes known his presence by a sort of gurgling sound; ushered into the house, he is seated at the east end of the fireplace, and the host seats himself on the north side. Both men, without speaking, begin to rub their hands together, palm against palm, the tips of the fingers being drawn lengthwise of the palm. This hand-rubbing is continued by both men for some time. They then separate their hands with a waving movement outward and hold them palms upward, almost at the level of the knees. They are then raised up and down, inward and outward, as if balancing something; each time, however, they are raised a little higher, and brought somewhat nearer together; finally they are lifted to the sides of the face and placed against the beard and stroked downward, one on each side, several times. The salutation is now finished and conversation commences. This greeting is performed with extraordinary dignity and grace.

Among Ainu, woman is naturally considered the inferior of man. This is never argued, always admitted. If a man and woman meet upon the trail the woman at once steps to the side for him to pass. At the same time she takes the cloth band from her head and lays it over her left arm, which is folded up before the body. With both hands she then smoothes her hair from the middle parting on her head and pats the side locks; having thus put herself in perfect order, she waits with downcast eyes until the man shall pass, when she draws the forefinger of her right hand over the great tattooed design around her mouth, following the upper line of the pattern from left to right. A woman entering a house where a man is seated would go through the same respectful greeting. A child greeting an older person stands in front of him but faces away from him. The older person then strokes the child's hair with both hands.

These are extraordinary customs. They form a

part of what some writers call "Samsonian cult," which means ceremonial respect shown to hair. Dr. McGee always considered this Ainu ceremonial the very acme of that cult.

In the old days the Ainu depended more upon hunting and fishing than upon agriculture. In fact it might almost be said that agriculture was undeveloped among them. Women and children went

rows, shot from bows a metre long. The bows were rarely of good workmanship, but were effective. The poisoned arrow, long prohibited by the Japanese government, was ingenious. The poison was made from the roots of aconite, which were dug up in the spring, when full of sap, and then peeled and dried. They were pounded between stones and mixed with tobacco and peppers; to all these in-



THE WHOLE AINU VILLAGE IS INTERESTED IN THE PET BEAR KEPT IN A LOG PEN

It Was the Ambition of Every Village to Capture a Bear Cub and After Cherishing It for Three Years, Torment and Send It With Prayers and Petitions for Favor to the Next World

in quest of vegetable food; chestnuts were gathered in the forests, the roots of the dog's-tooth violet and the bulbs of wild lilies were dug up and prepared for winter use. Arrowroot and mugwort were also wild plant food. Millet was the chief cultivated plant supply, and near the west door of every hut there was the wooden mortar and the heavy pounders used in separating the grain and grinding it to meal. Potatoes, onions and to a certain extent, rice were also cultivated. Considerable ingenuity was shown in the preparation of foods. After the food was gathered it was washed, boiled and mashed to pulp to be made up into cakes and dried for later use. The eggs of different kinds of fishes, especially those of salmon, were commonly eaten. As hunter and fisherman the Ainu showed his greatest skill. The salmon was the fish upon which the greatest dependence was placed; it was eaten fresh, but was also smoked and dried. Whales were eaten. Bear and deer were the choicest meat supply. They were hunted largely with poisoned ar-

gredients were added poisonous spiders and a little fox-gall to give the proper consistency. Arrows for poisoning were made in three parts—shaft, a bone middle piece and the tip. The latter, about two inches long, was made of bamboo, and scooped out to hold the poison. To cause adhesion, pine tree gum was used and a wad of poison was pressed down upon the tip, dipped in the sticky substance. As this poison was virulent, the Ainu, as soon as an animal was killed, were careful to cut a piece of flesh of some size around the wound. The Ainu were ingenious in making traps and setting bows. A bow would be strung and loaded with a poisoned arrow, the whole device being attached to a cord, stretched across the trail; a passing animal, striking the cord would set loose the trigger and discharge the poisoned arrow to his own destruction. It was largely the danger from such concealed and hidden weapons that led the Japanese to prohibit the use of poisoned arrows.

The most important object of the Ainu chase



O. M. Foster

**DANCING AND SINGING FORM PART OF THE CELEBRATION FOR THE FESTIVAL OF THE BEAR**  
 When the Time Approaches for That Great Event of the Year, Invitations Are Sent to All the Neighboring Towns. Houses Are Cleaned, Best Clothes Are Worn, and Food and Drink Are Provided for Feasting

was the bear. After a successful hunt of that kind, feasting ensued and ceremonials and drunkenness took place. The Ainu seems to have been a bold and fearless hunter of Bruin, who was the fiercest animal in his surrounding fauna. At a certain season of the year it was the ambition of the hunters of every village to capture a wee bear cub. It was taken home and treated with affection. If, as was often the case, the little creature was too young to have been properly taken from its mother, it was turned over to the young women of the village, who suckled it at their own breasts. When the little beast was too old to need such attention, it was fed on cooked food, served in a special, long wooden trough by a man whose duty was to care for the animal. A special pen made of logs was erected for the cub, and here it was reared, the pet of the entire village, until fairly grown. In the old days it was kept for two or three full years, but in these degenerate times, the bear feast, of which it forms the central item, usually takes place when the bear is about a year and a half old. When the time approaches for that great function, invitations are sent to all the neighboring towns. The houses of the village are cleaned and put in festival condition. Inao are made in quantities. When the day of the feast comes the invited guests assemble from all quarters; food and drink in plenty have been pre-

pared; men, women and children are dressed in their best garments and all men who have them wear their crowns; the best mats have been laid out upon the house platforms, and outside the house a space has been arranged where a whole line of freshly cut inao have been set up, and the finest meats placed down for the leaders of the ceremony. There is preliminary singing and dancing; there is also weeping in which the women particularly show every sign of sorrow. The signal given, the bear is led out from its wooden pen; it is tethered by a rope to a post or pole in the midst of the assembled crowd. Everyone now begins to tease and irritate the unfortunate creature. It is astonished at such treatment; heretofore it has always been the village pet. Men, women and children have spoiled it with the kindest treatment; now it is set upon, struck, prodded, beaten; all the boys of the village, all the young men, all the men, with bows and blunt-pointed arrows shoot at it. When the scene has become one of wild excitement, and the tormented creature snarls and turns and runs in every way to escape from his tormentors, at a given signal one advances with a real arrow, which is discharged at the creature's head to stun him. At the same moment, young men come forward with two poles, one of which is placed upon the ground. They then throw themselves upon the stunned crea-



ture and seizing him by the legs drag him to the pole and place his head upon the pole in such a way that the lower jaw rests on it. The second pole is now laid across the back of the head, above. A group of the young men now throw themselves with all their weight upon the upper pole. The head of the animal caught between the two poles is subjected to the pressure of the whole mass of struggling humans. This takes place directly in front of the mats upon which the old men are sitting. The dying creature is directly before them. Leaning over him one of them strokes both sides of his head and prays, at the same time catching and inhaling the creature's dying breath. When the bear has breathed his last gasp—and he must be killed without the shedding of blood—the corpse with the head is skinned, and the rest of the body is taken inside and prepared for cooking. The skin and head are now carefully laid out upon a handsome mat. It is adorned with bright ribbons, inao shavings, bead necklaces taken from the women and other ornaments. Prayers are offered. When the flesh is cooked a bowl of soup is first brought out. This is preceded with prayer to the skin and head of the animal. He is begged to take a portion of the soup; he is reminded of the kindness which the village has shown him ever since he came to them; he is begged to carry their petitions and regards to his parents and to send favor and prosperity to them in return for their respect, attention and kind treatment. Pieces of the flesh of the animal are then brought out and offered to him in the same fashion. After these acts of prayer, thanksgiving and worship, the people themselves begin to feast. Abundance of millet beer has been provided in addition to the food and the celebration ends in a scene of wild intoxication. The men first eat and drink what they want, and the women may have what is left.

The bear feast is really an interesting communion service. To kill the god, to eat his flesh and drink his blood is a commonplace in many religions of lower culture. The bear feast is the most startling ceremonial of the Ainu, but it is only one of a considerable number of similar celebrations. Thus they capture and rear hawks and other birds of prey, eagle-owls, rooks and foxes. All are treated with kindness. All ultimately are sacrificed with prayer and offerings, in order to secure from the creatures of their kind blessings and favor for the people.

It would be safe to say that a very considerable portion of the waking hours of the Ainu man are occupied in whittling inao. Inao are sticks, shaved with a knife in such fashion that the curly shavings remain hanging from the stick. The work is skillfully done. There are many different kinds. In some the shavings hang in a great mass at one end.

Such inao are ceremonial. They have three different functions. They may be offerings to deities; they may be prayers for favors; they may be gods. Outside of the sacred east window there is a sort of hedge or line of stakes called *anusa*. An *anusa* is made up of inao, fastened to the ends of stakes. There may be as many as sixteen inao in an *anusa*, each of which represents a god. One may be a god of mountains, another of rivers, and so on. An inao near the door keeps danger from the house. One finds inao set up at springs; they keep off harmful influences and give a sort of benediction. They are also frequently set up about the fireplace as offerings or prayers to the goddess of the hearth. We have already mentioned the great inao kept in the northeast sacred corner. It is the household guardian. Made when the house is first constructed, it is dedicated and remains as long as the hut is occupied; it has a mouth cut as a cleft at the upper end of the stake and it has a heart taken as a warm cinder from the fire, bound out of sight under the mass of pendent shavings. At the time of the bear feast inao are made in quantities and put up everywhere. When inao are gods they are sprinkled with millet-beer or saké.

Some writers recognize two classes of peoples, according to their ordinary movements. Thus they speak of centrifugal and centripetal peoples. Centrifugal peoples are those who in their gestures and occupational movements are expansive. We are such a people. When we talk with energy or are excited we wave our hands out from the body. It has been claimed that the Ainu are a great example of a centripetal people. Personally we never saw much evidence of the fact. The salutations, however, are of that kind; the hand-wavings and beard-strokings are not expansive outward movements, but toward the person. The knife in cutting is frequently, perhaps generally, drawn toward the cutter. The Ainu have some curious songs, *yukara*; they give more the impression of trying to restrain emotion than to express it.

A remarkable form of nervous disease, or hysteria, as Batchelor calls it, occurs among the Ainu. It is called *imu*. Though not confined to women, it is more common among them. It is related to snakes and it is said that women who have been bitten by snakes are "without exception subject to it." The mere mention of snakes, let alone the sight of them, is sufficient to precipitate the attack.

Let us again emphasize the sharp contrast between Ainu and Japanese. The physical differences have been sufficiently considered—the Ainu is Caucasian, not Mongolian. The difference in character is evident from the preceding discussion. In culture the Japanese has been highly civilized for many centuries; as far as we can see the Ainu has never been higher than at present, a step above savagery.

# ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

**THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE**, by Hosea Ballou Morse, LL.D., Vols. II and III. Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1918. Price, \$16.00.

The three volumes of which these two complete the issue will remain a lasting monument to the industry, conscientiousness and critical acumen of their author. There is certainly no other man living who could have so adequately performed the task of historian of the international relations of the Chinese Empire from the arrival of Lord Napier in 1834 to the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, as Hosea Ballou Morse. The three-quarters of a century of international, as distinguished from mercantile, relations between the Chinese Empire and the nations of the West, Mr. Morse divides into three periods, to each of which he dedicates a volume—the subtitles being the "Period of Conflict," the "Period of Submission," and the "Period of Subjection." Even up to the time when Caleb Cushing went as minister and commissioner of the United States to China in 1843 the Chinese were apt to speak of persons coming into the Empire from other nations as tribute-bearers to the Emperor.

The first serious effort to break down Chinese exclusiveness—that of Lord Napier—was, of course, destined to failure. As Mr. Morse puts it, Lord Napier acted as an envoy of the British Crown must have acted; the Chinese court and the viceroy at Canton had acted as must have been expected of them. In default of achieving any success by diplomatic methods, force was resorted to in 1839, when a conflict broke out in which all the foreign merchants of Canton were concerned, but the brunt of which was borne by England. To China and the Chinese people the sole apparent cause of this conflict was the opium question; to the British Government and people its sole causes were the equal status of nations and the right to protection for life and property for foreign traders resident in the Chinese Empire. In the settlement effected by the treaties, the opium question was not settled, but the other questions were dealt with as far as Western opinion was then prepared to go. But the settlement was so little final that cause was given to England and France in 1856 to begin a second war, which was ended by the four treaties of 1858. A third war, that of 1860, was required to overcome the opposition of the war party in China, and the settlement which then ensued involved the acceptance by the Chinese of the law that whereas formerly it was China which dictated the conditions

under which international relations were to be maintained, now it had come to be the Western nations which imposed their will on China.

The United States kept sedulously aloof from the coercive measures employed by France and England, declaring, in the words of Secretary Cass, that this country was not at war with the Government of China, and did not seek to enter that Empire for any other purposes than those of lawful commerce and for the protection of the lives and property of its citizens. Nevertheless, as President Buchanan said in his annual message of December, 1858, our neutral position in the hostilities conducted by Great Britain and France against China did not interfere with the sending of instructions to Minister Reed to cooperate cordially with the British and French Ministers in all peaceful measures to secure by treaty "those just concessions to foreign commerce which the nations of the world had a right to demand." That is to say, our own Government, while abjuring the use of force, was careful to secure full participation in the benefits of concessions that other nations extorted at the cannon's mouth.

But there is solid satisfaction to be derived from the fact that it was an American—Anson Burlingame—who sounded the keynote of the policy of the nations of the West toward China which today finds general acceptance. The Burlingame mission of 1868 was an epoch-making event in many ways, and its apparently total failure to accomplish the results immediately aimed at does not in the least detract from its significance. Mr. Burlingame was above all else an orator, and liable to be carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment. But he succeeded in carrying others with him. Even in California, where opposition to the Chinese was already regarded as a valuable asset for an ambitious politician, so rabid a demagogue as Governor Haight felt constrained to say that, while opinions might differ on the question of immigration and other subjects, "there can be no difference of opinion upon the desirableness of unrestricted commercial intercourse with China." But the Special Envoy of the Chinese Government, who had served for six years as American Minister to China, wanted more than this. He declared that his mission meant that China was launched on the path of peace and progress, and appealed to the memory of enthusiasts who had lived in China before him, "hoping that the day would soon arrive when this great people would extend its arms toward the

shining banners of Western civilization." As Burlingame saw it, fifty years ago, the day had already come.

While the ratification of the Burlingame treaty still hung in the balance at Peking, Secretary Fish asked Mr. Bancroft to impress on Mr. Burlingame, then in Berlin, the importance of having defined in a permanent law, as soon as possible, the relations thereafter to exist between the United States and China. Every month was bringing thousands of Chinese immigrants to the Pacific Coast; they had already crossed the mountains and were beginning to be found in the interior of the continent. "By their assiduity, patience and fidelity, and by their intelligence," said Mr. Fish, "they have earned the good will and confidence of all who employed them." But alas! almost before the ink was dry on the signatures of the treaty of 1868 powerful influences were at work to nullify its provisions. At this point ended the first forty years of American diplomatic intercourse with the Middle Kingdom, and there began a second forty in which the most notable feature of our policy was the erection of barriers against the Chinese, resembling as closely as possible those we had induced China to remove as against ourselves. That we have not been the only sinners in this respect the careful reader of Mr. Morse's fair-minded and eminently judicial narrative will readily discover.

J. F.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CHINESE PICTORIAL ART**, by Herbert A. Giles. Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, 1918. \$7.50.

**RACIAL FACTORS IN DEMOCRACY**, by Philip Ainsworth Means. Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 1918. \$2.50.

**THE ESSENTIALS OF AN ENDURING VICTORY**, by André Chéradame. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918. \$1.50.

**MY CHINESE DAYS**, by Guelielma F. Alsop. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1918. \$2.00.

**THE TRAGEDY OF ARMENIA**, by Bertha S. Papaxian. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1918. \$1.00.

**CHINA AND THE WORLD WAR**, by W. Reginald Wheeler. Macmillan and Company, New York, 1919. \$1.75.

**FOREIGN FINANCIAL CONTROL IN CHINA**, by T. W. Overlach. Macmillan and Company, New York, 1919. \$2.00.

**THE RIDDLE OF NEARER ASIA**, by Basil Matthews. George H. Doran Company, New York, 1919. \$1.25.





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# ASIA

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#### THE PHILIPPINE MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES

Front row, fourth from left, Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate; at his right, Secretary of War Baker; at his left, General March, Chief of Staff. The mission, composed of forty-one prominent Filipinos representing the two political parties of the islands and the commercial, agricultural and other interests, has just presented Secretary Baker with a memorial from the Philippine Legislature asking complete independence for the Archipelago. President Wilson, as well as Francis Burton Harrison, Governor-General of the Philippines, is very sympathetic toward the mission and its purpose. Senator Quezon, chairman of the Commission, and for seven years representative of the islands in the American Congress, declares that with the world entering on a new era of international justice this is an opportune time to present the Philippine claims to the United States. The appeal is based on the ground (1) that the Jones Law of 1916 promised the islands complete independence; (2) according to the representations of the Filipinos themselves, that they are ready not only to govern themselves completely in internal affairs, as indeed they now do, but to take care of their foreign relations as well. There is no question that the success or failure of the Philippine Mission will have a poignant bearing on the practical efficacy of the League of Nations principle and on the status of other small countries now under the jurisdiction of their more powerful neighbors.



*Photo Illustrating Article*

#### MARSHAL COUNT Y. HASEGAWA, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF KOREA

The recent riots connected with the Korean independence movement may result in the resignation of Marshal Hasegawa, who succeeded Premier Terauchi as Governor-General of the Peninsula in 1916. His military training in the Japan-China and Russo-Japanese Wars is consistent with the traditional Japanese policy in Korea—military domination and strategic control, followed by the Japanization of the Korean people. It is not likely that the independence movement will accomplish more than reaffirm to the world that no amount of material prosperity will reconcile a people to the restraints of government imposed from without when the national idea continues to live, unless the administration is compelled thereby to introduce certain essential reforms in its colonial policies.





Press Illustrating Service

SIAMESE DELEGATION TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE. WITH PRINCE CHAROON, MINISTER TO PARIS, AND PHYA BIBADHI KOSHA, MINISTER TO ROME, SEATED IN FRONT

Siam is asking for no special dispensations from the Allied Conference, no rewards in the form of territory or indemnity, for her declaration of war against Germany and her contribution to victory. She asks in the general house cleaning only bare justice in the matter of treaty revision. She wants the restoration of her full sovereign rights, through the abolition of ex-territoriality and cancellation of an unjust fixed tariff by which she is permitted to collect only 3 per cent duty on imports. These restrictions work particularly unfairly against Siam, because under the first many colonials who may happen to reside in Siam, including Japanese and Filipinos who are hardly distinguishable in appearance from the Siamese themselves, as well as other foreigners of European stock, are not subject to Siamese law. Unity of administration for the kingdom is consequently exceedingly difficult. The unjust tariff restriction throws the burden of raising essential revenue for Siam not on legitimate industry but in large proportion on the opium traffic, though the Siamese themselves are not addicted to the use of opium. If the Western Powers do not at this time grant obvious rights to a small country, which has shown itself entirely capable of highly intelligent self-administration, they will be responsible for a signal failure to do justice where justice is already overdue



*Courtesy of the Netherlands Indian Government*

#### THE FRONDED PALMS OF JAVA

The Lonely Seacoast of This Tropical Island Gives Little Indication of the Thirty to Forty Million Inhabitants Crowded into its Fifty Thousand Square Miles of Territory

# THE NEAR EAST IN LIQUIDATION

## America As a Mandatory in Asia Minor, Syria and France

By E. G. TABET

**T**HE Turkish Empire reached and passed its zenith under Suleiman I, the Magnificent, (1520-1566), when it extended from the frontiers of Germany to the frontiers of Persia. Despite all her great losses after that time, Turkey still possessed when she entered the world war a territory something like five times the area of the German Empire, in fertility and natural wealth perhaps second to none in the Old World. What will be the disposition of this remnant of the former world-empire? And wherein does this disposition present a call to America to act?

### TURKEY—ANATOLIA

Turkey—roughly speaking, that territory where the Turks form a compact majority or are the most numerous of a single race—is that section of Asia Minor known as Anatolia, and also, but in a much less degree, Constantinople and that part of Thrace east of the Enos-Midia line. Anatolia consists of the following vilayets: Bigha, Brusa, Aidin (Smyrna), Ismid, Kastamouni, Angora, Konia, with Trebizond and Sivas claimed both by the Turks and Greater Armenia. Trebizond has a large Greek population and Sivas has practically an equal number of Turks and Armenians. Both in area, even after probable delimitations on the Armenian side and in the Smyrna region claimed by the Greeks, and in natural wealth, Anatolia will be more than amply sufficient to sustain the estimated 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 Turks, including those scattered in other parts of Asia Minor and European Turkey. It could support, under modern systems of irrigation and cultivation, three or more times the number of its present population. It is one of the richest territories in the East in fertility, forestry and mineral deposits. It should be all that the Turks may reasonably lay claim to, aside from Smyrna with its hinterland, which Greece is coveting, and Constantinople, with adjacent territories, which is likely to be placed in a special status. There is even a question of whether Adalia with its hinterland, which constitutes a part of the extreme claim of Armenia, may not be separated from Anatolia to be taken under an Italian mandate, as Italy is insistent that she be given the territory assigned to her under her treaty with France and Great Britain, just after the beginning of the war, if the latter two nations are to become mandatories in the Near East.

Turkey will undoubtedly remain a sovereign state. The new Turkey will constitute a problem only if Constantinople and the Straits are to remain a part thereof. But Turkey is in dire need of all the assistance she can get, administrative, financial and technical. Unless she puts herself under the tutelage of an efficient master, with power to make his work fruitfully effective, the old conditions of maladministration and stagnation of political and economic life will be little changed, if at all. Of late, the Turkish government and leaders who superseded the Young Turks have been extremely vociferous in asking for American "supervision." This may be but the old Turkish trick of playing off one Power against the other. In any case, it seems to the writer that the proposal for America to act as adviser to Turkey under conditions that will make such advice effective, is a welcome solution of one important problem of the Near East. For the United States is not only fully qualified to lead the new Turkey to a progressive future, but is very nearly obligated to do so, if she is to assume the full responsibility her leadership in the formation of the Society of Nations demands. Such participation by the United States will reduce to a minimum the dangers of international friction under any other arrangement.

What if Turkey were left alone? She might easily become again a breeding ground of corrupt exploitation by her rulers. Or the continued process of disintegration might result in her becoming a mere bone of contention among the European Powers. What if one European Power should be installed in the new Turkey with paramount influence, as in the days before the war? The old European jealousies would be reawakened—with consequences that the world has come to know only too well. In the Near East, in particular, both preponderance of territorial acquisition as well as preponderance of power, no matter under what form or manner—mandatory, advisory, or nominal protection—must be avoided. If the "balance of power" is discarded, the "weight" should not all go, or go beyond a certain limit, into but one of the scales! With equitable disposition of mandatories in Syria and Mesopotamia between France and Great Britain, the two Powers most interested in that section of Asiatic Turkey, the disposition of the other section—the new Turkey and the new Armenia—becomes the concern of democratic na-

tions not responsible as mandatories for other countries in the Near East.

Here lies, therefore, the special call for America to act as adviser to Turkey and mandatory for Armenia. The contiguity of the two countries simplifies her work. Her presence in both simplifies relations between them, removing danger of Turkish-Armenian conflict. There will be no necessity in either state for an army. The gendarmerie and the police will be sufficient to keep domestic order. On the other hand, France, England and Italy, vitally interested in keeping a "balance of prestige," at any rate, before the peoples of the Asiatic continent, will have no more ground for suspicion and distrust. Furthermore, it is to the material benefit of all concerned that such a rich soil as Anatolia should not remain a waste. The United States would not go as an invader, needing an American army of occupation to police the Near East, but as a technical adviser on the solicitation of Turkey herself, and withal not infringing on the special interests of any other power. It is a business proposition in which the United States and Turkey, a sovereign state, are free to contract, if both are so disposed. But whether or not the United States enters the Near East in this capacity, by no means should American enterprise be absent in any international agreement to reconstruct Anatolia, where no one Power may justly claim a special privilege. A method of joint international loans similar to that followed with regard to China in the Hukuang loan and the proposed four-Power group loan to the Chinese Government could very well be applied to the new Turkey. It is true that Turkey is comparatively a small field, but Anatolia and Armenia could be made together under proper direction what Lydia was in ancient times—the connecting link between East and West, providing the American advisory relationship to Turkey be made effective. What should be the form of this relationship?

In every department of government—administration, justice, finance, public safety, railroads, agriculture, education, industry and labor—must be placed an American counselor, to advise the Turkish head. Each American counselor should have his immediate staff of American technical experts. He should also have an American staff of inspectors employed as advisers to regional administrations, under the supervision of the counselor at the seat of the central administration. The counselors of the respective departments might constitute a board of counselors, to deliberate on the general economic interests of the country and to pass on disputes between the Turkish head of any department and the American counselor. The decision of the board should be final. The constitution of the board will serve the double purpose of preventing abuse of power by the counselor and

of making the advice effective. This suggested programme might take the form of a contract between the United States and the new Turkey, for a specified number of years, not less than twenty, with stipulation that during that period Turkey may not form either a political or economic treaty with any Power, with the exception of a unity of customs on domestic produce with mandatory peoples in the Near East. The principle of the open door for foreign trade should apply to Turkey and all the countries of the Near East.

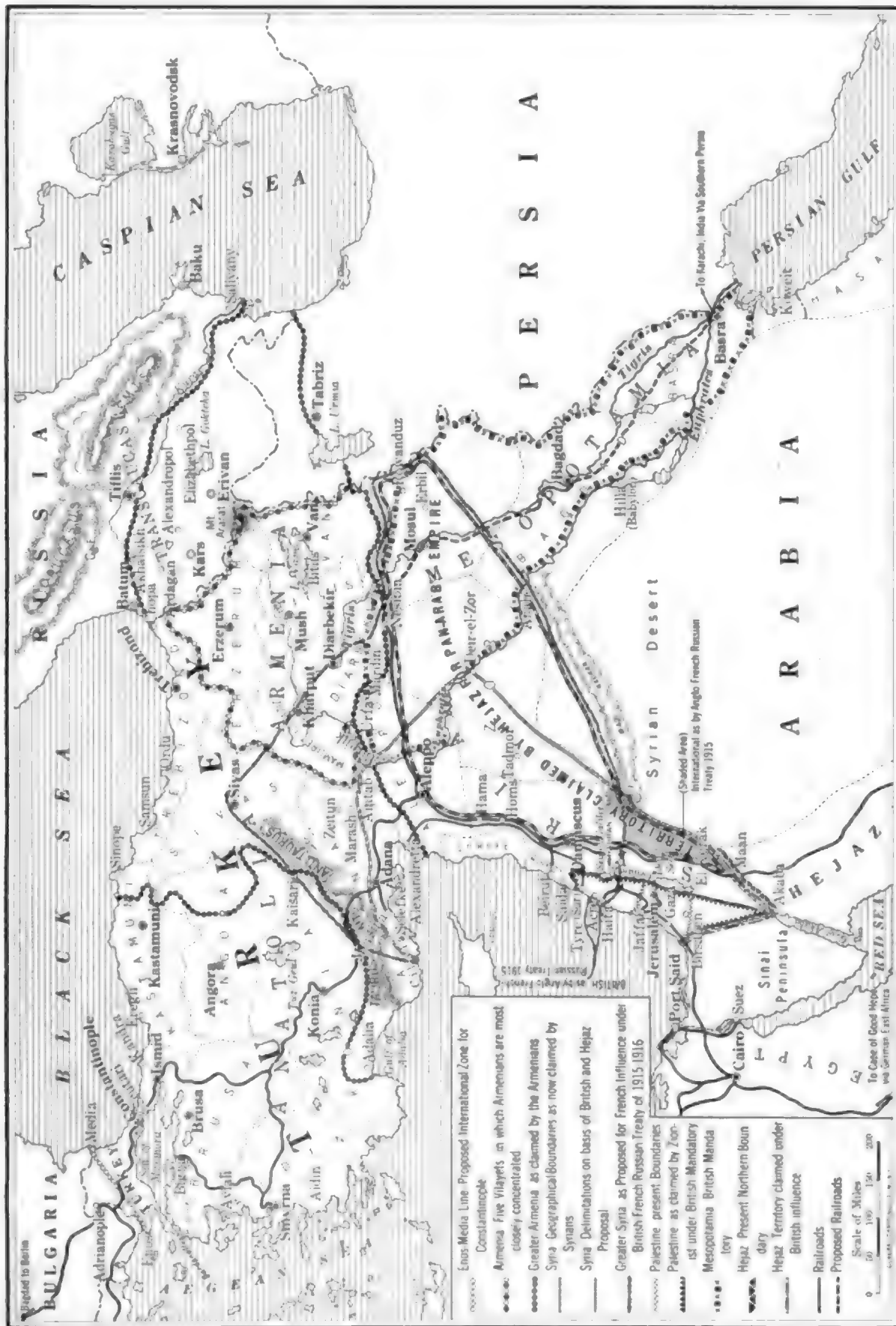
#### CONSTANTINOPLE AND SMYRNA

International interest in Constantinople and Smyrna makes probable their detachment from the Turkish state. Constantinople, by the Anglo-French-Russian treaty of 1915 and 1916, was assigned to Russia, together with the territory east of the Enos-Midia line, the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, the Asiatic coast between the Bosphorus and the River Sakaria, certain points around the Gulf of Ishmid, and the two islands at the entrance of the Dardanelles, Imbros and Tenedos. It may not be impossible that a future stabilized democratized Russia may even yet be the ultimate solution of the problem, by becoming a mandatory for Constantinople and the Straits. Meanwhile, the more probable solution is that of an American mandatory or an international commission under the Society of Nations, unhappy as experience has been in nearly every case where the latter has been tried—in Macedonia, Egypt, Samoa, Morocco and the Lebanon.

As to Smyrna, the Greek claims for its possession with the territory between Cos and Availi, on the Asia Minor coast, are based on an asserted preponderance of its Christian inhabitants and on historic associations. Against these claims is the American contention at the Peace Conference that the importance of the city as a seaport for practically all Asia Minor makes it a subject of more than local interest. If the Greek claims are not admitted, Smyrna, in all probability, will be made a free port or an international zone, perhaps passing under the same administrative order as that for Constantinople. This would give the Greek element the leading voice in municipal elections—and, Greek aspirations may be satisfied elsewhere.

#### ARMENIA

The Armenia about which there is practically no dispute as to boundaries consists of the five vilayets—Erzerum, Kharput (Mamuret-al-Aziz), Bitlis, Van and Diarbekr. In 1913, ethnographic distribution in this area, according to Marcel Leart, was: Armenians, 853,000; Turks, 474,000; Christians other than Armenians, 110,000; Moslems other than Turks, 671,000. The sum total of Ar-



# THE NEAR EAST IN LIQUIDATION—THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Particular Attention Should Be Directed to the Syrian Geographical Boundary Line As Claimed by the Syrians and the Greater Syria As Proposed for French Influence in 1916. This is One Field of Most Concern in the Settlement Because of the Extensive Demands on This Territory for the Hejaz Kingdom Project



Edmond Montagna

#### DONKEYS LADEN WITH BARLEY IN A SYRIAN DESERT TOWN

The Syrian People Object to Having an Arab Empire Carved Out of the Heart of Syria and Wish to Safeguard Their Existence Under a Probable French Mandatory

menians in these five vilayets plus Sivas, the boundary vilayet between Anatolia and Armenia, was estimated as 1,018,000, compared with 666,000 Turks. Justice demands that the figures before the Armenian massacres should determine boundaries. Moreover, emigration of Turks and other Moslems from these vilayets to Turkish Anatolia and of Armenians into their re-established home will very likely follow the establishment of the new Armenia. Such migration is the general rule and such transference may even be made to follow a systematic plan.

But the Greater Armenia claims broader boundaries than those indicated above, including access to the Black Sea through the incorporation of the Trebizond and Sivas vilayets, on the basis that the Trebizond region is "a thin strip of land interposed between Armenia and the sea," forming a barrier to economic growth. The preponderate population is Christian—Greeks and Armenians. Sivas is claimed on the ground that the Armenians have lived there for 3,000 years. The claims of the Greater Armenia may be plainly seen by reference to the map. The basis of the claim in the Persian, Adrahan, Kars and Erivan regions is that of preponderate Armenian population. There seems little doubt that Armenia will be given a coast boundary on the Black Sea and part of Transcaucasia.

Along the Mediterranean strip, the Armenian

claims conflict with those of Syria and Italy. There is the interesting historical claim on behalf of Syria to the Mediterranean coast region with Cilicia, based on the Syro-Cappadocian Empire, independent even after its conquest by Croesus, until reduced to a Roman province by the Emperor Tiberius, A. D. 17. Later, the Armenians, driven before the Osmanli Turks, made Cilicia an Armenian kingdom. Geographically, the region in dispute, including Cilicia, forms a part of Syria; and under Turkish domination, the vilayet of Adana, of which Mersina is the seaport, was a political and administrative part of Syria. The population is so mixed—Turks, Armenians, Greeks and Syrians—that clean-cut ethnological bases do not exist, although the Armenians are much more numerous than the Syrians. The conflict-

ing Syrian-Armenian claims are very likely to find their settlement in the new Armenia being given free access to the Mediterranean at one point or another. Mersina, even Alexandretta, may be made a free port under French-Syrian administration. The Italian-Armenian conflicting claims regarding the city of Adalia might be similarly solved. If Smyrna should be internationalized, or given a status like that of the cities mentioned above under Greek administration, the whole of Asia Minor on the Mediterranean would be made practically a chain of free ports.

But however the claims be settled by the Peace Conference, the outstanding fact is that the Armenians, by their terrible sufferings and sacrifices, their fighting loyalty to the Allied cause and their tenacious resistance to the Turk for centuries, have won the right to absolute independence from his rule. This right was guaranteed by the Peace Conference in the announcement of the Supreme Council on February 1 of its decision to liberate from Turkish rule all the non-Turkish races. But the Armenian people, with every other people liberated from Turkey, need the protection and guidance of one of the great democratic nations as mandatory. Nubar Pasha Bogus, President of the Central Armenian Committee in Paris, speaking for his people at the Peace Conference, has stated that the new

Armenia favors such a mandatory. Armenia possesses the essentials for a successful future independent state: in adequate agricultural and labor resources; in vitality of life and purpose—the national spirit has never been dimmed through centuries of Turkish oppression; in oneness of religious belief; in administrative capacity. But what the Armenians lack is that which all the Near Eastern peoples lack: the present ability to rise above petty factionalism, a technical knowledge of the essentials of modern progress, financial resources and a necessary protection during their development into an independent state.

Who is to be the mandatory nation for Armenia? What has been said about the United States acting in Turkey applies with much greater force to Armenia, and perhaps with greater significance, since it is more apt to meet with the approval of the American public. There is a moral element of obligation upon the United States to act for Armenia. Because the massacres have reduced the Armenian population to a minority in their own country, Armenia cannot stand alone. Her national development will be opposed, possibly prevented, by her enemies, or be subject to international exploitation. This does not mean that she will need an American army of protection. She already has a not insignificant nucleus for a national army which may either remain such or be transformed into a gendarmerie. The need is that this force be under American command with a few American gunboats to police the Black Sea coast. The fact that the new Armenia is under American protection would of itself be sufficient to remove all fear of encroachment by Turks and Kurds, especially if a firm hand is shown at the beginning. Turkey is now wise enough to know that the old days of plaguing the world with massacres and disorders in the security that international jealousy gave her, are gone by.

If the United States declines to act in Armenia, the international possibilities are significant. While France in all probability will be willing—if the United States accepts a mandatory for Armenia—to forego her claims to territory allotted to her by the Anglo-French-Russian treaty of 1916 (see map), not included within the geographical boundaries of northern Syria, she will naturally want to act herself in that area where she has predominant economic interests, if the United States refuses. In the latter event, Britain and Italy will in all probability ask, in order to safeguard their interests against a preponderance of power in Asia Minor by their ally, that they, too, should share in a mandatory capacity over the rest of Armenian territory—that part assigned to Russia by the entente arrangement of 1916. Thus Armenia will stand to lose her separate national existence through the conflicting interests of the Powers. A



A GREEK BOY OF ASIA MINOR  
The Unredeemed Greeks of Asia Minor Ask Their  
Complete Independence and Also Claim Smyrna  
and the Adjacent Territory

United States mandatory for Armenia would solve this difficulty of international jealousy. France, Britain and Italy, in fact, are insistent that the United States become the mandatory. President Wilson's appeal in his speech at Boston in behalf of Armenia is an inferred evidence that the Powers have asked him that the United States act.

On the material side, the Near East is not only of itself a big field for commercial and economic enterprise, but is also the door to the natural wealth of the Middle East and of Central Asia. There is little reason why the United States should not take as active a part in its economic development as the European Powers. Whether or not the open door is to be made the rule for the Near Eastern countries, the presence on the spot in a political capacity of the competing nations give them an advantage. Fruits of the labor of guidance, if there are to be any, as well as responsibilities, should not be overbalanced in favor of one nation.

As to the functions of the mandatory power, the same arrangement for supervision and inspection

as that outlined for Turkey is generally applicable to Armenia, with the exception that the office of supreme counselor suggested for Turkey will take in Armenia the status of governor, as in the Philippines, or of high commissioner. The power and attributes of the deliberative body of the government should gradually assume greater force, until at the proper time it becomes a fully qualified legis-

are raising the question of "self-determination" for Armenia—the Armenia that they have devastated by massacre—in their reliance that their propaganda among the Moslem masses will carry the day. Can America deny Armenia the moral obligation of American guidance, to help turn a land of murder, a possible breeding ground of international jealousies, into a country of happy and independent people?



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#### THE BEDOUINS WILL BE PART OF ARAB EMPIRE

The New Kingdom of the Hejaz As Proposed Will Make for Britain an Informal Link Between Asiatic and African Possessions

lature. Only by such gradual growth can real progress be made, and this applies as much to Armenia as to any other country in the Near East—Turkey, Syria or Mesopotamia—although one may be more or less adaptable than another for the transition to full independence. The writer, in the interest of the Near Eastern peoples, believes that the American public should know the difference between "self-determination" as expressed in a country such as the United States, and the form it may take among peoples where the supreme "national" tie is religion and sectarianism. Already the Turks

#### MESOPOTAMIA

Great Britain, because of its special interests in Mesopotamia, particularly around the Persian Gulf, is the natural mandatory for that region and will very likely be so assigned. By the Anglo-French-Russian treaty of 1916, the zone of Mesopotamia lying between its northern boundary and a line drawn from the Euphrates near Anah to the Persian frontier south of Erbil was to become a part of a chain of sultanates, in a pan-Arab confederation. A serious problem has arisen out of this plan, in the proposal before the Peace Conference today of an Arab kingdom under the King of the Hejaz.

#### SYRIA

Syria is described in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as "a remarkable homogeneous geographical area with very obvious natural boundaries," whose "northern limit is the Tauric system of mountains and southern limit the edge of the Sinaitic desert," lying between the Mediterranean and a natural inland eastern boundary formed by the Syrian desert and the Middle Euphrates.

The extent of mutilation to which Syria, geographically and as a national entity, is threatened, particularly by the Hejaz movement, as also by the Zionist claims, may be appreciated in the fact that if successful these claims will reduce Syria to a sea-coast zone, cut off from its arteries of life. The Syrian question has become in its relation to the Hejaz claims for an Arab Empire the center of chief concern of the Near Eastern issues. A French-British controversy has arisen over the emasculation of Syria because of the Hejaz plans, supported by Great Britain, from the fact that France is closely connected with Syria through long association, politically, educationally and economically—sufficient ground for making France the natural mandatory for the Syrian people.

Out of the heart of Syria and of northern Mesopotamia, it is proposed to carve a so-called Arab Empire with the king of the Hejaz, now ruling over



his natural domain four to eight hundred miles distant and separated from the contemplated region by Palestine and the Syrian desert, as its destined sovereign! His sons are the prospective rulers of districts of the new lands to the north, which bend east around the top of the Syrian desert, forming an unbroken line from the Persian Gulf and India to the Red Sea and Egypt and other British spheres in Africa.

Under the Anglo-French-Russian treaty of 1916, the proposed Arab sultanates ran from the Mosul region to Aleppo and Damascus. This is the present proposed plan for the new Hejaz Kingdom. By the same treaty, Haifa and Acre, at the southern limit of this region, were to be made British ports, and Alexandretta, at the northern limit, a free port. Palestine was to be internationalized. In other words, the economic life of Syria, thus delimited, would be cut to bare subsistence. The trade of Damascus and the Hauran mountains lying to the northeast of Haifa would find its way through Haifa and Acre, while that of Mosul and Aleppo, destined to regain its former importance, would be of no benefit to Syria, passing through Alexandretta as a free port.

It is claimed that this delimitation of Syria is necessary on the basis of self-determination from the Arab point of view, in the racial unity between the Moslem Syrians and the Arabs of the Hejaz. But although the Syrians adopted the Arabic language after the conquest by the Arabs in the early part of the seventh century, they are not Arabs. The Christian Syrians are of Aramaic, Phœnician and Greek blood, and the Moslem Syrians, especially in the Damascus and Aleppo regions, are to a great extent former Christians, who, for obvious reasons, have adopted the religion of their conquerors. Syria, moreover, is practically a modernized country, while the Hejaz is still as primitive as when Islam first made its appearance. The estimated population of the Hejaz is 300,000, against nearly 3,000,000 in the parts of Syria and Mesopotamia coveted by the newly created kingdom.

In the formation of a pan-Arab state, the real endeavor of the Hejaz Kingdom, whether in behalf of national unity or territorial expansion, should be directed towards the other parts of Arabia, the divisions south of that kingdom—Al-Yemen, Al-Asir and also Nejd—where live people of the same race, the same language and the same religion, of similar sentiments and customs. A confederation of these various tribal communities under the sovereignty of the Hejaz is a large ambition. And due to a spirit of racial factionalism, such a confederation is less likely to be accomplished than otherwise, especially if the King of the Hejaz should aspire to the Caliphate, the title of the head of Islam now held by the Sultan of Turkey, for which the

Hejaz movement is apparently being made a prelude. For this title claims more than one aspirant with various degrees of relationship to the Prophet.

But the goal of the formation of such an Arab state, with the acquisition of the Amaan and Kerak regions of Palestine (strongly Arab in population), which will give the Hejaz access to the Mediterranean through Gaza, should be the maximum of the Hejaz aspirations. Indeed the Hejaz scarcely needs direct connection with the Mediterranean, as the two Hejaz ports on the Red Sea are more than sufficient for the foreign trade of the desert country.

Behind the creation of this Hejaz Empire is the British plan of consolidating Britain's Asiatic and African empires. This is practically accomplished with Syria—the natural bridge for the union of the two continents—placed under a rulership responsive to British influence, even though it may not be under her direct mandatory power, the Hejaz Kingdom being England's making. The same object, however, could be attained over a different path, although less inviting in its fertility. Beginning at Bagdad, a railroad might follow Wadi Hauran to the east of Syria, then open on the territory east of the Dead Sea, reaching the Mediterranean at Jaffa and Gaza instead of Haifa and Acre. This plan would preserve the integrity of Syria.

Britain; because of her century-old Disraeli policy of keeping alive the Ottoman Empire, a policy which contributed to the near extermination of Turkey's Christian subjects, owes it to these peoples to be the most liberal of nations in making amends. Now to force the Syrian question to an issue on the principle of "self-determination" as a basis for creating a so-called pan-Arab Empire in a country where the Moslem masses, due to enforced Christian emigration before the war and to their methodical extermination during the war, are in a majority, is not only a negation of amends, but a negation of the basic object of the formula of "self-determination" itself. Of course the Moslem masses in Syria would flock to the standard not only of the Moslem King of the Hejaz, the descendant of the Prophet himself, but even to the Sultan of Turkey, rather than to the guidance of a Christian nation.

Only yesterday the world witnessed the evidence in the case. For has not Egypt, while in the heat of its nationalist movement, succumbed to its atavistic weakness of religious fanaticism, hoisting the Turkish flag with all that that flag meant to Egypt, of misgovernment, misrule and torture, against what civilized Christian rule brought to the land, of justice and prosperity? This should be a warning, both of what absolute "self-determination" would mean, and what value should be attached to it, when entrusted to fanatical elements. It should bring a serious examination of what might be the consequences to the British Empire, more than to any



A. S. MURRAY

JANISSARIES WHO CAME TO MEET GENERAL D'ESPÈREY WHEN HE TOOK CONSTANTINOPLE

The Janissaries, or Sultan's Guard, Were Originally Recruited by the Forced Levy of Christian Children and Formed the Turkish Standing Army

other, of the encouragement of premature pan-Arab awakening tending under the present order of things to intensify the pan-Islamic spirit rather than to revive the Arab intellect and national spirit.

As for a mandatory for Syria, France should have the privilege of completing her constructive work in the land, an association dating from the Crusades. Syria owes its modernism to France. At least 75 per cent of its educational establishments are altogether French or teach the French language; the *chaussée* and the whole system of railroads in Syria, the harbor at Beirut—the only one of its kind on the Syrian coast—the gas, electric and water works in the same city, are French. The social functions among the better classes, their customs and manners, and even the language in which they generally converse, are French. There is a common bond of sympathy between Syrian and Frenchman in their temperamental make-up. What further qualification should a nation have as a mandatory? Unless, therefore, an ignorant, fanatical

element, which happens to form a majority, has "the divine and inalienable right to *misgovern* itself" and through its misgovernment to become a sore on the body politic of the whole people, then the element of Hejaz rule should be eliminated altogether from the Syrian question. Syrians wish for the new Kingdom of the Hejaz all prosperity and progress, but with their aspirations and ambitions confined to Arabia, where the Hejaz belongs! Syrians wish to safeguard their separate national existence, which Lloyd George was the first formally to promise, in his speech of January 5, 1918, mentioning Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, the Hejaz, each by its own name.

#### PALESTINE

Without full discussion of the merits or demerits of the Zionist aspiration to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine, the fact may be mentioned that the sentiment of the native population in Palestine, whose ratio to the native Jews is as seven to one, is, in general, as strongly against the projected plan for a Jewish homeland as the Zionists' enthusiasm is in its favor. Neither the extreme Syrian view that Palestine should remain an integral part of Syria, nor the Jewish demand that Jerusalem and the holy places be incorporated in the Jewish homeland, are expected to prevail. A solution making Mount Carmel the northern boundary of Palestine, with Jerusalem and the holy places internationalized, should be a satisfactory compromise. As to British interests, mandatory control over the region east and south of the Dead Sea opens a wide territory for connection for a Karachi-Basra-Bagdad-Cairo-to-Cape transportation system, connections for which are probably in contemplation.

No matter how strong the present tendency to create a new political world order on the formula of "self-determination," nationalism in these countries must not at the start be given a greater scope than can be exercised to advantage. Racial bonds surviving centuries of relentless application of the Turkish motto of *divide et impera* partake more of fanatical bias and chauvinism than of sound nationalism. Hence, the unreliability of applying in those countries an absolute formula of "self-determination" as a means of ascertaining the "national" wish of the people. This is particularly the case in Syria, where tactical advantage obtained by the Hejaz contingent, affording the pan-Arab propaganda a clear field, has virtually created a chaotic condition of mind among a people never before accustomed to exercise political liberty or even to think politically. Tact, patience and long years of public school life are needed to recreate racial unity and national life, both long since lost. And furthermore, undue preponderance even of mandatory power in the Near East must be prevented.

# PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

By MANUEL L. QUEZON

"The Filipino people would not be just to themselves if, at this moment when their political separation from the sovereign country is proposed, they should fail to express in the clearest and most definite manner the sentiments and purposes that inspire their action. They therefore deem it their duty to affirm: That Independence, instead of destroying or weakening, will tend to strengthen the bonds of friendship and appreciation created by the gratitude of the Filipino people, not only for the final measure of complete justice and humanity that they confidently expect, but for all the previous disinterested work so splendidly performed for the benefit of the Philippines by so many faithful sons of America; that this gratitude will be the first fundamental fact in the future relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands; that in the present state of the international affairs the Filipino people merely aspire to become another conscious and direct instrument for the progress of liberty and civilization; that in the tranquil course of their years of constitutional development they will maintain for all people inhabiting their hospitable land the essence and benefit of democratic institutions; that they will continue to associate, in so far as this will be acceptable and their strength will permit, in the work of reconstruction, justice, and peace carried on by the United States in continuation of those other undertakings, the high purpose of which was the cause, according to President Wilson 'of the magnificent coöperation during the war'; and, finally, that in thus preserving their best traditions and institutions in the new situation which will strengthen and perfect them, the Filipino people will continue to make this country as heretofore a safe place of law and order, justice and liberty, where Americans and foreigners as well as Nationals may live peacefully in the pursuit of happiness and prosperity and safe in the enjoyment of their property as well as of their rights and their liberty."

—Declaration of the Independence Philippine Commission.

THE Filipino people seek their independence from the United States as a recognition of the ability they have shown in the government of their country and as a fulfillment of the pledge made by America that the independence of the Philippines would be recognized as soon as a stable government could be established therein.

The question whether the Filipinos are capable of governing themselves as an independent nation has been proven beyond any question or doubt. We have, during the administration of Governor-General Harrison, governed the Philippines successfully. We have made our own laws. We have made the administration of those laws effective. All executive departments, with one exception, have been in the hands of the Filipinos. The results of the policy of President Wilson and Governor-General Harrison have been marvelously substantial. That the condition of a stable government is already established in the Philippines is the verdict of America's own representatives in the Islands, Governor-General Harrison and Vice-Governor Charles E. Yeater.

There is no ill feeling on the part of the Filipinos in their desire for independence. At no time in the history of the Filipino-American relations has there been a more cordial feeling on the part of the Filipino people towards their guardian. The war with Germany has proved beyond the peradventure of a doubt the loyalty of the Filipino people. We voted complete adherence to the war policies of the United States and fulfilled every obligation willingly and gladly. We offered an army of twenty-five thou-

sand of our men to go to France and, through voluntary enlistment, raised thirty thousand. These volunteers were of the finest of our young manhood, representing every class, and the fact that they offered themselves voluntarily when there was no draft is evidence of the position of our country.

Another incident during the course of the war which we point to with much satisfaction is the faith the United States Government had in the loyalty of the Filipinos, which they displayed by withdrawing practically every white soldier on the Islands. And we kept the faith as a loyal people should have kept it. The Islands were policed by native troops, and order was maintained quite as well as it would have been with all the force of the American army. This is rather a remarkable fact when we remember that only a few years ago a bitter war, which had lasted three years, between the American troops and the Filipino people, came finally to an end.

The explanation of our popular attitude was that the people of the Philippines believe in the United States. They believe that when the United States passed the Jones Law it meant to carry out the promise it gave. Another reason is that the Filipinos have read all the declarations of the President of the United States—they read his address to Congress on the declaration of war. They believe that he meant every word he spoke when he said that the United States went to war with the purpose of making the world safe for democracy, with the purpose of allowing every country, great or small, to be governed by its own people. That was pre-

cisely what the Filipinos felt when America entered the war, and that is why they stood with the United States in its purpose. We held that it was our duty for our own country and our own ideals to fight with America and to die with America, if need be. We organized a division of Filipino troops. Unfortunately this division did not have a chance to go to Europe because, when everything was ready, the armistice was declared. But we contributed one destroyer and one submarine. We subscribed our portion of liberty bonds to twice the amount we were asked for. We were ready to enter the war, doing everything that was asked by the Government and people of the United States.

Now that the war is at an end, we feel that the time has arrived when the Philippine question should be settled by the Government of the United States. During the last three years the people of the Philippines have not discussed the question of independence. That has made some people feel that the Filipinos are satisfied with their government and do not want any change. That is a mistake. The people of the Philippines have ceased discussing the question of independence for several reasons. One is that the Jones Law emphasizes the promise that independence of the Philippines shall

be granted whenever stable government shall have been established. When that law was enacted the Filipinos felt that it was time for them to do things and not to talk. Therefore, they proceeded to enact those measures which are the basis of the present stable government of the Filipino people. They put into effect the measures which were needed to secure the stable government upon which our independence was to be based. Another reason for not discussing independence was that the people felt that they should do nothing and say nothing which might embarrass the United States during the war. The Filipino people are happy today. They are happier than ever before in the history of the country. They are contented and are accomplishing much. But that they are happy does not mean that they would rather live under the present form of government. It does not mean that they are so grateful to the government that they would live under it always. A grown son is still loyal to his father, and yet he wants to be free, to have a home of his own and to manage his own affairs. The fact that he is leaving his father does not mean that he has forgotten all that his father has done for him. But it is simply human nature that he should want to be his own master.



## THE PROMISE OF THE PHILIPPINES

By MAXIMO KALAW

**T**HE claim of the people of the Philippine Islands to an independent existence has been formally presented to the American people by a delegation of Filipinos composed of representatives of all elements of the Philippine population. The Filipino people maintain that the time has come for the fulfillment of America's promise of independence. The United States has imposed as a condition precedent to the granting of Philippine freedom the establishment of a stable government in the Islands. That such a government is already established is the verdict not only of the Filipinos themselves, but of America's own representatives in the Islands. President Wilson and Secretary of War Baker have openly stated that they are in sympathy with the aspirations of the Filipino people.

It is pertinent at this juncture to discuss the possibilities of the Philippines after the attainment of their independence. The future of the Islands as an oriental country is not as dark as it has been painted. We have no frontier problems, which are

in most countries the most fertile source of international friction and difficulties. Our frontiers are determined by God himself through the tremendous waterways that separate us from the mainland of Asia. Siam, India and China have their frontiers constantly changed because of the oscillating interests that from time to time predominate on either side of their boundary lines. China had to yield Kowloon, because the security of Hongkong as an English possession demanded it. She may have to relinquish even her slight hold on Manchuria, which has been a bone of contention between her two northern neighbors. Japan's proximity to Korea facilitated annexation of that territory, because Korea in the hands of any other foreign power would be a menace to Japan. Similarly, the Liaotung Peninsula has twice changed foreign masters because of its propinquity to Russia and Japan. Siam has had to submit to changes in her frontiers many times and has suffered each time a considerable interference in her domestic affairs.



FIRST JOINT SESSION OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF THE ALL-FILIPINO LEGISLATURE

The Jones Bill of 1916 Abolished the Old Philippine Commission and Established a Senate of Twenty-four Members and House of Representatives of Ninety Members. Elected Triennially. The Filipinos, Now Confident of Their Ability to Govern Themselves, Have Sent a Commission to the United States to Agitate for Complete Independence

The Philippines are geographically more fortunately situated than other oriental countries, in that they consist of a cluster of islands separated from the mainland by large waterways. Although the Archipelago is composed of thousands of islands, the possession of a single one of them is of little use unless it is accompanied by the possession of the whole group. America found that out at the Treaty of Paris. At first she wanted Luzon alone, but the closeness of the islands to one another made her decide to take over all or none. The problem of the international relations of the Philippines with the neighboring countries would also be simplified by the geographical position of the Islands. We hear of the so-called Japanese menace to the Islands. In fact, danger from Japan is the most serious argument advanced against the independence of the Philippines. Japan is pictured as a land-hungry nation, awaiting only the withdrawal of American power from the Philippines for the opportunity to take over the Islands. If we examine the question calmly we shall arrive at certain facts which will help us to consider the question on its own merit. In the first place, it is doubtful if Japan would find it to her advantage completely to colonize the

islands. The task of converting the ten million Christian Filipinos into unwilling Japanese subjects would be fraught with much greater difficulty than that encountered by Japan in the subjugation of other peoples. Dr. Nitobé, the foremost Japanese authority on colonial questions, has commented on the opposition of Filipinos to any attempt at Japanese rule. In an interview published in the *Philippines Free Press* on May 6, 1916, when on a tour of investigation, he said:

"What has been known to us is that they (the Filipinos) welcome the Japanese, and that they look for Japanese rule instead of American control. Some of my friends have put undue confidence in this opinion and published the idea. Unfortunately, I differ from them in their contention. When people are of the same race and in equal relations, one may receive the other well, but it is rash to conclude that because we are of the same race the Filipinos would gladly invite Japan to be their ruler.

"They believe that they are superior to the Japanese. Their customs and manners are influenced by Christianity; hence the unequalled progress in the conception of their treatment of the weaker sex in comparison with that prevailing in other parts



For Eastern Review

THE FAMOUS BENQUET ROAD NEAR BAGUIO, A MOUNTAIN RESORT OF THE PHILIPPINES  
The First Act of the Taft Commission to the Philippines Was to appropriate \$1,000,000 for the improvement of roads. Ex-Governor Forbes, in his brilliant administration, built up a splendid system of roads and earned from the Filipinos the honorable title of "Caminero Forbays," Road-Man Forbes

of the East. The Filipinos are no equals of the Japanese in the matter of politics, national defense, and industry, but possessing as they do such foreign ideas and customs, though ancient, they rather look down upon the Japanese. It remains a serious question, in these circumstances, if they will condescend to look up to the Japanese as their superiors.

"They have, furthermore, not neglected to pay close attention to the Japanese administration in Formosa and Korea. In the Philippines, the natives enjoy unlimited liberty of speech; they write and discuss as they like, and no official intervention takes place. Viewed from this respect alone, would the Filipino welcome Japanese control, when he realized the present conditions of Japan's policy in Formosa and Korea?"

"If Japan should ever attempt to take the Philippines, either peacefully or by force," says an opponent of independence, Carl Crow, in his book *America and the Philippines*, she would immediately be

involved in a fight much more stubborn than the one the United States was compelled to put down. It is impossible to imagine the devoutly Catholic Filipinos ever submitting even to a semblance of rule by a nation as essentially non-Christian as the Japanese, and it is equally impossible to imagine a Christian world allowing such a reverse to the unbroken advance of Christianity."

"It took us three years of exasperating guerrilla warfare," says another American writer, James A. Abbott, "before opposition to our presence finally disappeared. And how did we succeed at last! By killing off as many of the population as possible? Hardly; if that had been our policy, we should be doing it still. We only succeeded when we convinced the Filipinos that we were not there to exploit them."

No great national gain can accrue to Japan through the subjugation of the Philippines. The complete possession of the Islands would scarcely compensate Japan for the probable cost of such a

procedure. It is still an open question whether the Japanese can successfully settle in the tropics. The exceptional opportunities of Davao are at present drawing Japanese to that place, but even there Japanese immigration is still in an experimental stage. It is entirely uncertain whether Japanese laborers can thrive in the other parts of the Islands. Many Japanese believe that with Korea, Manchuria and Formosa, Japan is sufficiently occupied with territorial dominions, and that in the long run it would be more advantageous for her to adopt a policy of righteousness and fair dealing with all nations than to seek new fields of conquest. An assurance to that effect would greatly strengthen her friendship with the Allies and, consequently, her own credit abroad. It is for this reason that Count Okuma, while Premier of Japan, sent the following interesting telegram to the United States on August 24, 1914:

"As Premier of Japan, I have stated, and now again state to the people of America and the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other people of anything they now possess."

Granting, then—at least for the sake of argument—that Japan will not endeavor to colonize the Philippines, what are the principles upon which sound and friendly Filipino-Japanese relations can be built? Japan will surely find the Philippine Republic a friendly neighbor and sister. The Filipinos themselves have nothing but admiration and good wishes for an Asiatic people who, by their own strength, have won the recognition of a hitherto doubting world and have carved their proud name in the council-chamber of the great nations. The Philippines are asking only for an opportunity for free and unhampered development of their people and natural resources, so that they can in their humble way contribute to the civilization and progress of mankind. Is it not clear that both the Japanese and Filipino nations can work in harmony toward the furtherance of their common interests?

Everybody has talked about the wonderful agri-

cultural and commercial possibilities of the Islands. To try to speak of the future that lies in Philippine soil is simply to repeat what every schoolboy has heard time and again. We have been told many times that the Philippines can hold from sixty to seventy million people, that the valley of Cotabato alone can produce enough rice to feed the present population of Davao, that, in short, the entire Archipelago, through scientific cultivation, the development of its natural resources, the harnessing of its wonderful water powers and the development of its commerce, can be converted into a veritable paradise. That the Philippines have every natural advantage for economic independence is amply substantiated.

The problem of government in the Philippines is relatively much simpler than that in any other tropical country of Asia. The Filipino people are already a unified mass, loyal to a centralized government. They have no institutions of royalty, nobility or blood distinctions, which make republican institutions for the time being impossible in Java, the Malay States and the protectorate of Indo-China. Even the strongest opponents of our independence concede us that advantage.

"Contrast the Filipinos with other Malays and the oriental peoples," says Mr. Taft, "and I ask you



COURTYARD OF THE PHILIPPINE GENERAL HOSPITAL, MANILA

The United States May Be Justly Proud of Its Widespread Reforms in the Public Health and Sanitation of the Islands, for Which Dr. Victor Heiser Was Mainly Responsible



to name a people offering more opportunities for development along the lines which American ideals require than the people of these islands. To begin with, they are a Christian people and they have been so for three hundred years. They have no caste or arbitrary customs which prevent their development along the lines of Christian civilization. They differ utterly in these respects from the East Indians, from the Malays of Java and the Malays of the Straits Settlements, and thus make our problem different from and vastly easier than that of England and Holland."

No better material can be found in Asia for the development of a democratic state than the Philippines. The twenty years of American occupation have accomplished wonders in the development of this potential democracy into a practical representative government. Many persons already claim that in spirit the Philippines are today the most democratic country of the Far East. It is for this reason that upon the outbreak of the European War, even before the entry of the United States, the Filipinos were already in spirit with the Allies, for they instinctively felt that democracy was on the side of the Allies, while autocracy was with the Central Powers. They do not, like the Japanese, offer blind obedience to a Mikado, a political attitude which, despite its recognized advantages, is an enduring obstacle to the establishment of democracy in Japan. "The Emperor of Japan," says a distinguished Japanese writer, G. E. Uyebara, "is the center of the State as well as the State itself. He is to the Japanese mind a Supreme Being in the Cosmos of Japan, as God is in the Universe to the pantheistic philosopher. From him everything emanates; in him everything subsists; there is nothing on the soil of Japan existent independent of him. He is the sole owner of the Empire, the author of law, justice, privilege, and honor, and the symbol of the unity of the Japanese nation." The same author confesses that "this mental habit of the people is a great obstacle to the healthy development of representative government. The masses of Japan still maintain a reverential attitude towards the government and look upon the government officials as superiors; they still cannot quite realize that the government is by the people."

Contrast the foregoing attitude with the political philosophy the Filipino leaders of the past have endeavored to instill in the minds of the people and the unstinted adherence of the people to the cause of democracy. Apolinario Mabini, the greatest political writer the Filipinos have produced, drove home to the people the following creed of democracy:

"Thou shalt not recognize in the country the authority of any person who has not been elected by thee and by thy countrymen; for authority emanates from God, and as God speaks in the con-

science of every man, the person designated and proclaimed by the conscience of a whole people is the only one who can use true authority." The national Constitution adopted by the Filipino representatives of Malolos solemnly declares that "sovereignty resides exclusively in the people."

The present government of the Philippines, in spite of its inherent faults, due to the fact that it was framed by an alien Congress, has certainly made it possible to bring to the fore men of undoubted popularity to direct the affairs of the nation. Although not elected at large, but simply by their districts, and later elevated to their posts by representative organs of the people, the three foremost leaders of the party in power—Speaker, Sergio Osmeña, President of the Senate, Manuel L. Quezon, and Secretary of the Interior, Rafael Palma—are recognized by all Filipinos as the ablest men in the party. One of the requisites, the most fundamental one, of a true democracy is therefore fulfilled in the Philippines: that the leaders of the party in power who enjoy the greatest popular support are given the direction of governmental affairs.

There are, therefore, broad possibilities for the Philippines to become democracy's vanguard in Asia, carrying out in practice the principles for which millions of men have died in Europe. The Filipino people are convinced that, in a modest way, they have a future before them and a manifest destiny to fulfill. They feel that this destiny cannot be properly fulfilled unless they are independent from any other nation, free to develop their country and their genius in their own way. It is true that they now enjoy domestic autonomy, but that autonomy is incomplete, for the United States is still legally the absolute master of the destiny of 10,000,000 people. The American flag still symbolizes the sovereignty of another people, no matter how lightly or generously exercised that sovereignty may be. The United States Congress can take away any rights or privileges that have been granted to the Filipino people. Of course, we know that the American people will be true to their word, but the legal status remains just the same—that the Filipino people are not by any means masters of their destiny, but are subject to the complete control and domination of a foreign state. To them the American flag which floats on the public squares and buildings of the Philippine Islands still stands as a symbol of a foreign sovereignty. Consequently, the faculties of the people cannot have an unhampered development along the lines which best suit their particular genius and capacity.

What is, therefore, highly fundamental is the establishment of the independence of the Philippine Islands, the recognition of their international personality, subject to whatever condition the American and Philippine nations may mutually agree





For Eastern Bureau

THE BEAUTIFUL GORGE AND TOWN OF PAGSANJAN ARE A FAVORITE EXCURSION FROM MANILA

The Rich Vegetation of the Archipelago Makes It a Tropical Paradise. About 350 Species of Wood Are Commercially Valuable for Domestic Use or Foreign Trade, and Hemp, Tobacco and Copra Are Extensively Exported. Experts State That the Philippines Through Scientific Cultivation, the Development of Natural Resources, the Harnessing of Its Water Power and the Increase of Commerce Can Support a Population of Seventy Million.

upon as necessary for their protection and safeguard. The Filipino people are too grateful for the benefits received from the United States administration of the Islands not to concede to the American nation whatever privileges or conditions she may impose, consistent with their independence and national welfare.

The Philippines have a future full of promise. It is this future and this destiny that inspire the Filipinos to struggle for an independent existence. Their national self-realization is a cause worth dying for. The American statesman, Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, sums up the Philippine future in the following words:

"Looking ahead, we may see the Islands inhabited by 30,000,000 people speaking the English language, practicing Christianity, skilled in the arts and manufactures and developing a country rich in resources. They will be using American methods, and they will be guided by American standards. They will inhabit a country almost as large in area as Great Britain, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. They will have at their service all the devices of a civilization received as a free gift from the people of the United States. Thereupon, these rich and

fertile islands in the Pacific Ocean, within 500 miles of the Asiatic coast, in the very shadow of the ancient Chinese empire, will be the ground where future ages may witness the prosperous development of a people racially and geographically closely connected with Asia, possessing the language, the education, the standards and the form of government of the United States, the western civilization in the very midst of Asiatic surroundings."

If the end of the great world catastrophe brought about by the greed of imperialistic nations is ushering in a brighter era for smaller peoples, is it too much to hope that the independence of the Philippines, identified as these Islands have been from the very beginning with the noblest ideals of democracy, shorn of all ulterior motives for material aggrandizement at the cost of others, secluded in the corner of Asia, and desiring nothing but an unhampered development of their resources and of the genius of their people, will not find an obstacle in the gallant nations which have so valiantly fought the demons of Prussian autocracy to establish the principles of equality, justice and democracy for all nations?

# A JAPANESE LOG OF MEXICO

Manners and Customs of the Mexicans as Seen by Hatsutaro and Zensuké, Shipwrecked Japanese Sailors of 1842

Edited by STEWART CULIN

THE following story of shipwreck in the Pacific and life in Mexico was related by Hatsutaro, the captain of a Japanese junk, who with twelve companions was rescued from his sinking ship and carried to Cape San Lucas in Lower California in 1842. It tells of life in the little Mexican village of San José on the east coast of that peninsula from April until November, when the captain, with Zensuké, his supercargo, sailed on an American merchant ship from Mazatlan to Macao whence, after some delay, they were forwarded by the Chinese authorities to Nagasaki by way of Amoy, Ningpo, Hangchow and Chapu.

The original book, entitled *Kaigai Iburu*, "Wonderful Stories of the Land Beyond the Sea," appeared in the autumn of 1844, but the translation here used was made from a new edition of five volumes published in 1854. The author's name is not given, the work appearing under the pen name of Seifuen Juwo. Besides numerous colored wood block illustrations there is a map of the Pacific Ocean drawn from a description by Hatsutaro. The copy employed bears the subtitle *Amerika Shinwa*, "New Stories of America," not improbably an addition to bait the already existent curiosity about America.

In August (old calendar) in the autumn of the twelfth year of Tempō (1841) the crew loaded the junk *Eijumaru* with salt, sugar, incense sticks and fifteen bushels of rice for food. The junk had a burden of twelve hundred *koku* and a sail of twenty *tan* of cloth, and belonged to Nakamura Yahei of Nishikunaicho in Hyogo. The crew consisted of the Captain, Zensuké of Kishu, Hatsutaro of Awa, supercargo, and Shichitaro, elder brother of Hatsutaro; Inosuké of Iyo, Risaburo of Noto, Manzo of Idzu, Sambei and Yozo of Oshu, Iwahei of Tarumi Banshu, Sosuké and Kwanjiro of Noto, Takichi of Kyushu and Yaichiro of Kishu.

They sailed from Hyogo on the twenty-third of August and arrived in the harbor of Uruga, Sagami, on the eighteenth day of September, where after the government examination they unloaded seventy bushels of green peas at the warehouse of Tsuka Sotaro, the agent of the shipping merchants. They sailed from there on the nineteenth to go to Nambu in Oshu, but were driven back toward Idzu by a strong east wind, and entered the harbor of

Oujiro on the twenty-third. Leaving Oajiro on the fourth of October and traversing the sea of Boso, they sighted Inubuo, the promontory of Shimofusa, ten or eleven miles from land, on the evening of the twelfth. The wind blew violently at about nine that night and the waves rose so that they had to lower their sail. At eleven in the morning they threw overboard some of their cargo and as the wind and waves were still high on the thirteenth, they had to throw over more. It seemed impossible that they should be saved! But they consulted as to what course they should take, and it was decided that each member of the crew should write his opinion on a slip of paper. They considered



A "BLACK SHIP" OF 1842

The Japanese Chronicler States That Her Two Captains Were Spaniards, Who Had Red Eyes and Hair Like the Red-haired People (English)

these papers as divining lots and drew them after praying. The lot chosen directed them to cut off the mast; accordingly one snatched a hatchet, and made ten strokes. The mast broke suddenly and fell into the sea. After taking stock of their provisions and finding that but three bushels of rice remained, they agreed to limit themselves to one *sho* (quart) a day to be cooked as gruel for the thirteen people. The wind blew incessantly until the seventh or eighth of November. Their food was exhausted. One cannot tell how helpless they were.

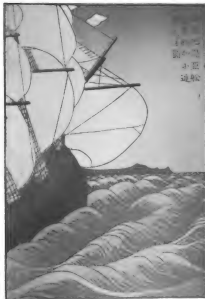
They drifted for about one hundred and twenty days, not knowing how many thousand miles they traveled. One day they saw a ship on the western horizon. As it approached nearer and nearer, they concluded from her many sails that she must be a Black Ship (general term for foreign ships at the end of the Tokugawa period) and they gathered together in fear. The ship came close, circled around them and at last lowered two boats in which were five or six men resembling Dutchmen, with guns about the weight of thirty *me*. The Japanese were fearful, not knowing what violence awaited

them, and unable to make themselves understood in words, prostrated themselves with joined palms. The foreigners seemed to understand that they suffered from thirst and hunger, and showed by gestures, pointing to their ship, that if they would go on board her they would give them food.

At first they did not know to what country the ship belonged, but they were told afterward that she was Spanish. There was a crew of twenty-eight, with two captains said to be Spaniards who had red eyes and hair like the red-haired people (English). The others were said to be from Manerura (Manilla). The pupils of their eyes were like those of the Japanese and their hair black. On the Spanish ship the thirteen Japanese were divided into two parties, one at the bow and the other at the stern, and were made to work every two hours alternately both night and day. The rules were severe, the slightest negligence being punished by ropes. They naturally resented their treatment, but could not help themselves.

One day in the middle of April they saw land on the starboard side. At eleven P.M. the foreigners ordered seven of the Japanese, Zensuké, Hatsutaro, Yaichiro, Takichi, Risaburo, Inosuké and Sosuké, into a boat and directed them to go ashore. They made repeated excuses, since it was night and the land unknown; whereupon the sailors became very angry and struck Zensuké, insisting that the Japanese should enter the boat and be rowed ashore. Threatening them with sticks, the sailors cried to them to land quickly. They were very much frightened but they escaped to the land and the boat returned to the ship. Soon they heard the sound of the anchor weighing and the ship was beyond their sight, and the seven were left standing on the shore not knowing what to do. Hatsutaro and Zensuké said that they had seen a house with white walls in the morning when the ship was anchoring and that they would now go there and ask for help. The others declared they knew from their treatment by the sailors how merciless foreigners were and no one could tell how wicked the people of this land might be. They had seen the sailors talking with them; so it might be that they had been left to be killed. Why should they go and lose their lives that had been rescued with such difficulty? They proposed to stay on the beach until morning and then make plans.

Hatsutaro and Zensuké remonstrated. It was better to be killed quickly than remain tormenting themselves. They would go by all means in search of the house and if the people treated them well they would return; if they did not come back, their companions might conclude they had been killed. Thus they parted and went about three *cho* in the moonlight to a place where a voice was heard faintly. They called and receiving an answer approached



#### LAND NOT AMERICA

After Six Months Adrift in a Junk in the Pacific,  
Thirteen Japanese Sailors Were Rescued by the  
Spanish Ship and Landed in Lower California

and found some people, who appeared much astonished. These people led them to two houses near by, where about twenty persons dressed like the Dutch were sitting outside on a kind of broad floor. They also seemed astonished and asked questions. Being unable to reply in words, the Japanese told by gestures of their shipwreck. The natives seemed to understand, brought some water, and asked by gestures from what country they came. They answered several times "Nippon" in loud voices. The natives seemed to understand, nodded their heads and said "Yabbon! Yabbon!" The Japanese then

jo (three yards). There was a door on the east side and a roof thatched thinly with rushes in bundles of twenty leaves. These rushes are like our *shobu* (sweet flag, *Acorus spurius*). The interior consisted of a large room with a calico mattress for a bed. The kitchen was built separately and contained a clay furnace with an iron kettle or cooking pot. More than twenty people were living in the two houses. Their complexion was white, but their hair and the pupils of their eyes were as black as those of Japanese. One man who appeared to be the master lived in the clay house and generally resembled a European.

This place was called Kabosanroka (Cape San Lucas) and was located on the Baha Karihoruniya (Bay of California) on a narrow strip of land at the foot of the mountains near the sea.

Zensuké and the others stayed here two days and had tea with sugar for breakfast and meat for lunch and dinner. On the third day the natives loaded some dried meat and lard oil on a ship of about two hundred *koku* and took the seven Japanese on board as if to send them away. The bottom of this ship, which was like a European ship, was covered with copper, and the crew consisted of four men. They sailed eastward and arrived at their destination on the third day. On their left a strip of white sandy beach



MEXICAN SOLDIERS OF SEVEN DECADES AGO

Hatsutaro Expresses Admiration for the Mexican Military. The Riflemen, He Says, Shoot Standing, Kneeling, Resting on One Elbow or Lying Down, and the Guns Are Fired with Such Order and Precision That They Sound Like One

told by gestures that they had left five others on the beach and their guide returned and brought back their comrades. Meanwhile the natives spread two ox skins under a big tree and let the seven shipwrecked men sleep together. In the morning two or three women came from the two houses, took the Japanese to their homes, and offered them a drink with sugar in it resembling tea, called *kohii* (coffee). Then, dividing them in two parties, the natives did not let the Japanese enter their houses, but bringing rush mats from the eaves and putting skins underneath gave them meals of *mochi* (bread) made of corn, salt meat and bananas. (They eat the fruit of the banana when ripened to a red color. It is delicious.) One of the houses was made of clay and had walls about three *shaku* (thirty-three inches) thick. The depth of this house was about four *ken* (four yards); its height about one

stretched to the mountains beyond. Soon after their disembarkation, people who resembled the first ones they had seen brought twelve or thirteen horses with saddles like those of Japan, made of white wood with silver decorations. A groom attended each horse. All the Japanese were made to ride, although some of them were obliged to sit behind. After riding about seventeen or eighteen *cho* they arrived at a village of seventy or eighty houses, which they were told was San Hozé (San José) on the Baha Karihoruniya (Bay of California) and under the government of Mehiko (Mexico). Three men who looked like officers were waiting for them at the house at the end of the street. They dismounted and made salutations to the officers and, looking around, lo! they saw Shichitaro and Manzo. Their countrymen told them that the Spanish ship had stopped to get water

here, left them and gone away. While they were discussing all that had happened since they parted and talking about the four comrades who still remained on the ship, some twenty men who looked like merchants came and took the nine Japanese, one after another, according to their choice. Hatsutaro alone remained when a man of gentle appearance, of about fifty years, tried to take him to his home; but at the same time a lady who seemed to be either the wife of the master of the house where they had stopped, or a widow, objected, as if she wanted him. They argued until the man took Hatsutaro by force to his home.

This house had a front of five *ken* (thirty feet) and a depth of three *ken* and was built without foundations, with white walls and a roof thatched with rushes. The household numbered ten, including two maids and one man servant. The rooms were large, each with a bed and mattress. Both men and women were handsome and their food and clothing were like those of the people at the first place. When they rose in the morning they drank a cup of tea with sugar and ate bread made of wheat flour mixed with eggs and baked like *kasteira* (a Japanese word for sponge cake, originally *castella*, showing that this cake was derived from the Portuguese). Both men and women wore shoes. San José is located in the twenty-fifth degree of north latitude, and the climate is so warm that even the sands become dark red so that it is impossible to walk even two or three *cho* with bare feet. Men and women bathe in the river every four or five days, but do not display themselves naked.

Hatsutaro and his eight companions dressed their hair according to the custom of the place and were clothed like the natives. Hatsutaro's master was named Shigeri Chosa (Señor José). It is the custom



GENERAL AND TRUMPETER

In Mexico the Commands Are Given by Trumpet Under the Direction of an Officer With a Big Stick

seven lived by chopping fuel in the mountains, helping cultivate the fields and drawing water or sweeping the yards. When they had leisure the nine would gather together to talk of their native country.

Señor José seemed to have formed a plan for Hatsutaro and suggested several times that he should learn their language. Hatsutaro declined saying it was not necessary. José replied that he would send Hatsutaro back to Japan if he would comply; so Hatsutaro felt obliged to learn the language, which he did little by little. The letters are twenty-eight and the writing, which runs horizontally in different combinations, proved so difficult that Hatsutaro could not go farther than his name. The master changed his clothes every two days and permitted Hatsutaro to do likewise. His meals also were the same as those of his master who took him wherever he went. He favored Hatsutaro in this way because he wanted Hatsutaro to marry his daughter. Once he called Hatsutaro and his daughter to him, and explained the wedding ceremony to them. At times Hatsutaro went with his master to hunt rabbits.

Generally speaking, the land of California faces the sea on either side. Although the distance is not great, the overland journey is said to take forty days, on



PORTRAIT OF A RIFLEMAN

He Carries at His Right Side, Like the "Keen" of a Buddhist Priest, a Bag Containing Cartridges



MEXICAN BELLE AS SEEN BY A JAPANESE ARTIST  
Hatsutaro Notes That the Women Ride Sidewise



ALL MEXICANS ARE SAID TO RIDE  
They Are at Home in the Saddle from the Age of Five

account of the ruggedness of the mountain road on which there are a few houses. The capital of the country is called Mehiko (Mexico) and its inhabitants are few in number compared with its area.

About the beginning of August, Señor José received a letter from the capital of Mexico, which compelled him to go on business to Mazatoran (Mazatlan), some eight hundred miles southeast of San José and separated from it by the inland sea. From this time on, from the middle of April to the end of October, Hatsutaro attended to the domestic affairs of the wife and the children of Señor José.

There was a captain of Lobos named Beron who used to come to San José to visit Señor José. At the beginning of October, when Hatsutaro by chance called at his inn, Beron asked him whether he desired to go back to Japan. Hatsutaro replied that as his old parents were living he could not forget his native country. Beron offered to manage the affair. He explained that Señor José wanted to adopt him and after that there would be no way for him to go. He said that as he went frequently to Mazatlan he knew about the conditions. Dutch ships sometimes came and he had heard a rumor recently that one was anchored

there. If he asked the ship's people to take him it would be easy for Hatsutaro to get home, as Holland had commercial intercourse with Japan. He advised him to talk the matter over with Zensuké. Beron then sent a message to Lobos, writing Zensuké's master of his intention, and brought Zensuké on his ship to San José. Hatsutaro took Zensuké to his own master's home and asked the family to let him go to Mazatlan where he had business to attend to. Señor José's wife and children inquired his object. Hatsutaro answered that he wanted to visit Mazatlan to see his master. The wife and children did not detain him but made him several new suits of clothes in the three days before he started, saying that he must be decently dressed since Mazatlan was a prosperous city. They cooked special dishes for him at dinner and supper. On the twenty-eighth or ninth of October a message came that Beron's ship was ready to sail. By this time the wife and children seemed to have an intimation of the affair, and thinking that Hatsutaro might not come back, shook hands, embraced him and wept at parting. In this country, when intimate friends, men or women, old or young, noble or humble, part, they shake hands and embrace to

express their sorrow. The children mounted on horseback and saw them off at the shore.

They set sail and thanks to fine weather and a strong wind arrived at Mazatlan on the fifth day. The Dutch ship was not there, so they went with Beron to visit Poroneru, the Governor, and told him of their desire to go home. He said there must be some North American ship that would take them to China, and promised to inquire. An officer came from Poroneru soon afterwards and told them that a ship for China was due within four or five days. The two Japanese explained to Beron that they wanted to take their seven companions with them as their work was harder than their own. Beron replied that ships sail from this country to China only once every year or two, so that if they missed this one he did not know when they could return to Japan. Hatsutaro and Zensuké discussed the matter and decided that if they could get home and do no more than tell the families of their companions that they were well, they would rejoice, and decided that if they were too scrupulous and missed this ship all nine must remain, possibly to die. They told Beron their decision, who agreed, and took good care of them, arranging for them to stay in a house like a traveler's hotel. Meanwhile, Señor José, who was in Mazatlan before their arrival, heard about them and came to their lodgings. He told Hatsutaro that he need not go home, for if he would remain he would let him marry his daughter, and would give him ten thousand pieces of silver as dowry, with which he might begin business and live easily all his life. "Won't you stay?" he asked. Hatsutaro replied "Your kindness during these months has been deeper than the sea. Never will I forget your generous efforts to detain me, but as I have left my old parents at home, I must return to support them. I am very sorry." He prostrated himself before his master and sobbed. Beron joined in entreaties and at last Señor José yielded, and when the two men went on board, he shook their hands and embraced them and wept over parting.

The population of Mazatlan is about seven hundred. The houses, mostly two or three storied, are clay-roofed with red tiles, and the eaves extend in a line through each block. The street is broad and the shop windows display many glass bottles containing wine, and in the cloth shops are *rasha* (woolen cloth), *gorofukuren* (camel), *kanakii* (muslin) and *sarasa* (calico). There are also many butcher shops.

Both Beron and the host of the traveler's hotel took Zensuké and Hatsutaro to the rich people of Mazatlan and asked their help in sending the Japanese home. Some gave five or ten, some twenty or thirty pieces of silver, and even fifty pieces were given by an especially rich family. The total sum

was two hundred and sixty pieces from which, after paying a hundred to the ship for passage and buying clothes and wine, they gave one hundred and forty to Zensuké and Hatsutaro for the expenses of the voyage. The kindness of Señor José who loved Hatsutaro as his son can never be forgotten, and the generous offices of Beron in sending them back to their country also must be recognized. It must have been through the protection of gods and Buddhas that they met with such good-hearted people; so they were hopeful that their way over many thousand miles of waves to Japan would not be hard.

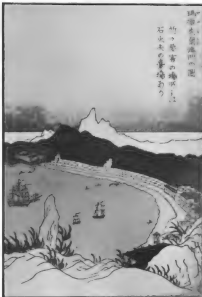


CURIOUS MEXICAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

The Bride and Groom Stand Opposite Each Other and a Cord Is Placed Around Their Necks As in the Japanese Game of "Kubibiki" or Neck Pulling

They left Mazatlan the beginning of November, 1842, and sailed westward. Their ship was seventeen *ken* long, with two masts and more than ten sails, besides three supplementary sails. The nine members of the crew were all Americans, who, as they were going out to buy goods in China, had no cargo but money. When they hoisted the numerous sails to favoring winds the speed of the ship was indescribable. The men on the vessel told Hatsutaro and Zensuké that the ships of China and Japan become blind when they lose sight of the mountains

but on their ship they take the sun as a mountain in the daytime, and the stars at night, and even when they sail on the boundless sea, are quite at ease whenever they can see the sun or stars.



THE PORT OF MAZATLAN, MEXICO

Thither Fared Hatsuaro with the Hope of Obtaining Passage for Himself and His Shipwrecked Companions on a Dutch Ship Bound for Japan

They entered the spring of 1843 at sea. As they approached at last the China shore the color of the water became muddy and far out from the land there were many Chinese fishing junks. About seventy days after they left Mazatlan they arrived at Omon (called Macao in the foreign language) at the mouth of the port of Canton, and on the third day after their arrival the officers ordered Hatsuaro alone to land. After he had walked a little distance, Chinese tradesmen gathered around him and tried to ask him many things. Not being able to understand, he wrote on the sand, "I Japanese," upon which they nodded and led him to another place. The houses in Macao number about ten thousand with numerous shops. The streets are very narrow. The master of the house where Hatsuaro lodged, although he appeared to be a Hollander, was said to be an American. There were about thirty foreign ships anchored in this port and

Englishmen, Portuguese and Hindus thronged the streets. Hatsuaro found five Japanese in his house, two natives of Kaga and three natives of Higo, who had drifted there some ten years before.

In April, Hatsuaro heard that there was a ship about to sail from Macao northeast to Chapu, and he boarded her on the tenth of that month.

It is said to be a general rule that shipwrecked mariners from foreign countries are forwarded from Canton by official order by land through Kiansi, crossing Lake Po-yang, and arriving at Chehkiang. If they are sent to Macao they go by ship, either through Ningpo or Fuchau. The end of May Hatsuaro arrived at Ningpo, and on the twenty-sixth of June at Hangchow, where they remained until the ninth of July. After landing at Chapu, much to Hatsuaro's surprise, on the eighth of September, Zensuké unexpectedly appeared. He told Hatsuaro that he had landed in the middle of February and had traveled by sea, stopping at Funayama and arriving at Chapu that very day. They were very happy now and congratulated each other on their health and safety. They remained at Chapu one hundred and thirty days during which they had baths once in five days.

On the third of November Hatsuaro and Zensuké sailed on a ship named Sentai. They were given the place at the stern where they put the hawsers, so they suffered great inconvenience. On the voyage they saw islands, but the crew would not tell their names, saying that it was unnecessary for them to know, nor did the crew permit them to see the compass or other nautical instruments.

At midnight of the last day of the month they saw the fires burning on the mountains of Goto. They felt then as if they were ascending to heaven. On the morning of the next day, the first of December, they sailed close to the mountains. It is the custom on Chinese ships when the crew see the mountains of Goto, as well as the mountains of China on their return, to kill chickens and offer rice wine to the gods. The sailors, reveling and congratulating, made these sacrifices and gave wine and food to the Japanese. On the third of December the ship anchored in the port of Nagasaki. They all spent three days in the court yard of the government office of Tateyama, and were questioned about everything that had happened from the time of their shipwreck until their arrival in foreign countries, their voyage to America and their journey home by way of Macao, Ningpo, Hangchow and Chapu. While they were confined they were given soup and pickles for breakfast, boiled fish for dinner, and tea in the evening. On the twenty-seventh of July one of the guards told them that officers had come to take some of them home. Hatsuaro was delivered to these officers on the fifth of August, 1843, and arrived home on the twenty-first of that month.



# LI PING

## Modern Irrigation Engineer of Ancient China

By H. K. RICHARDSON

**F**EW areas of three thousand square miles are so nearly self supporting as the Chengtu plain in Szechuan, western China. Everything needful for the sustaining of human life is found here except salt, sugar and cotton, which are found on hills near by. The region owes its unusual fertility to the wonderful irrigation system which reaches practically every acre on the plain. Since 200 B.C., when the irrigation system was inaugurated, this plain has had its regular succession of three crops per year—hemp, or *ramie*, tobacco and wheat harvested in April; rice in August; and small vegetables in October. A crop failure or serious shortage is not on the records. The district supports in comparative prosperity a population of 5,000,000 people.

The Chengtu irrigation system is one of the most noteworthy examples of an early engineering feat and deserves to rank with the Pyramids. The head waters of the system are in the foothills of the Tibetan Mountains at the city of Kwan Hsien, where the Fu Kiang breaks through the northern part of the plain and makes its mad rush toward the sea. The river bed falls in level 1,200 feet during its 70 mile trip along the edge of the plain. Some idea of the magnitude of the engineering task may be realized from the fact that the flow during a freshet is not far from 30,000,000 cubic feet of water a minute, approximately the flow of the Niagara River.

The irrigating water is taken from the main river just before a gap in the hills is reached and is conducted by an artificial river through a gorge cut in the mountain side. After passing the mountain barrier the artificial river is divided into three main branches which in turn are subdivided and subdivided again until an irrigation ditch serves every acre of the plain. One of the main branches flows along the foothills at the northern edge of the plain and, passing through a gap in the eastern part of the plain, enters the watershed of the Kialing Kiang. The larger number of the irrigation ditches gradually converge toward the southwestern corner of the plain where they join at Chiang Ko to form the Fu Kiang, which flows down to meet the Yangtze River. The large rivers that pass around Chengtu, the capital city of the province, serve as the city moat as well as its means of communication to the south. All heavy freight arrives at the capital over these rivers.

The regulation of the flow of water into the irrigation ditches is one of the most ingenious parts of

the plan. First, the cut in the hill was made just wide enough so that the volume of water entering when the gauge stood at a predetermined level would fill without overflowing the ditches everywhere over the plain. A flood due to overflowing of the ditches is a rare occurrence. Second, to prevent the water from rising higher than the gauge, the artificial river is provided with by-passes before it reaches the gorge. These by-passes allow all the excess water that cannot enter the gorge to flow back into the main river. This entire section of the artificial river has banks flanked with baskets of bamboo filled with stones—masonry and various permanent banks have been tried but given up in favor of the bamboo baskets replaced each year during the dry season.

The more one sees of the system the more respect one has for the man who, two thousand years ago, without modern instruments, was able to accomplish such wonderful results. There is no more eloquent testimony to this ancient engineering work than that of a member of the Royal Engineers, who, standing at the head waters, said: "The Chinese have unconsciously achieved a great engineering feat much along the same lines followed out in India by the British Government in dealing with such rivers as the Godavari."

Today, except for the stretch from Chengtu south, the irrigation ditches support no boat travel. A great future awaits the advent of the light draft motor boat, which will make the river available both for irrigation and transportation. Then living will be cheaper for the city people who will have the produce of the plain available at water freight rates and not that of coolie carriage.

Many a time our engineering imagination has been curious to learn how Li Ping, the engineer who developed the system, discovered the different levels on the east and west sides of the plain and how he was able to plan so well the whole system without an understanding of modern science. History is silent on the details of his work, but legends abound, which must contain germs of truth.

Li Ping was born about 200 B. C. His father was related to a tribal chief who lived north of the town of Kwan, where Li was born, at the northern extremity of the Chengtu plain in the kingdom of Wu.

The big river running past his boyhood home was a source of great wonder and joy to Li. He

never tired of hearing the village story-teller describe the beginnings of the river and how in earlier years the Beneficent Dragon had come to the aid of the flood-stricken people. Such stories are current today in the tea shops of the same village—only Li Ping's name is added to the list of heroes about whom the story-teller delights inextricably to weave romance and truth into a single fabric.

The swift flowing river was at the same time a bane and a blessing for Li's countrymen. The people on the Chengtu plain depended upon the river to supply the water necessary to irrigate the rice crop. But every few years the river would overflow its banks and inundate large areas of newly planted rice. In addition, large amounts of fertile land were annually carried down river.

Early in life Li Ping learned by experience of the destructive nature of the spring freshets. One night soon after he had passed his fifteenth birthday, a sudden rise in the river nearly surrounded the house before anyone awoke to discover the danger. Li was hurriedly pulled out of the warm *pukai* in the middle of the night and told to take the ancestral tablet and a string of cash and run for the hills. The whole family reached higher ground safely with the ancestral tablet, a little rice and the family savings. Two days later when the river subsided, no trace of the Li family's house could be seen. Even the land on which it stood had been carried away. Next to life itself the loss of the family home is the greatest misfortune a Chinese can have. The Li family, homeless, built themselves a humble mat shed.

This calamity to the Li family was a blessing in disguise sent by the good spirits for the benefit of the people of the plain, for the family misfortune so impressed itself on the mind of young Li that all his waking moments were given to the consideration of ways and means of averting future catastrophes. During the flood that uprooted the Li family over one million of the plains folk were made homeless and the next summer and winter they endured much suffering because of the failure of the rice crop. Daily, Li besought the good spirits to help him find some way of serving his people, and he spent many an hour burning incense at the altar in the temple of the Beneficent Dragon. Again and again Li appeared before the image of the guardian spirit of the plain and laid his case before him. The good spirits could not long resist such earnest devotion. One day while Li was earnestly imploring the aid of the gods at the temple altar, a bright sunbeam suddenly appeared at his side. Quickly he arose and looking around saw that the sun was shining upon the mountain overhanging the temple. The strange thing was that there was a rift in the cloud so that only a single beam shot out. This beam traced a line straight down the mountain side.

The river enters the plain through a narrow gap not over one hundred yards from the spot where the sunbeam traced its line upon the mountain that forms the northern barrier to the plain. Titan, when he made this part of the world, threw up all around the plain a mountain barrier two thousand feet high. Melting snows upon the mountains to the north brought down enormous volumes of water which overflowed the rim and made an inland sea of the plain. Displeased with the lack of foresight which he had shown, Titan took his pick and cut a hole in the northern barrier so that the snow water could run unobstructed along the western side of the plain and find its way to the ocean. Titan did a good job, but part of his work was undone at a future time by some spiteful evil spirits. At the time of our story a big mountain jutted out into the river and made a very narrow gap through which the water could pass. It was along this fork that the sunbeam had traced its golden line.

Li Ping was sorely troubled as to the meaning of his vision and wondered why his attention had been directed towards such a formidable obstacle to the flow of the water. Faithful to the vision, however, he kept his mind and eye open to catch the significance of what he had seen. He was not to wait long. One day while playing with a chum in the courtyard of a farmhouse not far from the riverside on the north side of the mountain barrier, the two boys upset a jar of water. Instead of flowing toward the river the water flowed away and toward the hill. Young Li, alert to catch any hints from the gods, suddenly remembered the sunbeam on the southern slope. Looking toward the place on the mountain where the sunbeam had been, he followed a line down through his feet and found that the spilled water was running along this line.

Some time later young Li was on the other side of the mountain slope flying his big dragon kite, as is every boy's privilege on his birthday. Slowly the big kite dragged him along the street till he was clear of the village and could look up at the mountain. Along the road came a water coolie with his two buckets suspended from the shoulder pole. Young Li, intent on watching his kite, was suddenly lifted from the ground by a gust of wind and the pole was knocked from the coolie's shoulder. The abuse and protest of the offended coolie was not sufficient to affect young Li, who stood aghast, for there before his eyes the water from one of the buckets flowed toward the river, while the water in the other bucket flowed away from the river. Surely the gods were kind to him on his birthday, for he had accidentally discovered the dividing of the watershed on the southern side of the mountain.

As he stood looking at the mountain a sunbeam broke through a rift in the ever present mist and traced a thread of gold from his feet up the moun-

tain side. It was shining in the same place as the beam he had seen in the temple; an instant later it was gone. Like a flash he recalled his experience on the northern bank of the river. Quickly the plan came to him: if he pierced a hole in the mountain following the line of the sunbeam, the flood water of the river could be conducted along the eastern side of the plain. Two birds would be hit with one stone—the river itself would not overflow its banks when in flood and the eastern half of the plain would receive water for its rice crops.

Li went straight home and discussed the discovery with his family till long after the watchman had beaten the fourth watch. They decided that it was entirely feasible to follow the sunbeam and cut a gap in the mountain. Father Li was a stone cutter and knew that it was only a question of sufficient men and time.

Wise old Mother Li saw at once that the greatest difficulty would be the superstitions of the neighborhood. Every mountain peak controls the *feng shui* (wind and water) supposed to influence the destiny of the village or temple near by. If a gap were to be cut in the mountain, the wind (*feng*) would alter its direction and no one could predict whether the new way would be good or bad for the village. If the cut were not made in accordance with the wishes of the gods, the water (*shui*) flowing through the cut might open up a convenient path over which the *gwei* or evil spirits would come and harass the lives of the villagers. So Mother Li convinced the family that the first task before them was to prove to the villagers that the *feng shui* would be altered for the good of all concerned.

The good spirits were on the side of the Li family, for one night the village was awakened by a sullen roar in the mountains at the north end of town. At dawn crowds rushed out the north gate to learn the cause of the uproar; just a little outside the gate they found that quite a piece of one of the hills had slid into the river. To the credulous natives, landslips are regarded as evidence that something in the neighborhood is displeasing to the gods. Naturally during the discussion which took place the old legend regarding the formation of the gap in the mountain through which the river then ran was brought to mind.

Years before, the gods of the plain and the gods of the hills had a falling out. The gods of the hills who were closest to the god of heaven prevailed on him to punish the gods of the plain by throwing a mountain barrier across the river and diverting the water from the plain around the hills to another watershed. Thus the plains folk were without the water necessary for their crops. The contour of the hills at this point confirms the legend, for the river valley above the mountain barrier is wide, and the hill that makes the gap through

which the river flows juts out abruptly from the eastern mountain like the gate in a lock canal. With famine staring them in the face the plains folk determined to get rid of the spiteful barrier. One of their number so endeared himself in the court of the hill gods that after a service of more than usual value he was promised anything he might desire. He asked for the removal of part of the river barrier. The gods granted his request, but in order not to lose their revenge they made the opening very narrow; and diverting to the gap the waters of three of the mountain rivers, caused the river to run very swiftly through the gap. Many a plainsman had lost his life there while piloting a raft of logs. At the time of the spring freshets the tremendous volume of the three rivers caused the river to overflow its banks and brought untold misery to the plains folk. The plainsman, angry at the spiteful way in which his reward had been carried out, lost his temper and in the choicest of Chinese invectives called down the wrath of his ancestors on the hill gods. Alarmed at the possibility of ancestral wrath, the gods in solemn council sentenced their former favorite to be chained to a stone near the gap, where the rising waters of the spring floods would drown him. The good spirits who watch over all upright Chinese came to the rescue of the chained plainsman and turned him into a dragon so that he could endure the water. The plains folk erected over the stone to which their benefactor is chained a temple called *Fu Lung Guan*, or Beneficent Dragon Temple. At times the ground shook and trembled so that his beloved plainsmen would still know that he remembered them and wished to come to their aid. Many a landslip had been caused by this uneasiness. But at the time of Li Ping none of these slips had occurred for many years.

Old Mother Li saw her opportunity in the landslip and skilfully took advantage of the situation to suggest that the Beneficent Dragon was unhappy that his work had been only partly accomplished and that he still grieved over the loss of life and property of his plains folk at the flood season. This suggestion so well fitted into the tradition that it found ready acceptance. Everywhere speculation was rife as to what should be done to correct the conditions that were such a source of sorrow to the Beneficent Dragon. Mother Li suggested that it would be a good idea to cut a gap in the hills and allow the water to run out on to the eastern part of the plain. "*Cut a hole in the mountain!*" A storm of protest arose immediately for that would disturb the *feng shui* of the village and result in dire peril for them all. Just at this time news was received in the town that Ma Da-hsin (Mr. Great Heart Horse) of the illustrious Ma (Horse) family had died at Shindu, the capital city



of the kingdom of Wu. Ma Da-hsin at the time of his death was treasurer of the kingdom and was noted for his great heartedness and liberality. Like every good Chinese his body had to be brought back to his native town of Kwan for permanent burial. In due time the court geomancer arrived in state to locate the place where the departed soul could rest in eternal peace. No spot could be found where the soul of the illustrious departed could rest in peace, for either it would be disturbed by contrary winds (*feng*) or stagnant water (*shui*). Those who wish their ground bought for burial purposes must offer a generous gift to the geomancer, the amount varying with the importance and wealth of the deceased. Mother Li, wise in the ways of the geomancy guild, quietly approached him with the suggestion of a hillside to the north of the town. The only objection to this site according to the geomancer was the fact that the warm south wind, the wind so comforting to a departed soul, was prevented from reaching the site by the mountain barrier, the same barrier that caused the trouble in the river. Mother Li, distressed lest their town should lose the honor of receiving the dust of one so noted as Ma Da-hsin, asked if the removal of the end of that mountain would make the one spot available. The geomancer thought long and hard and finally agreed to the proposition, provided that the body was not moved to its resting place until at least half of the end of the barrier had been removed. Polite society forbids us to divulge the amount of cash that Mother Li gave the geomancer to obtain such a decision.

By common consent the duty of carrying on the work necessary before the body of the illustrious Ma Da-hsin could be brought to its final resting place fell upon the Li family.

Slowly but surely the top of the mountain was cut away by the industrious workmen engaged by the elder Li and his family and soon the half opening needed to allow the warm south wind to blow on the grove of white cedars was made. Great preparations were made for "the day" and great was the rejoicing when the caravan bearing the body of Ma Da-hsin appeared in the distance. Imposing was the caravan; the thirty-two bearers carrying the red coffin of the dead official were all in white, and were followed by a wonderful cortège of officials resplendent in their embroidered silk state robes. Headed by the bearers of the paper images, the procession passed around the city to the final resting place under the cedars.

Old Father Li soon followed the illustrious Ma Da-hsin to his grave, and all work stopped. After a sufficient time consistent with Chinese custom young Li Ping, now using his official name, Li Er-wang, or Li the second, took up the work laid down

by his father. After many years he saw the water pass at last through the cut and out on to the plain through the artificial river. Having successfully completed his work, Li Er-wang spent the rest of his life educating the plains folk to use the new river and encouraging them to build the necessary ditches to connect with the larger streams. To-day, two thousand years after his death, the whole three thousand miles of the Chengtu plain, laced and interlaced with large and small irrigation ditches, bear silent testimony to the success of his educational endeavors. In the course of centuries these ditches have naturally grown bigger until at the lower or southern end of the plain they are in reality rivers of considerable size and it is hard to realize that they are artificial beds for the river many miles distant.

Li Er-wang, shrewd student of human nature that he was, saw that it was necessary continually to remind people to repair the banks of the river as well as to keep the head waters cleared from stone and dirt. To insure that these repairs would be done on schedule he left the maxim "Keep the banks low and the channels clean." To make this advice more emphatic, he had two large iron bars weighing one thousand pounds each embedded in the artificial river bed just where it leaves the main river, with instructions that they should be uncovered in the cleaning out each year to guarantee the thoroughness of the work. The present bars bear the dates of A.D. 1265 and 1775. Every winter when the river is at its lowest stage the Chinese, true to the memory of their illustrious ancestor, clean out the head waters of the system down to the iron bars and repair the banks. This practice followed year by year with never a miss in two thousand years has freed the plain from flood and famine, which from time immemorial have devastated the Yellow River district.

So grateful were the plains folk for the relief that the irrigation system afforded, that they have erected a temple called Er Wang Miao, sacred to the memory of Li Er-wang, just opposite the dividing point in the two rivers, about a mile north of the cut in the mountain made for the artificial river. The office of the water commissioner for the whole system is in a side temple where all the business connected with the irrigation work is transacted. The father has not been forgotten in the honors given to the son, for in the interior city of Chu Hsien is a beautiful little temple in his memory. As a tribute and a reward for the fidelity of the tribesmen whose help assured the success of the work, the low ground between the forks of the mountain at the divide in the river was set aside permanently for their exclusive use.

## THE SCULPTURED BIBLE OF BORO BUDOR



*Courtesy of the Netherland Indian Government*

Buddhism has left the world no greater record of its highest spiritual expression in art than the hill temple of Boro Budor in central Java. In the herculean labors involved, it humbles the pyramids of Egypt; in grandeur of conception and execution it surpasses the storied monuments of India. Boro Budor, which was built in the eighth or ninth century of this era, is an eloquent plastic history of that golden age of Javannese culture when Buddhism was at its zenith in the island. Later, as creed followed creed and Islam finally took complete possession of Java, the splendid Buddhist temples fell into neglect. Boro Budor was completely forgotten, overgrown with tropical vegetation and buried under strata of soil turned up by frequent earthquakes. It remained a mere tree covered hill until Sir Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Java in the few years of British rule (1811-1816), sent engineers to excavate and survey Boro Budor. Two hundred coolies spent six weeks merely on the crude work of unearthing the monument and extricating it from the tenacious underbrush. The Dutch continued the survey and restoration begun by the British. Much has crumbled in ruins, but the Boro Budor still rises majestically with its stupas and crowning dagoba, the essence of aspiration turned heavenward—the greatest epic of Buddhist architecture in the world.







Courtesy of the Netherland Indies Government

The inner and outer walls of the Boro Budor are decorated with almost two thousand bas-reliefs, representing an infinite variety of subjects and vividly portraying the life and philosophy of a Javanese culture that blossomed and died eleven centuries ago. The frescoes of the lower tiers present multiple scenes from secular life—fishermen, hunters, farmers in their varied activities; royal personages, with slaves kneeling and offering incense; warriors with their spears and maidens dancing. Rollicking elephants with a sense of humor fling out their feet like dancing girls and carry fans and state umbrellas in their trunks. Sculptured ships resemble in design the ships with banks of rowers seen in Egyptian stone engravings. The palms, breadfruit, pomegranate and mangoes—all the luxuriant fruits and trees of this most luxuriant island are gracefully immortalized in stone. The devout pilgrim to the temple is gradually weaned from the affairs of this life to the contemplation of eternal things. The friezes of the upper galleries represent the most important events in the life of Gautama Buddha—his birth, education, marriage, his acceptance of the ascetic life—all woven pictorially around the many legends connected with his name. The friezes, in their gradual evolution from the glories of the flesh to the inner meaning of existence taught how a Buddhist could attain salvation if he forsook the vanities of this world and led a virtuous life.











# IF JAPAN REFUSES?

By PUTNAM WEALE

UNTIL Japan defeated China in 1894 the condition of her armaments, her finance and her industry was of a modest and even primitive nature. She had an army of a hundred thousand soldiers, a navy comprising a few protected cruisers, a silver currency mixed with the remains of an abortive national bank system copied from America and a foreign trade of a hundred million dollars a year. By her treaty of peace, however, she received forty million pounds in sterling; established a gold exchange standard, which was maintained by keeping in London her main stock of the yellow metal (a practice continued even today, which has a profound and little understood effect on Far Eastern politics); and almost immediately recovered from western nations her passionately contested tariff and the judicial autonomy.

It is from this date, then, that Japan enters international politics—the rock on which she built was defeated China. Prior to that she had barely been a third-class power, with little vision of greater days. Troubled by many internal problems, her efforts to cope with the reorganization of her finances had signally failed. It is true that the matter of her inconvertible paper money had been solved and a central bank of issue, modelled on the Belgian National Bank, established long before Chinese wealth had been tapped. But without the stock of gold won by the Korean War it is difficult to believe that her exchange standard, which is the head and front of her banking and industrial system, could have been created. In this, as in other matters, Japan's prototype—absolutely and entirely—was Germany of the *post* 1870-71 period. Germany was her light and her guide and every step that Prussia took after her defeat of France was sedulously copied.

Although she emerged from the war financially satisfied, Japan was in many ways greatly embittered. Her original treaty of peace, which had included the cession of Liaotung Peninsula, had been torn up by the action of Russia, Germany and France, who had interposed a blunt fiat backed by battleships; and she had been forced to give back to China what she had already annexed. She was bitterly hurt by this—both on account of the international humiliation and because her real motives had been misunderstood. She had believed that the only method of terminating Manchu intrigue in the Korean Peninsula was completely to cut off all land contact between the Courts of Peking and Seoul; the Liaotung was therefore desired not so much as a Japanese colony as a buffer territory between two

capitals united by historic ties and by a thousand-mile long imperial highway along which periodically journeyed Korea's tribute missions. Obsessed with this point of view, which was totally unrelated to world politics, she received a very great shock to her pride when she was peremptorily shown that the Yellow Sea was not a lake, but part of a general scheme of things which she must envisage as a whole with her eyes specially fixed on the heavy guns.

The action of England with reference to the Far East had been different from the action of the three continental Powers. England had declined to be associated with the intervention, although during the period of the war she had frankly warned Japan off all China treaty ports, declaring that she would not tolerate interference with her trade. Nevertheless she was so friendly that it was largely due to her initiative that tariff and judicial subjection were so rapidly abolished. By 1895, therefore, Japan had certain very clear cut ideas on international politics. She had been given practical proofs of hostility and of qualified friendship; and American silence had told her that the United States as a world power was more of a theory than a fact. Japan was still so weak that she did not dare to challenge what almost immediately took place in Korea because the buffer-territory idea had been destroyed; and the fearful assassination of the old Korean Queen by *Soshi* and secret agents of the Japanese Legation showed how desperate the collapse of her plans had made her. Russian influence now not only took the place of Chinese influence in Korea, but by her railway plans the great northern Power showed that her goal was the ice-free waters of the Yellow Sea which she desired to dominate. The curious and perverse diplomacy of Li Hung-chang, which began with secret conversations at the Tsar's coronation in Moscow in 1896 and finally resulted in the cool Slav seizure of Port Arthur, were daggers in the heart of Japan—which she was unable to ward off. But in 1900, on the occasion of the Boxer explosion, by winning the esteem of the world through the excellence of her expeditionary force, she prepared the ground for what subsequently happened. The Colossus of the North, after playing for more than half a century like a cat with a mouse with Chinese sovereignty, had become too bold. Casting off the fiction of friendly coöperation which had been her insistent cry ever since Muravieff had first sailed down the Amur in the middle of the nineteenth century, Russia had invaded all Manchuria and established garrisons even



SUPREME COURT AT MUKDEN, CAPITAL OF MANCHURIA, THE GREAT CHINESE PROVINCE UNDER JAPANESE DOMINATION SINCE THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

*During the European War, the Japanese Consolidated Their Control Over Manchuria by Means of a Ninety-nine Year Lease in a Treaty the Chinese Are Strenuously Fighting at the Peace Conference*

at the mouth of the Yalu. Her intrigues in Seoul to obtain the lease of a harbor at the toe of the Korean boot—Masampo for choice—became so insistent that the Mikado's country seethed with rage.

In 1904 Japan hazarded the impossible. The splendid gesture which involved her in war with Russia was forced on her: it was in every sense a war which had to be fought if Japan were to retain her real independence. There is no question but that Russia directly and categorically refused all real accommodation: she bluffed to the very end. Japan fought hard and won a qualified victory which would have been much more justly settled had it not been for the impetuosity of the late President Roosevelt. The treaty of peace, which should have been signed in Peking and not on American soil, had all the surrounding circumstances been properly understood, was an unfortunate instrument; like the Lansing-Ishii Notes, it is a monument of haste rather than prescience. A wiser policy would have regarded the scriptural invocation regarding peace makers as politically unsuitable to the circumstances and left the protagonists strictly alone. Had that been done both Japan and Russia would have come to their senses and all history might have been different in the West as in the East, for both were not more than four or

five months from complete exhaustion. Empty ammunition-fourgons, depleted battalions and ominous murmurs from the civil population—these are the only things that bureaucratic governments understand and appreciate.

## II

We have said the Russo-Japanese treaty of peace should have been signed in Peking: had it been so it would not have been necessary to have had a double arrangement—one between Japan and Russia, to be followed by a separate ratification between China and Japan. Too little attention has been directed to the action Japan took in December, 1905, in the Chinese capital. All the essential business—the business really worth recording as a result of the territorial struggle with Russia, since it involved the lord of the soil—took place here. Briefly, it was in this month of December, 1905—fourteen years ago—that Japan first clearly showed political immorality. From the practical point of view all that the Portsmouth Treaty had done, with the exception of recognizing the old Japanese claim to half of Saghalien, was to record an accomplished fact: namely, Russia's international humiliation because of the failure of her army and navy. The

curious connection of China with the imbroglio, arising from the circumstance that the entire war had been waged on her soil and was directly concerned with certain grants she had been induced to make in the matter of a harbor, in the matter of two railways and in the matter of the Yalu forest concession—this curious connection was never rightfully considered and China was treated as negligible. Since Manchuria was as Chinese as the metropolitan province of Chihli, a proper and decent neighborly spirit, not to speak of expediency and foresight, should have prompted Japan to insist on the settlement being a tripartite agreement to which three contracting parties—Russia, China and Japan—would put their signatures, and which would thus entirely do away with the past causes of friction. But this would have meant the banishment of obscurantism; and Japan abroad thrives on organized opposition to inquiry and reform as on nothing else. Japan, had she been honest, should have demanded that the whole Manchurian railway enterprise be retroceded to China—the Trans-Manchurian line as well as the South Manchurian—by purchase; and then converted into a standard gauge railway within a period just sufficient to allow Russia to build the Amur railway

and link up her Far Eastern possessions on her own territory. Had Japan taken this one step she could have made China her ally for all time, troubled her influence in every part of China's vast territories, and so handicapped Westernism that it is extremely doubtful whether any development at all of European or American influence would have been possible. There is also little doubt that in such circumstances the Manchu Dynasty would never have fallen, but would have been converted very peacefully into a constitutional monarchy, since it was humiliation in foreign affairs which was the last straw to break the camel's back. The shortsightedness of Japanese policy therefore has been the ally of republicanism in the Far East, the sponsor of western influence, and the enemy of the peace and dignity of the Japanese Imperial House, which is today swaying ominously under the high winds of democracy and may yet encounter a terrible end.

## III

The treaty Japan signed with China in December, 1905, actually consisted only of the two following clauses. That it should have been so brief shows the spirit in which Japan negotiated. The clauses read:



THE YAMATO HOTEL AT PORT ARTHUR, ONE OF A SERIES OF MODERN WELL EQUIPPED HOTELS OPERATED BY THE SOUTH MANCHURIA RAILWAY IN THE FAR EAST

At an Expense of Many Millions, the Japanese Have Carried Out in Manchuria an Elaborate Plan of Systematic Development, Usually Coincident with Permanent Territorial Possession



THE JAPANESE USING MAN POWER TO COAL ONE OF THEIR O. S. K. LINERS AT DAIREN  
Coolies Are Still Cheaper Than Machinery in the Far East. In Ports Like Nagasaki, Japanese Women  
Nimbly Pass Along the Baskets, Coaling a Steamer More Quickly Than by Machinery

#### ARTICLE I

"The Imperial Chinese Government consent to all the transfers and assignments made by Russia to Japan by Articles V and VI of the Treaty of Peace above mentioned.

#### ARTICLE II

"The Imperial Japanese Government engage that in regard to the leased territory, as well as in matters of railway construction and exploitation, they will as far as circumstances permit conform to the original agreements concluded between China and Russia. In case any question arises in the future on these subjects the Japanese Government will decide it in consultation with the Chinese Government."

Why this brevity? For very peculiar and indeed Machiavellian reasons.

No matter what the spirit of Tsarist Russia may have been in the long struggle to reach "warm water," it is a fact that every instrument she wrote

with the Peking Government from 1896 to her disastrous war with Japan at least carefully preserved the fiction that her enterprises on Chinese soil were held in *usufruct*; she had the use and profit, but not the property. This is of the highest importance. It was specifically provided, for instance, in the Port Arthur lease (Article V) that "Port Arthur shall be a naval port for the sole use of Russian and Chinese men-of-war"; in other words, it was an anchorage to which China had as much right as Russia. When this matter was brought up in the Sino-Japanese negotiations the Japanese plenipotentiaries immediately took exception to the contention, and declared that it was on record that on the only occasion during the period of the Russian lease that two Chinese cruisers had attempted to dock the Russians had denied the right and therefore the right had lapsed. Fortunately China was in a position to prove from the log-books of the two cruisers in question that the Russian harbor authorities had signaled on the occasion in question "docks occupied; no accommodation"; and the Japanese negotiators, finally convinced that the



point was against them, acted in a manner which sheds an interesting light on their professions of friendship for a "kindred Asiatic race." The naval authorities were given orders to strip the Port Arthur docks completely and entirely so that there should be no dockyard facilities left; and Port Arthur, which had sheltered a Russian fleet more formidable than the entire Japanese navy in 1904, was made a derelict and rated as a second-class naval station to keep the Chinese out. These are the things which occur on the spot in the Far East—these are the foreign policies of Japan unmasked.

For, in addition to the treaty we have quoted, Japan wrote with China in 1905 a long supplementary treaty—using this method because she instinctively follows tortuous ways, believing that this gives her an opportunity to twist and turn, and to defend herself against accusations of double-dealing and encroachment—which would be beneath the dignity of the Imperial House, but which her commercial appetite forces her to love.

In the supplementary treaty Japan solemnly declared (Article II) that "in view of the earnest desire expressed by the Imperial Chinese Government to have the Japanese and Russian troops and railway guards in Manchuria withdrawn as soon as possible, and in order to meet this desire, the Imperial Japanese Government, in the event of Russia agreeing to the withdrawal of her railway guards, or in case other proper measures are agreed to between China and Russia, consents to take similar steps accordingly."

What has been the result of this undertaking? Japan has made secret agreement after secret agreement with Tsarist Russia—the last one in 1916, a few months before the Russian Revolution—to secure at all costs that Russia should take no such action. Her recent intrigues with General Horvath, the Tsarist agent who is still in control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, were dictated with the same aim and object: namely, to prevent at all costs her "sister-nation," China, from being repossessed of her sovereign rights. In the remaining articles of the supplementary treaty Japan annexes everything of value she can think of in Southern Manchuria, her policy being *ruthless commercial and industrial exploitation* where Russia was content merely to dominate. Friction between China and Japan has been ceaseless in Manchuria ever since and the smaller country has never hesitated to use threats and pressure on the slightest provocation.

It was probably because of this trouble and of the difficulty which she experienced in annexing Korea that Japan determined in 1915 to settle the results of her present belligerency with Germany in a new way. In the matter of Korea, in spite of

her successful war against Russia, she had been forced to enter into four successive conventions with the Seoul Government before the deed was completed, and all the time the press and peoples of the Far East were in a state of uproar. There was first an agreement on November 17, 1905, which placed the control and direction of the foreign relations in her hands; another on July 31, 1907, by which all administrative measures and all high official appointments were made subject to the approval of a Japanese resident-general; still another on July 12, 1909, whereby the administration of justice and prisons—the essential police power—was given her; and a final one on August 23, 1910, when Korea was publicly annexed to the Japanese Empire and the Emperor of Korea deprived of his rightful title. Consequently by filing the Twenty-one Demands almost immediately after Tsingtao had been captured, when every indication from the European war-theatre pointed to a drawn war, and forcing through by means of an ultimatum all those clauses which did not directly conflict with the treaty rights of other Powers, Japan imagined she was safe and would be able to do from her Shantung base—Kiaochow—all she had done in Manchuria.

The nature of the things Japan thinks she has won by means of this manoeuvre can easily be described; and it should be carefully noted that in these matters, as in all other essential political business, the German standard has been scrupulously followed by her. Japan has put the Manchurian railways and the Port Arthur lease on 99-year Kiaochow terms—an action which is absolutely *ultra vires*; and, moreover, she has not only taken over all the German enterprises in Shantung by force, but she has pushed through by means of loans to the Peking Military Party a railway extension scheme on a German-made plan, secretly prepared by Germany before the war, aiming at making Tsingtao the sea terminus for a system which at some future time is to stretch through Central Asia and link up with the Middle East. The problem growing out of Manchuria and Shantung has therefore a new character. It is no longer a local Far Eastern problem: it is a world problem which has to be faced and solved or else there will be a world disaster.

#### IV

One final aspect has to be made clear.

Until the death of Yuan Shih-kai, Japan treated China as a country with a united government which could be held responsible; after his death she deliberately abandoned this method and dealt with specified persons whom she had seduced to her point of view. No longer using the Chinese Foreign Office as her channel of communication, she boldly com-



would be so mixed as to defy a solution, and since the triumph of the Allies and the armistice of November 11, by forcing the Chinese to rename this office the National Defence Bureau, she has managed to retain it as the headquarters for Japanese intrigues in China. Among recent secret agreements signed by the corrupt generals attached to it, is said to be one relating to Fukien province and reported to place that strategically important zone, which dominates the island of Formosa, on a quasi-Manchurian footing.

This challenge to the world's decency and honor can no longer be disregarded; it must be taken up since imperialist Germany cannot be considered properly crushed until her copied methods have been eradicated from the Far East.

The root of the evil lies in the present nature of the Japanese Government; in the fact that under the present constitution it is perfectly legitimate for the Japanese Ministry of War to direct the Empire's policy in China and to be above the control of the Diet. A Japanese cabinet responsible to the Diet is absolutely essential to the peace and happiness of the Far East; unless that, as well as a proper extension of the franchise, can be acquired by constitutional means, it is essential to oppose Japanese intimidation of China by methods other than those that have been adopted during the war.

For it is force that is behind the Japanese program—not equity or justice, but force mixed with corruption. This force is today semi-antiquated; for Japanese armaments are still much where they were after the Russo-Japanese war and are totally unequal to the challenge of first-class maritime powers. Indeed it is obvious to observers on the spot that the asset of geographical isolation has been completely exhausted; and if the frontiers of the League of Nations are to be on the three-mile territorial waters limit, there is a method available which would instantly change the situation.

Grey battleships on the horizon line would bring home to Japanese leaders what all the butchery of the war has failed to teach.

Japan indeed stands at the cross-roads. It is for her to elect what her future is to be; whether the bacillus of imperialism is to be blown out by foreign pressure and internal explosion or dissipated by repentance and reform. Korea cries aloud for decent treatment—Korea can today rightfully demand either home rule or proper representation of her people in Japan's Diet. Here, if there ever was a case, is a country which should be administered only under a mandate derived from a League of Nations; for what has Korea done that she should be treated as a conquered province; and why should Manchuria, and also the province containing the birthplace of Confucius—Shantung—be menaced

by the same fate? It is not true that these regions are necessary for the overspill of the Japanese population, for they are densely populated and are not attracting Japanese immigrants. Korea, which has been under the Japanese heel for fifteen years, has today less than 400,000 Japanese immigrants, or a net increase of 300,000 persons since the Russo-Japanese War. During this period the Korean population has increased by more than 1,000,000 and in less than two decades the land will be far more crowded than Japan. In the case of Manchuria experience has not only conclusively proved that the Japanese cannot compete as farmers with the Chinese—that is, that they cannot go on the land—but that in petty trade the Chinese are now ousting them, and the Japanese are able to retain their hold only by a system of preferential treatment and anti-Chinese regulations which they assiduously enact in the Port Arthur leased territory and along the zone of the South Manchuria railway in a last effort to justify their claims. As for Shantung, where the villages are so thick on the ground that they form continuous chains, it has long been so densely populated by the native race that vast numbers of men go annually to other provinces—particularly to Manchuria—to find food. It is not sufficiently known that since 1900 the population of China has increased by 68,000,000—that is, by considerably more than the population either of Germany or Japan; and that by the middle of the present century it cannot number less than 600,000,000. Although Japan's northernmost island of Hokkaido is practically uninhabited and could carry twelve million people at the lowest competition, she vainly tries to push her people on to the Asiatic mainland in an effort to justify her so-called Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, which means for her the subjection of the East. Hating to go abroad save to the white man's lands, where they earn great profits rapidly and easily, the Japanese care so little for their annexed territories that the Japanese population of Formosa has long been stationary, if it has not actually receded. Town-dwellers by instinct, leaving much of their agriculture to women, who labor early and late in the fields, for them foreign parts have no attraction. Colonization is indeed alien to their natures; it is their military leaders who are trying almost by force to make them build a fabric of empire in the extraordinary manner we have indicated.

There is no more to be said. We have placed the problem under the searchlight, we have indicated the solution. If there is justice enough left over after Europe has settled her own troubles, Eastern Asia is surely the first claimant. For unless that precious quality is used in abundance the day is not far distant when the crash must come and men must fight again.

# THE BRITISH RAJ IN INDIA

By H. M. HYNDMAN

THE invasion of India from the West, in modern times, began in earnest by way of trade and commerce. There was no preconceived intention of conquering that vast territory by any of the Europeans who first landed and made settlements on its shores, except, perhaps, for a short time by the Portuguese. Nor has there ever been a successful propaganda of Christianity in Hindustan such as menaced the well-being of China and Japan. At the beginning of the rivalry of the two principal nations of Europe for influence over the Indian courts and kingdoms the French were the statesmen and administrators, the English were the merchants and traders. Such men as Dupleix and Bussy took a wider view of Indian affairs and better understood what would be to the advantage of Indians themselves than did the English of the same period. Indians, also, were first trained to war on European principles and formed into armies of sepoys by men of the Perron and De Boigne type. Yet England succeeded in establishing her rule where France failed; because her adventurers as they gained power were supported from home, which the French were not; because the English fleets eventually obtained control of the eastern as well as the western seas; and because at the critical moment the present masters of Hindustan made better use of the trained Indian levies and played upon the differences between the Indian courts with greater astuteness than their opponents.

Nevertheless, the conquest of India, mainly by Indian troops led by Englishmen, was achieved, as it were, by accident. There was no organized effort whatever. The *conquistadores* of South America and Mexico were born again in a new shape, and equally destitute of scruple, throughout the settlements granted as trading centres by the *rajahs* and *nawabs* of India. The East India Company was not in the least desirous of annexing and governing large and populous districts. On the contrary, the directors were never weary of impressing upon their representatives in India the permanent necessity for keeping their direct possessions within the narrowest possible limits. Above all, they should avoid war with their neighbors. Hostilities of any kind were injurious to business. The sole aim and objects of these advocates of profitable peace and lucrative persuasion was to secure the means for distributing enormous dividends on the shares of their Company. Aggression must be avoided, but adequate profits and commercial returns must be made. Agents on the spot took the most effective

means at their disposal to satisfy the pecuniary demands of their chiefs in London and paid little attention to their prohibition of remunerative rapine. Thus was seen the marvelous spectacle of clerks and supercargoes developing into great generals and administrators of the first mark and winning an empire against fearful odds. This unexampled fashion of conducting the business of a mere trading company, taking possession of a civilized empire as a detail of business and waging great wars in order to pay huge dividends to shareholders thousands of miles away is quite exceptional on such a scale in all human history. Nothing like it had ever before been seen in the East; probably nothing like it will ever occur again.

From the first began that steady withdrawal of wealth from India to England which in one form or another has gone on ever since. Throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century, the wealthy English *nabob*, denounced by Pitt, who had returned to his own country after shaking the pagoda-tree to some purpose in his own interest, was the familiar type of the rich man of yesterday. There are the records of the East India Company to bear witness to the conduct of the fortune-hunters of that halcyon period of plunder. India was the El Dorado of the unscrupulous and cruel commercial adventurer. The legitimate proceedings of the great Company chartered by Queen Elizabeth and successfully carried on up to our own time were bad enough. There is no doubt about that. It was no rose-water management which paid such stupendous dividends and drove the stock of the lucky shareholders to such an enormous premium. But the illegitimate business of the East was infinitely worse in every respect. Even the lowest commercial morality cannot justify the robbery and rascality which pervaded every department of English administration in India from the time of Clive's rise to power until the first Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis. The praises of many of the successful freebooters have been chanted for 150 years with national pride and exultation; the effect of their depredations upon the luckless Indians who suffered from their extortions, though denounced at the time by Englishmen of the highest character and reputation, has since been overlooked and is now almost forgotten.

It is unnecessary in any case to enlarge upon the crimes of the men who plundered in this way a great and ancient civilization. Whether Warren Hastings could or could not have avoided the trans-



THE HARBOR OF MADRAS UNDER THE ORIGINAL CONTROL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY  
Fort St. George, One of the First British Bulwarks in Southern India, Was Attacked Unsuccessfully by the  
Mahrattas in 1741 and in 1746 Was Captured by the French, Who Had to Restore It Again to the British  
by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

actions stigmatized by Burke, but disregarded by the Indians themselves in consideration of his other qualities; whether Clive and smaller men were entitled to be "amazed at their own moderation" in the loot which they appropriated, are matters of comparatively small importance. The guilt or innocence of individuals counts for little in such a system of robbery as afflicted the provinces under immediate English control, and especially Bengal and Oudh, in the generation between 1757, the date of the battle of Plassey, and 1786, when attempts at reform began. What the total amount of wealth may have been which was abstracted from India and transported to England without any valuable return at the end of the eighteenth century will probably never be known. It must have been quite enormous, transcending indeed the drain from America to Europe which followed upon the discoveries of Columbus and Vespucci. The wealth thus accumulated and used in the form of productive capital in English industries, especially cotton, enabled Great Britain to obtain the lead in manufacture and commerce which gave her the control of markets in the century which followed. And the Indians themselves, who provided the means for

the attainment of this commercial supremacy, suffered a second time, and even more horribly than they did from direct expropriation, by the economic consequences of their original losses.

In the seventeenth and during a great part of the eighteenth century the importation of Indian calicoes into England was prohibited on the ground that their competition would have crushed the rising home industry in similar goods. At the end of the same century, however, owing to the accumulation of riches chiefly from Hindustan, England had become possessed of a virtual monopoly of new machinery run by steam power which enabled her to undersell the whole world in textile goods of every description. English hand-loom weavers and spinners suffered seriously from the competition of the machine-made products at their own door, but their miseries were child's play in comparison with the horrors inflicted upon the weavers of India at the same time. No protective tariff was allowed to safeguard them. Unchecked competition, free-trade in English goods in English territory, was a commercial religion. As a consequence, these poor producers of Indian fabrics saw their means of livelihood swept away from them by a process

which they could neither understand nor withstand. Tens upon tens of thousands of them perished of starvation; for there was no place for them in the Indian society of that day apart from the one which they occupied. The foreign government made not the slightest attempt to regulate this fatal free-trade competition, and the effects of the English connection in this respect have been wholly harmful to the people of India. The fatal results of economic causes are carefully disregarded. Successful wars and continental annexations quite eclipse in interest the sad fate of the unfortunate Indian weavers who perished silently on the field of commercial war.

Effective steps were taken to check this objectionable form of the exploitation of India by England and to regularize the methods by which the dominant power in Hindustan remunerated itself from Indian resources for the services rendered to the subjugated territories. The improved system of administration was set on foot in 1786 and, after having incidentally conquered the Mahrattas, the native states which rose to great prominence on the decay of the Mogul authority, the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, finally established English administration in India in much the same shape in which it exists today. Honesty was favored, if not insured, by payment to the Europeans employed of such high salaries that the temptation to accept bribes, or to indulge in illegal appropriation, became less and less inducive in proportion to the risk of removal and punishment. Whether the form of government thus created was suited to the character of the people, whether foreigners were capable of sufficiently sympathizing with the social system into which they had burglariously forced themselves, or whether the European ideas, laws and economic conceptions imposed upon the population were not likely to prove injurious; these were points which the new government never stopped to consider.

For 130 years, from 1786 to 1916, the official class of foreign administrators have done their utmost—alike in India and in England—to convince the world that British rule has conferred immense benefit on its subjects and that the inhabitants of Hindustan are quite incapable of gov-

erning themselves. This has never been the view of the mass of Indians themselves, ignorant, peaceful and submissive as the great majority of the cultivators may be, who constitute more than four-fifths of the entire population. And there are the great "protected" Indian states, with nearly 70,000,000 of people, to prove still that administration of India is by no means the hopeless business that Englishmen as a rule believe it to be. The Montague-Chelmsford Report, unsatisfactory as Indian radicals have pronounced it, constitutes important evidence in the case, for it bears official witness to



From "Unconquered History of the British Empire in India," by H. H. Arnold

#### THE LAST HEROIC STAND OF TIPPOO SULTAN AGAINST THE BRITISH Like His Father, Hyder Ali, He Was a Formidable Foe of the British in India

the necessity for wide-sweeping reform, as well as to the honest conviction that the Indians themselves must more largely share in and uphold a responsible government.

During the whole of the period referred to (1786-1916) conquest by force of arms and annexation by that means or by chicanery have gone steadily forward. Some of the military operations, always carried on in the main by native troops, exhibited great skill and courage on the part of the European leaders; though such a disaster as that of Ferozeshah showed that Indian troops under Indian generals had not degenerated from the earlier days. But the most remarkable fact, brought out by those of the English administrators who were in closest touch with their subjects, was that the worst rule by their own people was preferred to the best management by foreigners. Thus, Sir William Sleeman of the old East India Company was a man so thoroughly versed in Indian languages and customs and

so completely at home in Indian dress and manners that he succeeded in doing that which even the great Akbar at the height of his power was unable to achieve. He was able to put down that extraordinary semi-religious sect of stranglers, the Thugs, whose members had been the horror of all Indian travelers for hundreds of years. The capacity of disguise, the astounding coolness and courage displayed by Sleeman in the course of this triumph of detective enterprise and repression of crime have never been excelled, if ever equalled. But, in addition to this marvelous performance, Sleeman was

ter. Amid all these horrors, so shocking to Europeans of the nineteenth century, Indian habits, Indian customs and Indian laws were in the main upheld. The land-tax was roughly and not unreasonably assessed and levied, the rapacity of native money-lenders was checked, the existing legal methods were simple and generally understood.

To give Sir William Sleeman's own words: "There were neither accumulating arrears of land revenue nor ruinous back debts to weigh down the proprietors; there were no unsatisfied decrees of Court to drive debtors to hopeless despair . . .

arrears were remitted when the impossibility of payment within the year was clearly demonstrated. . . . There could be no black despair in those days of changeable misrule." Never was there a more crushing exposure of the idea that honesty of administration and peace within the borders of a subject country really justified foreign domination. "The people," so this master of Indian affairs openly declared, "the people generally, or at least the greater part of them, would prefer to reside in Oudh . . . than in our own districts, under the evils they were exposed to from the uncertainty of our laws, the multiplicity and formality of our courts, the pride and negligence of



From "Cantara's and Sanyal's Deceased, dated"

#### AN EARLY ENGLISH OFFICIAL HEARING AN INDIAN COMPLAINT The British Today Keep Ahoof from the Natives and Never Take Root in India

one of the ablest and best of the Company's civil servants. Naturally, too, he was loyal to British rule.

Yet what does he tell us of a specific instance with which he was familiarly acquainted? Native rule in the great province of Oudh was in every way abominable. It is doubtful whether in time of peace any worse tyranny was ever seen in any part of Hindustan. Robbery, torture, the most fiendish barbarities of every kind, were inflicted daily upon the wretched inhabitants. If ever interposition by a neighboring state under peaceful and law-abiding foreign control could appear not only justifiable but inevitable, this was such a case. Interposition and annexation, therefore, actually took place. What followed? Though all this anarchy and misgovernment were suppressed and life and property were secure under English law and justice, the people were bitterly opposed to the change, which seemed to foreign eyes to be so much for the bet-

those who preside over them. . . . I am persuaded that if it were put to the vote among the people of Oudh, ninety-nine in a hundred would rather remain as they are, without any feeling of security in life or property than have our system introduced in its presented complicated state."

This was in 1856. Two generations have passed since then and the system is more complicated than ever. No fewer than twenty-five thousand new laws were put on the statute-book in the first ten years of this century alone!

Annexation, therefore, to the British Empire in India has never been welcomed by the people annexed. Yet the direct government of Englishmen who did not interfere with Indian habits, but did their best to ensure honest and prompt judgment in case of difference and used their authority to restrict economic hardship and to secure fair play, has often been immensely popular. Such men are never forgotten by the inhabitants of the provinces



From "Greatest Masters of the British Empire in India," F. B. Yule

Lord Clive (1725-1774), Who Laid the Foundations of the British Empire in India



Warren Hastings (1732-1818), the First Governor-General of British India

over which they have once exercised their benign sway. Whole districts would turn out to welcome them, men, women and children would cover them with flowers and chant their praises when they returned after the lapse of many years. This one-man rule called, of course, for thorough knowledge of the country and the language, as well as long and continuous residence among the people themselves. But such instances of individual success were not rare under the *Kumpani Bahadurs*. The servants of the Government who were given appointments found themselves at the early age of seventeen or eighteen thrown among a strange population and often entrusted with powers which rendered it imperative that they should become thoroughly acquainted with those over whom they were placed. It is creditable to our race that after the early days of rapine and rascality so many were successful under such trying circumstances.

Moreover, the East India Company itself, though it kept up a European and a powerful Indian Army, was not lavish in its expenditures; nor, in spite of all drawbacks and the general objection to the new methods gradually gaining ground, was it regarded with hatred by its subjects. The drain of produce without return from India to England was trifling in Company days, compared with what it afterward became. Some of the most capable

of those who rose to high appointments remembered what India had been and might be again. A few saw that European domination could be only temporary and endeavored to prepare their countrymen for the withdrawal which they knew sooner or later was inevitable. But the general opinion both in India and in England was that the Indians, split up into many races and peoples, with at least four antagonistic religions professed by millions of people and with the caste system which shut out whole sections of inhabitants from any close contact with one another, were quite incapable of common action against the foreigners, however much they might dislike their rule. The great past of Hindustan was already being forgotten in any estimate of the future of the Empire. Already it was taken for granted that Europeanization was the one thing needful to make of India a greater empire than ever before, and thus to increase the power and wealth of England.

Yet many hundreds of years before the nations of India had been a collection of wealthy and highly civilized people, possessed of a great language, with an elaborate code of laws and social regulations, with exquisite artistic taste in architecture and decoration, producing beautiful manufactures of all kinds and endowed with religious ideas and philosophic and scientific conceptions which have greatly



influenced the development of the most progressive races of the West. One of the noblest individual moralists who ever lived, Sakya Muni, was a Hindu; the Code of Manu of the ninth century before the Christian era is still as essential a study for the jurist as the Laws of the Twelve Tables or the Institutes of Justinian; Akbar the Mohammedan was the greatest monarch who ever ruled the East; while even in later times nations over whom the English held supremacy have proved that there are among them no unworthy descendants of the authors of the Vedas, of the Mahabharata and Ramayana, of the architects of the Taj Mahal and Bejapore, of Toder Mull and Nana Furnava, of Baber, Hyder Ali and Runjeet Singh. Nevertheless nine-tenths of what has been written about India in English is so expressed that we are led to believe stable civilized government in Hindustan began only with the European Raj and that nothing short of wholesale Europeanization can save Hindustan from permanent anarchy.

It is now recognized that the revolt, which goes by the name of the Indian Mutiny, was in reality a national rising against the growing extension of European domination. The native troops of the East India Company were roused against their officers by misrepresentations calculated to outrage the dearest feelings and prejudices of soldiers of all creeds and castes. But the scope of the upheaval went far beyond the army itself. A considerable part of India was directly hostile to English rule, so far as the more intelligent and well-to-do classes were concerned. The plans of the leaders were all laid; the discontent upon which they could reckon was widespread; the recent refusal of the ancient right of adoption by the Government and seizure of the territories of Indian chieftains on that ground had alarmed all the princes; the date of the attack had been well chosen, being a hundred years after the manifest superiority of the white man in arms had been first admitted; the secret of the conspiracy was, on the whole, well kept. Yet the insurrection failed. This circumstance resulted from several causes. The original mutiny at Meerut began before it was intended, and before the general outbreak which was to fol-

low, or to occur simultaneously, was ready. The agricultural population over the greater part of India did not sympathize sufficiently with the revolt to oppose actively, or even passively, the operations of the Government troops; the vast number of camp followers required to enable an army to move under European leadership never fell short for want of recruits. The insurgents developed no really capable leader, with the exception of Tantia Topee and that famous princess, the Rane of Jhansi, who were not sufficiently supported. On the other hand, the English soldiers and officers exhibited wonderful vigor, courage and endurance, while individual civilian officials of the Government who had long been in the country and were known and trusted by the Indians under their control kept quiet whole districts that would otherwise have joined the insurgents. But above all, the English Government owed its successful suppression of the outbreak to the fact that the Sikhs, the great people who had most recently been defeated by the foreign rulers, took sides with their conquerors and rendered invaluable assistance which ensured victory to the Europeans. The rising was, therefore, put down, and all Hindustan came under the direct or indirect control of the British Crown.

India with its 300,000,000 inhabitants has for sixty years been under the management of the most extraordinary and fortuitous system of foreign domination known to the memory of man. The rulers of these people come in succession from without, educated, until their appointment at the age



THE LONDON SALESROOM OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.  
India Was the El Dorado of the Adventurous English Trader at the End of the Eighteenth Century.

of more than twenty-one, in accordance with methods as remote from, and as irreconcilable with, Asiatic ideas as it is possible for them to be. Alike in their work and in their pleasure, they keep as far aloof as possible from the people they govern. Very rarely do they marry Indians: still more rarely do they settle permanently in the country. The head of the Government, who himself is brought out fresh from Europe and entirely ignorant of India, does not remain in office for more than five years. His subordinates return "home" frequently for their holidays and go back to England permanently, to live on a considerable pension, after their term of service is completed.

I quote an English writer who knew India well:

"Not only is there no white race in India, not only is there no white Colony, but there is no white man who purposes to remain. . . . No white man takes root in India and the number even of sojourners is, among these masses, imperceptible."

The longer this reign of well-meaning but unsympathetic carpet-baggers continues, the less intimate do their general relations with the Indian people become. The color and race prejudices, which existed not at all, or to a very small extent, at the beginning of English dominance, now become stronger and stronger every year. In India itself men of ancient lineage, beside which the descent of the oldest European aristocracy is a mushroom growth, are considered in the presidency towns, as well as on the railways, unfit to associate on equal terms with the young white bureaucrats just arrived in the country. And these "competition-wallahs," owing their position too often to desk-work, though clever enough in their own way, lack nowadays that indescribable quality of the *sahib*, or "gentleman," which is nowhere so instinctively recognized as in Asia.

And what is this alien supremacy based on? Upon fifteen hundred foreign administrators isolated among the hundreds of millions of Indians—*rari nantes in gurgito vasto*—not one of whom, with the best intentions in the world and even enjoying a far closer intimacy with his subjects than a modern civil servant claims, can exercise any lasting influence on the people committed to his charge. These are the district officers, the real rulers of India, upon whom the true responsibilities of government fall. Each is in his way a governor, and these are some of his duties. He is: collector of the land revenue, registrar of the landed property in the district, judge between landlord and tenant, ministerial officer of the courts of justice, treasurer and accountant of the district, administrator of the district excise, ex-officio president of the local rates committee, referee for all questions of compensation for lands taken up for public purposes, agent for the Government in all

local suits to which it is a party, referee in local public works, head of the police, ex-officio president of municipalities, and magistrate, police magistrate and criminal judge.

It is utterly impossible that all these multifarious duties, with the endless reports that have to be written and the questions with superiors which have to be discussed, can be performed satisfactorily. Many of the ablest of the civil servants themselves admit that this is so. Constant transfers from district to district and frequent furloughs to Europe make things worse. Here again is a criticism by an English official in India when the situation was by no means so critical as it is today. This official himself was brought into contact with Indians much more familiarly than most of his countrymen. His family had been connected with India for more than a century and furnished two or three directors to the East India Company:

"It is in general sadly true that Englishmen in India live totally estranged from the people among whom they are sojourning. This estrangement is partly unavoidable, being the result of national customs, language, and caste. . . . The English contempt proceeds . . . from English ignorance, and English ignorance is accomplished, as so often happens, by English bluster. Those who have known the natives well have generally liked them, even loved them, and their love has been returned with a remarkable wealth of unselfish affection. The natives are worth the effort of knowing . . . but because . . . it does take some effort to know them, most Englishmen keep aloof. This tendency to aloofness is increasing. . . . Certain it is, the natives consider the sahib is not what he used to be—certain, too, that English rule is not popular. This is the great social calamity attending our Raj in India. . . ."

Over and above the Europeans immediately concerned in administration there are many more occupied directly or indirectly in other branches of government affairs. But in all India there are no more than 200,000 Europeans and Eurasians altogether. These are, for the most part, entirely outside the official class. The British Empire in India consists, therefore, of the bureaucrats spoken of above and in pre-war days, 75,000 English troops, of whom 50,000 at the outside can be reckoned as fit for active service at any given moment. A peaceful upset of the entire English system is quite possible, seeing that, as has been truly said, the Indians themselves have only to refuse to work for Europeans and the whole white empire would be brought to an end within a month. Certain it is that if the agricultural population, hitherto so quiescent, with the exception of a few local outbreaks were to become even passively hostile, British rule would soon be a thing of the past.

# KOREA TODAY

## A Korean View of Japan's Colonial Policies

By HENRY CHUNG

**I**F Japan is sincere and true in her professions of doing justice to the Korean people, she must do one of three things. She must give Korea:

- (1) Complete independence
- (2) Autonomy
- (3) A voice in making and administering her own laws and in selecting the executive and judicial officials for the country.

The first would be the most magnanimous act—a deed that would remain in the world's history as a lasting tribute to the greatness of the Japanese people. But if Japanese statesmen are not far-sighted enough to see the ultimate gain of generosity, then they should extend autonomy to Korea. It is the right of the Koreans to administer their internal affairs, even should this right be exercised under the suzerainty of Japan. If this right is recognized, Japan would be following the example of the most successful colonizer in the world—England. If the Japanese government does not care to grant even this amount of justice, insisting upon its policy of assimilation—a policy which has met with complete failure so far, and which, in my opinion, will never succeed—it is only fair that the Korean people should have a real voice in their government. It is high time for Japanese statesmen to realize that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and that the soldier's rifle or the gendarme's swords will never make loyal Japanese citizens out of Koreans.

I wish to present the problem of Korea from the Japanese as well as the Korean point of view.

When Japan saw her vision of world power, she was not blind to the methods of imperial expansion employed by the Western Powers. She noted the European nations exploiting the labor and resources of less civilized lands, hiding their greed beneath an attractive enamel of "bearing the white man's burden." In order to combat this growing menace of the white peril in the Far East, it was necessary for Japan to become rich and powerful; in other words, to increase her population and acquire more territory. The present population in Japan proper is increasing at the rate of 800,000 a year—the rate of increase of the German population before the war. But there remains the problem of territory. The Western Hemisphere is guarded by the Monroe Doctrine; Africa and

Oceania are under European domination; and large parts of Asia itself are controlled by various western Powers. Korea and China offer the only outlet for Japan's teeming population.

From the time when Russia began to expand as a Power in the Far East toward the end of the 19th century, Korea was forced into a position, politically, of a buffer state, supported by the triple balance of China, Russia and Japan. But this eastern triple balance of power was destroyed after Japan defeated China and Russia in 1895 and 1905. Great Britain welcomed the advancement of her Eastern Ally to counteract the power of Russia and Germany, and the United States gave tacit consent to the absorption of Korea, despite the provisions in the first article of the American-Korean treaty of 1882, which reads:

If other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings.

Japan took Korea as the prize of the greatest war in her national life and, according to the time-honored European doctrine of economic exploitation and territorial aggrandizement by the right of military conquest, she considered that she had a perfect right to absorb Korea. But the Wilsonian principles of self-determination declares that helpless nations are not to be considered as mere pawns in the international game of strong powers. The tenet that "*No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live*" is a distinct department from the old school of political thought. It is a new principle of international justice.

Japanese rule in Korea has brought forth many material improvements worthy of praise. Roads have been built, irrigation developed, sanitation improved, telegraphic and postal communications extended. These improvements were accomplished largely by enforced Korean labor, by confiscation of land under the broad subterfuge of eminent domain and military necessity and by taxes upon the Korean people. Whether these physical changes were brought about primarily for the benefit of the Japanese or the Koreans makes little difference since the result is good, although many Koreans argue that all these material improvements were put through by the Japanese solely for military purposes.

Full credit and praise should be given the Japanese for whatever good they have done in Korea, regardless of motives. The all-important question is—does the physical improvement of a country compensate for the loss of primary civil and political rights on the part of a people with a distinct history and civilization of its own?

The plight of Korea from the Korean's point of view is a sad one. Although the total wealth of the country has been increased since the Japanese occupation, the economic status of the Koreans is worse than it was under the old administration. Over one million and a half Koreans have emigrated to China and Siberia since Korea became a part of Japan, not so much to avoid the military rule of the Japanese as to escape the economic pressure brought upon them by that rule.

Korea has an area of 80,000 square miles inhab-

(3) Municipal lands, the title of which belonged to the various municipalities but the practical ownership of which was in the hands of private individuals.

(4) Lands belonging to Buddhist temples.

Owners of private lands paid taxes to the government; holders of royal lands paid tribute to the royal household; the owners of municipal lands paid fees to the respective municipalities which held the title of lands; and the lands belonging to Buddhist temples were free from all taxation. These temple lands were held in communistic plan among Buddhists. When the Japanese annexed Korea, they surveyed the country and confiscated all lands belonging to the royal household, to the municipalities and to the Buddhist temples, on the technical ground that since these lands did not belong to private individuals, they must be the property of the government. This sweeping confiscation made many thousands of formerly well-to-do Koreans paupers. After the land was thus confiscated by the new government, it was leased or sold to Japanese farmers, not to Koreans.

The policy of the Tokyo Government was to induce a large body of Japanese to settle in Korea so that within a decade they should form a body strong enough to hold Korea in the event of an armed protest on the part of the Korean people. There are already 300,000 Japanese in Korea, and the number is increasing steadily.

When Bismarck wanted to Prussianize Poland, he moved several million Germans into German Poland to help assimilate the Poles. Money was appropriated by the German Government to buy land from the Poles for these newcomers. The Poles clung to their lands and re-

fused to be assimilated, with the consequence that the price of land in German Poland went up and the Poles became prosperous. Japan pursued the same policy in a more efficacious way. The Oriental Colonization Company was organized under the direction of the government, supported by an annual subsidy of 500,000 yen (\$250,000) from the Imperial Japanese Treasury. Its purpose is to promote Japanese colonization to Korea. A Japa-



KOREAN WOMEN ENGAGED IN SPINNING AND WEAVING

Sericulture is an important industry of Korea. The Japanese have introduced various improved experimental stations and model training schools to place it on a more efficient basis.

ited by an agricultural population of 17,000,000. Under the Korean government all land was divided into four classes:

- (1) Private lands owned by private individuals.
- (2) Royal lands belonging to the king but sometimes leased in perpetuity to private individuals, with the right of selling to another individual without changing the ownership and the privilege of inheritance.



#### MARKET DAY IN KOREA IS AN ANCIENT INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTION

*The Great Exchange Markets Held at Stated Times and Places All Over the Peninsula Represent a Primitive Industrial Organization. Under the Old Administration There Was no Tax on This Form of Commerce. Whereas Today Every Merchant Must Have His License Before He Can Sell His Produce*

nese emigrant is given free transportation to Korea, and is provided with a home and a piece of land, together with necessary implements and provisions when he gets there. He is expected to pay back to the company in three or four years the equivalent of what he has thus received.

One method by which the Japanese compel the Koreans to sell them their land is distinctly illegitimate. Rice is the chief agricultural product in Korea, and water that irrigates the rice fields runs from one field to the other in succession. The agents of the Oriental Colonization Company buy the rice patch through which water must run to the other fields in succession. The Japanese agent or "farmer" cuts off the water supply to the other fields. The Korean farmer complains to the Japanese, who blandly ignores him. The Korean is then told that since his land has become worthless he might as well sell it to the Oriental Colonization Company, at the price the Japanese will pay, not what the Korean farmer would ask or what the land is worth when he can get water. By these methods the Oriental Colonization Company has acquired and is still acquiring thousands of acres of the best lands in Korea. The Koreans know the game, but they have no means to counteract it.

Already one-third of the best land in Korea is in the hands of the Japanese and the amount is increasing rapidly.

So much has been said by the Japanese themselves and by pro-Japanese writers in America about the currency reform in Korea as a distinct credit to Japanese administration, that it might not be amiss for me to say a word concerning it. After the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, the Bank of Chosen took over the functions of the First National Bank of Japan, as a depository for all Korean Government money, and thereafter the Korean Treasury Department became a nominal institution. It stood in relation to the Japanese Government as the Bank of England stands in relation to the English Government. Both the First National Bank of Japan in Korea and its successor, the Bank of Chosen, have issued several million dollars' worth of notes supposedly backed by redeemable securities. But all the Korean money made of nickel, copper and bronze was collected, taken to Japan and melted and, in so far as I know, Japan has never sent bullion or specie to Korea to take the place of the old Korean money which was thus removed from the country, and to guarantee the redemption of the notes issued by



THE KOREAN POPULATION OF SEVENTEEN MILLIONS IS LARGELY AGRICULTURAL.

The Korean Farmer Has Never Been Prosperous but He Complains That under the Present Japanese Administration He Is Being Discriminated Against in Favor of the Japanese Immigrant

both the First National Bank of Japan in Korea and the Bank of Chosen. No gold and very few silver yen are to be found in Korea. One eloquent evidence that the bank notes are not redeemable is the fact that they are not honored in Japan proper.

Japanese government reports eloquently point to the low taxes the Koreans pay as contrasted with those paid by the Japanese themselves in Japan. It is true that the Koreans and Japanese in Korea pay lower taxes than those levied in Japan proper, but when they are compared with the taxes the Koreans paid under the Korean government, they are quadruple. Formerly the only tax was on real estate. Now, the internal revenue taxes extend to household utensils, farm implements, merchandise and the inevitable pig. Under the old system farmers brought their farm products to the city on market day and sold direct to the consumer without paying any duty to the government. Under the present rule, every vendor of an article must have a license and pay a tax on everything he sells. Thus a farmer who brings to the market place a case of eggs (a Korean egg case is made of straw and contains ten eggs) must have a license and pay a tax on it.

In order to insure absolute financial supervision, every wealthy Korean is required to have a Japanese steward, whose function is that of the household accountant and financial adviser combined.

This Japanese steward keeps account of the income and expenditure of the household. A Korean cannot spend a single cent without the knowledge and sanction of this steward, who is really his master, as he has the government authority back of him. Thus, the late Emperor Yi of Korea nominally received the annual grant of 1,500,000 yen (\$750,000) from the Japanese government after Korea was annexed. But, in reality, he had no more money at his disposal than a Korean coolie. If a wealthy Korean spends any significant sum of money without the sanction of his Japanese steward, his property is liable to confiscation on the charge that he may be working against the government. I know of many cases where confiscation of property has taken place on the strength of charges made by these Japanese stewards. In 1915, Major Cho, a very wealthy Korean, founded a Korean school in Peking to educate Korean youths in China. The Japanese authorities brought charges against him of plotting against the Japanese government and confiscated all his property. Under the right of extra-territoriality, the Chinese government was unable to give the Korean its protection. Another rule that runs in conjunction with Japanese stewardship is the fact that no Korean is permitted to draw from a bank in Korea more than a thousand yen (\$500) at a time. The Japanese explanation of this rule is that if a Korean were permitted to have much cash, he might plot

against the government. Perhaps he would. But this regulation works economic discrimination against the Korean. If the Korean merchant needs two thousand dollars in cash to buy merchandise, he cannot get the money under this regulation, with the result that his chance to buy is taken by his Japanese competitor. There is only one way in which a Korean can get as much cash as he wants, and that is by selling lands to the Oriental Colonization Company.

While Korea was independent, all nations enjoyed within her boundaries equal commercial privileges. The first Korean railway—Seoul-Chemulpo line—was built and owned by an American concern; the first electric plant in Korea was installed by the Edison Company in 1885. This same company built the first and largest electric road and water works in Korea. The Korean Customs Service, under the old administration, was in the hands of McLeavy Brown, an Englishman of uncompromising principles, who helped maintain the open door in Korea. Today Nipponese traders practically have driven out all other nationals and have the market to themselves. As an instance, the British-American Tobacco Company, which had been one of the most successful foreign concerns in Korea, was unable to compete with the Japanese tobacco trust, with the result that the company was virtually forced out of the country in 1915. This discrimination against foreigners produces an intolerable commercial condition and not only drives out all foreign capital already invested in Korea but prevents the coming of more to develop the country. In 1908, a Korean financier, Lee Seng-Huen, of Chung Chu, made an agreement with the Parma Company, of Italy, to establish a Korean-Italian import and export firm in Korea. The agent of the Parma Company went to Korea to investigate. When he was told by the Japanese authorities some of the rules and regulations that the new firm would have to face, the firm was successfully frightened away from Korean soil. The Korean merchant cannot compete with the Japanese because of the preferential treatment accorded to Japanese nationals. All rights to develop the resources of the country are given to Japanese, and Korean enterprise, even of the humblest sort, is insidiously hampered by the withholding of necessary licenses and similar

obstructions. I have confidential letters from my friends in Korea stating that the people are frequently in such financial straits as to mortgage their property and borrow money from the Japanese speculators at an interest as high as 70 per cent per annum.

This is a brief summary of the legalized robbery, the crude and roughshod spoliation inaugurated in the earlier days of Japanese rule in Korea.

The Korean has a proud history and a significant culture of four thousand years back of him. It is he who handed the torch of Asiatic civilization to his neighbor, the Japanese. The art of writing, of making pottery and the religion of Buddhism were transported to Japan from Korea. Even today the Korean considers his conqueror as *Wainom* (dwarf savages from the eastern archipelago).



**HARVESTING GRAIN WITHOUT THE AID OF MODERN MACHINERY**  
Korea's Ancient Civilization, Like That of China, Has Survived Almost Intact to the Present Day, with Little or No Intrusion of Western Influences

lagoes), and believes his own culture to be superior to that of his conqueror.

Something more than mere economic pressure and political domination is needed to extinguish the soul of Korea. History and literature are the records of past achievements, and language is the medium of expression that gives birth to genius. Japanese soldiers fully appreciate the importance of this triple support of national con-

sclousness. They made a systematic collection of all works of Korean history and literature in public archives and private homes and burned them. This is undoubtedly the greatest injustice that the Korean people have suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Korean scholars consider this an irre-



A GREAT IMAGE OF BUDDHA MANY CENTURIES OLD

Korea Was First Consolidated under a Single Government at the Beginning of the Ninth Century. From This Time on Buddhism Made Great Progress As the National Religion

parable loss second only to the destruction of the Alexandrian Library by Omar in 640. Priceless treasures have been destroyed by this needless vandalism of the Japanese. All Korean periodical literature—from local newspapers to scientific journals—has been completely stamped out. In order to create in the West a favorable impression of its rule in Korea, the Japanese government has a subsidized organ, the *Seoul Press*. This daily, published in English, disseminates only the kind of news that the Japanese wish to have known in the West. This publicity channel is further strengthened by the *Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, a well illustrated volume published in English by the government, and sent out gratis

to all great men and important libraries in America and Great Britain. These publications picture vividly the "contentment and prosperity" that the Japanese rule is bringing to the Koreans. When it is shown that at present there is no free press and no free speech among the Koreans, the situation takes on a new light. Even for mid-week prayer meetings the Christians must obtain permission from the Japanese police authorities; such hymns as "Onward, Christian Soldiers" are not permitted to be sung, on the presumption that it would stimulate nationalism among Koreans. Rigid censorship is exerted through Japanese postal control. In addition, a system of elaborate espionage is in force. Every Korean is registered and classified according to his potential ability for leadership among the Koreans. If a Korean travels through the country, he must register in each city, so that the Japanese may follow his every movement.

Japanese has been made the official language not only in official documents but also in the schools. Here the Christian Church stands as an obstacle. The missionaries in Korea have always conducted the curriculum of their schools in the Korean language. They now must hire Japanese teachers, appointed by the Governor-General, regardless of their wishes. It is probably well remembered in America, how, in order to curb the spreading influence of Christianity and completely to crush out the one obstacle to the denationalizing of Korea, Count Terauchi, the Governor-General of Korea, instituted in 1912, what is known in the church annals of Korea as "The Persecution of the Korean Church." Prominent churchmen, leaders in Korean thought and education, were charged with conspiracy and put in prison and their activities brought to a summary end. Prominent

American missionaries were dragged into the trial, accused of being connected with the conspiracy to assassinate the Governor-General of Korea. The evidence in the trial was either manufactured by Japanese hirelings or wrung from the prisoners by secret tortures in the form of "confessions," afterwards denied in open court. The absurdity of some of the charges against Korean Christians may be illustrated by the case of Pastor Kil of Ping Yang who was charged with treason for preaching against the evil of cigarette smoking among boys. The analysis of the charge was—the manufacture of cigarettes is a government monopoly; to speak against their use is to injure a government institution; to injure a government institution is to work



against the government; to work against the government is treason; and therefore Pastor Kil was guilty of treason.

Under the pretext of unifying the educational system of Korea and bringing it up to a "higher standard," the government passed educational regulations which forbid religious services and the teaching of history, geography, and the Korean language in all the schools in Korea. Further-

able intentions in the public opinion of the West, so she has, through the clever manipulation of publicity, created an impression in the West that she is fair and above board in her administration of Korea. She compares her position toward Korea and China with that of the United States toward the Philippines and Cuba, and has called her imperial policy in the East an "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine." In view of this comparison of Japan's po-



KOREAN COOLIES PACKING CEREALS ACCORDING TO THE TIME-HONORED ORIENTAL METHOD  
The White-clad Figures of Korean Coolies and Farmers May Be Seen Winding in Endless Procession along the Roads of the Peninsula, Bearing Burdens of Diverse Kinds

more, these regulations provide that all Korean schools shall be under the strict supervision of Japanese educators, and that the Korean children shall be taught to salute the Japanese flag and worship the Japanese Emperor's tablet. Korean students who go to Japan for their education are advised to attend trade or technical schools, but they are insidiously discriminated against in the higher educational institutions. This is an ironic inconsistency in the face of Japan's position at the Peace Conference, where she is demanding for her subjects rights from America and Great Britain equal to those enjoyed by natives of the countries against whom there is no racial discrimination. It is impossible for a Korean student, who goes to Japan under government supervision, to specialize in such subjects as law, history or economics in the Imperial University of Tokyo, and he may not go to Europe or America to finish his education.

The tragedy in the case of the Korean is that he suffers the fate of a conquered race, alike with the Poles and the Bohemians before the world war, yet his plight is little known to the outside world. Japan knows the value of a reputation for honor-

sation with that of the United States, it is worth while to note the salient points of the two Powers in their respective colonial administrations.

Ever since Korea was annexed to Japan, the country has been ruled by military authority. The Japanese governor-generals, from Terauchi, the first, to the present Governor-General Hasegawa, are thoroughbred militarists, ruling the country with a mailed fist policy. The governor-general is the chief executive with dictatorial power, and no Korean is given any position of importance under him. In the Philippines, the governor-general, the vice governor-general, the auditor and the deputy auditor are appointed by the president of the United States. But the secretaries of executive departments, six in number, are all Filipinos appointed by the governor-general with the consent of the Philippine senate. They correspond with cabinet ministers in other countries. The Koreans have no legislative body of any kind; they are denied the right of petition; they are not permitted to elect even town officials without the permission of the Japanese gendarme in command in that town. Such a thing as the franchise, enjoyed by



IN KOREAN CUSTOM THE SIXTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY IS AN OCCASION FOR GREAT FESTIVITY  
The Household for the Women Is Kept Scrupulously Apart from That of the Men. They Have Their Own Inviolable Quarters, and from the Time a Girl Has Reached the Age of Five She Is Practically Secluded

the Filipinos, is unknown to the Korean under Japanese rule. The Filipinos have their federal legislature, composed of a senate and house of representatives, both elected by the people. This Federal Legislature has the right to overrule the governor's veto. All provincial governments in the Philippine Islands are practically autonomous, as the chief executive and his advisers—the governor and the provincial board—are all elected by the people. The administration of justice is almost entirely vested in the Filipino judicial officials. The Koreans enjoy none of these rights.

The judicial administration is entirely vested in Japanese judges, and the Korean has no voice, one way or the other. Occasionally, the governor-general appoints Koreans as provincial governors, for the purpose of demonstrating to the western public that the Japanese are allowing Koreans to participate in the administration of Korea. But the Korean governor is nothing more than a figure head, and the real power is vested in the Japanese "adviser" under him. If he had the temerity to disagree with his Japanese master, he would be immediately removed from executive position.

Japanese propagandists in America praise the Nipponese administration in Korea on the basis of efficiency. It must be remembered that the essence of American democracy is equality of opportunity. The Korean people under Japan are denied this inalienable right of self-development. The Japanese rule in Korea is efficient in the sense that nothing is left to the initiative of the people.

"The moon declines after it is full" is a Korean proverb of ancient origin. The Korean, by nature, is gentle and peace-loving. He has suffered in silence the wrongs which no other people has suffered at the hands of a civilized nation, without the world knowing of them. Granted that Korea was misruled under the old government while Korea was independent, it now appears that that misrule was Utopian compared with the present military régime of Japan. The old government neither terrorized its people by official espionage, nor opposed the higher education of its subjects, as the Japanese are doing at the present time. The independence movement recently reported in the American press is the spontaneous outcry of the entire population that the Japanese oppression has reached its climax and is no longer tolerable. The people have been completely disarmed so they are not in a position to put up an armed opposition against their oppressors. But their demonstration has proven to the West one thing beyond all doubt: *Koreans of all classes are disatisfied under Japanese rule, and they are yearning for the recovery of their lost freedom.*

Japan has failed completely in her colonial administration of Korea in so far as winning the hearts of the Korean people is concerned. Everything she has done in Korea has been motivated by self interest. How long will the Powers of the West permit a nation without conscience as to the rights of a weaker and subject people to rule Korea by sheer force?

# PRESENT-DAY GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN

(Concluding Paper)

By WALTER WALLACE McLAREN

THE chief executive of Japan is nominally an autocrat, exercising under the constitution prerogatives the amplitude of which is not paralleled, nor even approached, in any other modern nation. Underlying his enormous legal powers, and serving not only as their foundation but as their justification as well, is the myth of descent from the Sun-Goddess, Amaterasu, whose mythical grandson, Jimmu Tenno, is said to have founded the Imperial House in 660 B.C. Important, for political purposes, as this myth is in the Japanese official mind, and as a feature of their system of government, as that system stands on paper, the constitutional autocrat, the emperor, is, in fact, completely overshadowed by his active executive agents, the Genro and the cabinet. The policy of the empire is formulated by these two groups, and the public support of the government's policy is secured by appealing to the loyalty to the emperor and to the chauvinism of the people. So sedulously has this characteristic been cultivated since the middle of the last century that no race can be compared to the Japanese in this respect, except the Prussians.

The legislative organ of the government is a mere appendage of the executive system. But inasmuch as appendages have some weight, the Diet exercises a slight influence at all times, and now and then in the crises of domestic politics its feeble powers are sufficient to determine the course of events. In foreign politics the weight of the Diet and of public opinion is predominantly in support at all times of any measures that the government may take to coerce China into granting larger concessions to Japanese traders in Manchuria, Shantung, Fukien or elsewhere in her dominions; on the other hand, any course which the government adopts to promote fair dealing and the fulfilment of treaty obligations to the other powers interested in the Far East is execrated by the press and the people if it impinges upon the Japanese land and money grabbers' ideas of what is their right and due.

## JAPAN'S POLICY AS A WORLD POWER

Japanese imperialism, as recorded in their own history, manifested itself as early as A.D. 200, in which year the army of the Empress Jingo overran one of the kingdoms of Korea. Even though there is no historical basis for her conquests the memory of them has been preserved for the political effect upon the nation. Toward the close of the sixteenth

century Hideyoshi set out to subjugate Korea and the Middle Kingdom, and the records of his feats of arms remained to the Japanese an inspiring story. Not even during the long night of the Tokugawa seclusion did the Japanese entirely forget that glorious century in their history. Nourished upon the stories of Japanese prowess of an earlier time, a whole school of ardent imperialists appeared in the second quarter of the nineteenth century to plague the Tokugawa and assist in the overturning of their power. Among these later-day chauvinists was a youthful prodigy, Yoshida Shoin, who deserves attention not because his teachings were more significant than those of many another of his generation, but because he was schoolmaster to Kido, Inouye, Ito, Shinagawa and others of the leading men of the Restoration. The burden of Yoshida's teaching was directed against the Shogunate as a usurpation of the rightful authority of the Imperial House, and his activity in that direction led to his execution by the Yedo government in 1859. But Yoshida had many other strings to his bow; and one which was hardly less effective for the overthrow of the Tokugawa than his exaltation of the emperor was his imperialism. He advocated "the opening of the Hokkaido, the taking of Kamchatka and the Kurile Islands, the absorption of the Loochoo Islands, taking part of Manchuria, Formosa, and adjusting Japan's relations with Korea with a view of reasserting Japan's suzerainty over that kingdom and gradually showing an aggressive tendency."

Some years, however, were to elapse before Japan was to set out upon her career of expansion in Asia. In the meantime the empire was united under the emperor and gradually thrown open to foreign intercourse. In the fall of 1867 the treaties with foreign countries, negotiated by the Shogunate some twelve years previously, were ratified. China and Korea were not included in these developments. In July, 1871, a treaty of amity and commerce was signed by Japan and China upon "absolutely equal terms." Two years later an attempt was made by negotiations at Peking to clear up the subject of China's relations with Formosa and Korea. At that time China declared that the South Formosan savages were outside of her jurisdiction, and that Korea, while a tributary state, was free to enter into relations with foreign countries. Upon the basis of these assurances the Japanese government



Paul Thompson

#### THE LATE COUNT JUTARO KOMURA

This Great Japanese Diplomat Helped Frame the Portsmouth Treaty, the Treaty with Peking and the Second Anglo-Japanese Alliance



British Newspaper Clipping

#### MARQUIS KATSURA, FAMOUS CONSERVATIVE

Prime Minister from 1901-05 and Again in 1908, He Supported Military and Reactionary Forces in the View that Ministries Are Not Responsible to the Diet

decided to send a punitive expedition against the savages of South Formosa, who had committed a long series of atrocities upon shipwrecked sailors of many nationalities and forcibly to open Korea to the trade of foreign states.

At this point, in July, 1873, the cabinet was upset and its plans indefinitely postponed by the sudden return to Tokyo of certain influential men who had been touring America and Europe for the express purpose of getting original treaties between Japan and the western countries revised. Among the members of that mission were Iwakura, Kido, Ito and Okubo, who, if they failed in the immediate purpose for which they went abroad, had had their eyes opened by what they saw in the foreign states they had visited. They were convinced that Japan was in no condition to undertake a policy of aggression against any western state, nor even against her Asiatic neighbors, and that the proper sequence of development for Japan was, first, a consolidation of the gains of the Restoration, and, second, expansion on the continent of Asia, if anywhere. The policy of aggression adopted by the cabinet in their absence they regarded as fundamentally unsound, if not immediately dangerous to the existence of the empire. Hence, upon their return to Japan they

reversed the policy of the government, reconstructed the council of state and turned the attention of the nation to questions of internal development and away from foreign expansion. What Bismarck was doing for the German Empire this group decided to do for Japan—to secure a breathing space in which the commercial, industrial, agricultural and military resources of the state might be developed against the day when aggressive action might be necessary to maintain Japan's position in the world.

This adoption of the policy of peaceful progress by the new government, late in 1873, precluded both of the military expeditions contemplated earlier in the year, but so great was the unrest among the samurai, developing at times into violence and insurrection, that the government in the following year dispatched a force against the South Formosans, mainly for the purpose of relieving the existing tension and ridding the country for a time of some thousands of the most turbulent spirits in the military class. Once in South Formosa, the Japanese were loath to withdraw, especially as the Chinese had very indiscreetly admitted that the territory was outside of their jurisdiction. The probability of permanent occupation by the Jap-



*International Film Service*

**LI HUNG-CHANG, NOTED CHINESE STATESMAN**

Realizing the Growing Menace of Japan, He Tried to Build an Army, but in the Inevitable Conflict the Japanese Success Exposed China's Weakness to the World

anese soon caused the Chinese to negotiate for their return home. Okubo went over to Peking as the Japanese envoy and settled the question in such a way that the expeditionary force withdrew from Formosa—after China paid some 500,000 taels, only a moiety of the expenses of the undertaking.

The matter of establishing trade relations with Korea, which had been taken up first in 1868 and had gone so badly that in 1873 the Japanese had decided to resort to force to open the Hermit Kingdom, was carried on through the regular channels of diplomacy after the peace party came into power. Finally, in 1876, the Japanese envoys, Kuroda and Inouye, succeeded in getting a treaty of amity and commerce signed at Seoul. The independence of Korea was acknowledged by Japan and three ports were opened to Japanese trade. This treaty was regarded by the Japanese in a very hostile light because it acknowledged the independence of Korea, which was popularly regarded as a tributary of Japan, and at the same time it offended the Chinese, who claimed suzerainty over the peninsula. The Koreans themselves were split into two camps. The great majority were intensely hostile to the Japanese. In 1883 and again in 1884 violent anti-Japanese demonstrations broke out in Seoul, fo-



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**THE SPOKESMAN FOR JAPANESE DEMOCRACY**

Yukio Ozaki, M.P. Now in America, Is Said to Be Forming a Labor Party. The Former Mayor of Tokyo and Minister of Justice Stands for Radical Reforms

mented, it was suspected, by the Chinese. In 1885 the Japanese turned to China for satisfaction, because in the Seoul riots of the previous year Chinese troops had participated. The outcome of these negotiations was the Tientsin Convention of April, 1885, according to the terms of which Japan and China agreed to withdraw their troops from Korea and not to send other troops without giving notice beforehand to the other party.

During the next decade Seoul remained in a state of commotion and Japan's position in Korea continued unstable. Her policy had but two purposes, to maintain the independence of Korea against China's claims of suzerainty and to push her commercial undertakings in the peninsula. She was uniformly unfortunate in her representatives in Seoul, none of whom was a match for the Chinese commissioner, Yuan Shih-kai. Yet Japan's policy, if often brutal in the extreme, was designed through the reform of the Korean administration, at that time indescribably inefficient and corrupt, to strengthen Korea against China and other possible intruders from the continent. At the same time Japan's desire to preside over the reconstruction of the peninsula made it evident that she sought to acquire not only economic but political control.

In 1894 China and Japan came to blows over Korea. The immediate cause of the war was a dispute over the fulfilment of the terms of the Tientsin treaty of 1895, in accordance with which both China and Japan had sent troops to Korea—the former in response to a request from the government in Seoul for assistance against the Tonghak rebels, and the latter to protect her own interests. When the rebellion had been crushed, neither China nor Japan was willing to withdraw. China refused to undertake jointly to reform Korea, and Japan, finally deciding to act alone, forced the helpless government at Seoul to accept her assistance in driving out the Chinese troops.

Thus in some twenty years Japan reached her majority as a modern state, and undertook to force her will in regard to Korea upon the Peking authorities. The policy of "peaceful progress" inaugurated in 1873 by Iwakura, Okubo, Kido and Ito had borne such fruit that she felt herself strong enough to enter the lists against the great colossus of the Asiatic continent. Of the early protagonists of peaceful progress only one, Ito, remained prominently in public life. He and his colleagues had been largely responsible for a régime which had established the constitution and the laws, created an army and navy, and developed commerce and industry, agriculture and education. Not only had the country grown to maturity as a modern state, but the Japanese were conscious of their national strength. Their eyes were open to what was going on in China; her weakness they knew well; moreover, they were witnessing the steady spread of the influence of certain imperialistic nations in China. The day had come for action, for claiming a place among the world powers.

The years immediately following the establishment of the national Diet in 1890 had been marked by intense bitterness of the party politicians against the government. The lower house of the Diet was dissolved every year and with each punitive dissolution the politicians became more hostile to the cabinet. In 1894 all progress with legislation came to a halt. The crisis of domestic politics made the Japanese government the more willing to enter upon a war with a foreign power, knowing full well that with the attention of the nation concentrated upon such an enterprise, disunion at home would disappear. The war with China was an instant success. It was both a popular and a paying venture. China soon sued for peace, and by the treaty of Shimonoseki ceded Formosa and the Liaotung peninsula, and paid an indemnity which more than covered the cost of the war. She also gave up her claim to exercise suzerainty over Korea.

It is enlightening again to draw a parallel between German and Japanese history. Japan's victory over China lifted her out of the ruck of oriental

powers, vastly increased her prestige in Europe and the East, gave a great fillip to the nascent chauvinism of the people, and assured the militarists that war was the shortest road to national aggrandizement; last of all, adjustments of territory at the peace conference paved the way for future wars. The Japanese success uncovered the weakness of China and exposed the hollow sham of Li Hung-chang's army and navy. As a consequence there was a scramble for concessions in the Middle Kingdom on the part of all the European powers, which came to an end only with the Hay Note of 1899 and the general adherence to the policy of recognition of China's independence and the integrity of the territory of the Chinese empire.

It is impossible even to summarize the events of the years 1895 to 1898, but the completed process showed that China had become a checkerboard of concessions and spheres of influence. The last thing the Japanese desired was to have China fall into the hands of the various European powers, but since there was little capital in Japan with which to develop concessions they were compelled to stand aside and see China's resources parcelled out. This was especially true of Russia's seizure of the Liaotung in 1898, the very territory which Japan by the treaty of Shimonoseki had arranged to occupy herself, but which she had returned to China upon advice and under pressure from Russia, Germany and France. With the Russians in Port Arthur, war with them became inevitable, for Korea was no longer safe from their influence and ultimate occupation unless the grip of Russia upon the Far East could be broken. By the protocol of April 25, 1898, both Russia and Japan recognized the independence of Korea and agreed not to interfere in the affairs of that country. Further, Russia acknowledged Japan's economic interests in Korea.

In preparation for the inevitable conflict, the military party in Japan began to look about for an alliance with some first-class European power, for it was clearly recognized that unaided the Japanese could not hope to win. It happened at that time that a revolution in diplomacy was in progress in Europe; the Triple Entente, composed ultimately of Great Britain, France and Russia, was in the process of formation. France was, perhaps, the moving spirit in the change, for as soon as Delcassé entered the foreign office he executed a *volte face* in France's foreign policy. After he negotiated in 1898 a commercial treaty with Italy, and four years later a political arrangement which completely eliminated all causes of difference between the two countries, he turned toward Great Britain. In the meantime, Britain had entered into negotiations with Japan, and the resultant Anglo-Japanese Alliance, *mutatis mutandis* resembled in all essentials the treaties which bound one European nation



*Press Illustrating Service*

#### POPULAR DEMONSTRATION FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN JAPAN BEFORE THE LOWER HOUSE

Constitution Day Was Chosen by the Universal Suffrage Association and the Tokyo University Students to Urge the Adoption of Universal Suffrage by the Government. The Franchise Is Now Exercised Only by One Out of Nine of the Males Qualified by Age to Vote

to another in the preservation of the *status quo*. It was designed to preserve the *status quo* in the Far East, and aimed particularly at bringing Russian aggression in Korea and China to a halt, since Russia was regarded both by Great Britain and Japan as the immediate source of danger to the stability of their interests.

If Great Britain's willingness to associate herself with Japan was in the main due to her fear of Russia as the disturber of the *status quo* in the Far East, the treaty was symptomatic of a far-reaching change, not so much in the principles underlying Britain's foreign policy as in the methods of giving it expression. Hitherto Britain had depended upon her own strength at sea to defend the Empire, but after 1899 the dominance of British sea power was threatened by the German naval policy.

As for Japan, there was nothing but British prestige and her fear of Russian imperialism to make her desire the alliance with England. In political institutions and the predominance of the military party in the government, Japan resembled Prussia much more closely than any other European nation, unless it were Russia. Indeed, there was a party in Japan which favored coming to terms with Russia, and thus avoiding the clash; Ito was its head,

and Ozaki Yukio among those who publicly advocated the Russian alliance. But the Japanese government, headed by Katsura and supported by the Genro after the failure of Ito's attempt in 1900 to build up a party which could hold the military clique in check, had quite other plans. The defeat of Russia in Manchuria opened a vista of expansion in Asia, which reminded them of the dreams of the imperialists of the pre-Meiji era. Remaining at peace with Russia seemed a poor substitute for a victory over her, but essential to such a victory was an alliance in Europe which would serve the double purpose of securing a market for war bonds and heading off any inclination on the part of any third power to intervene during the course of the struggle. Germany as an ally was ineligible on three counts: her supplies of loanable capital were inadequate, she was *persona non grata* with the Japanese nation and she was apparently pro-Russian. France was tied to Russia economically, if not politically. The only powers left were Great Britain and the United States, and the latter was unavailable on account of her traditional policy of isolation. Hence while it is a fact that Ito was in Europe during the second half of 1901 in an unofficial capacity, and was reported to have been in

touch with the Russian government, it was actually in London and by Hayashi Tadasu, the Japanese Minister to St. James, that the negotiations were carried through which served to nerve Japan for her contest with Russia for hegemony over the Far East. It is indeed not at all unlikely that Britain contemplated as a desirable result of the alliance the overthrow of Russian designs in China.

For the second time in a decade, Japan in 1904 disturbed the peace of the Far East for the avowed purpose of maintaining the independence of Korea. When the war was less than two weeks old, Japan

one of the outcomes of the Russo-Japanese War and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the establishment of a Japanese protectorate over Korea.

The direct gains of the war, however, were mainly at China's expense. By the Portsmouth treaty and a subsequent confirmatory treaty with China, Japan received the lease of the Liaotung peninsula and the Manchurian railway zone from Port Arthur to Changchun. In addition to the above Japan obtained only small spoils from Russia—the southern half of Saghalien and the right to fish in Russian waters, as well as a "free hand"



From *Illustrated Japan*

CONSTITUTION MEMORIAL HALL, WHERE PRINCE ITO DREW UP THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION  
Here on February Eleventh Last, Eight Hundred Members of Parliament and All the High Ranking Officials  
Met to Celebrate the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Constitution Granted by the Meiji Tenno

and Korea jointly signed a protocol in which the former again guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of the latter, in return for a promise on Korea's part to "place full confidence" in Japan and adopt advice from that country with regard to the reform of her administration. Before the war ended in August, 1905, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed and revised in the direction of strengthening the bonds uniting the two countries. With regard to Korea, Great Britain recognized Japan's paramount interests and her right to take special measures to protect them. The nature of these "special measures" was defined a few months later by the terms of the convention, the first article of which read, "The government of Japan . . . will hereafter have control and direction of the internal affairs of Korea. . . ." Thus

in Korea. By the same treaty the two contracting parties guaranteed the integrity of the Chinese Empire, and agreed to return to China all Manchurian territory occupied by the forces of either power with exception of the leased territories referred to above. The development of Japan's position in China was until 1914 a matter of exploiting Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia on the basis of the rights acquired by the Portsmouth treaty.

But in the meantime let us see the end of her Korean venture. Following the establishment of a protectorate in 1905, Ito was appointed Resident-General with wide powers of control over internal and external affairs in Korea. But the work of reforming Korea proceeded slowly, as the natives were wedded to their national vices of indolence and dishonesty. In 1908 the control of the govern-



ment in Japan passed into the hands of the military party and Katsura assumed the office of Prime Minister. From that time matters moved rapidly toward the *dénouement*. Ito left the office of Resident-General, and after a short interval General Count Terauchi was sent to Korea to carry through the policy of annexation. In August, 1910, a treaty was forced upon the Koreans by the terms of which sovereignty passed to Japan.

Almost identical, except that the climax has not been reached, and will never be if the Powers or China herself can prevent Japan from accomplishing her purpose, is Japan's policy toward the Middle Kingdom. In 1900, along with practically all the European nations, Japan assented to the second Hay Circular Note, which stated that "the policy of the government of the United States is to seek a solution that may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve China's territorial and administrative unity, protect all the rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international laws, and safeguard to the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." A few months later Great Britain and Germany entered into a separate agreement to the same end. By these means China was saved from dismemberment at the time of the Boxer rebellion. In the preamble to the original Anglo-Japanese Alliance treaty the territorial integrity of China was guaranteed. In 1905 the Hay formula was again assented to by all the neutral powers, and in the revised edition of the Anglo-Japanese treaty and the Portsmouth treaty Great Britain, Japan and Russia renewed their adherence to the policy of the independence of China and the "open door." In 1907, in her treaties with France and Russia, Japan repeated the formula, as she did the next year in the Root-Takahira agreement and in 1911 in the revision of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Such were Japan's international agreements as to China in 1914. China's territorial integrity was guaranteed by a veritable network of treaties and conventions just as Korea's had been in 1905. It seemed as if China could not be made more secure, but the European war changed the face of things in the Far East. The *status quo* was upset; Germany's possessions in China were thrown into the ring and Japan contrived to seize practically the whole of the booty. Kiaochow was taken over for the duration of the war, as were also some of the German islands in the Pacific. Once again Japan fell heir to the leaseholds of insolvent foreigners in Chinese territory. More than that, Japan arbitrarily extended the boundaries of the German concession to include all of Shantung, and set up therein a civil administration. The Twenty-one Demands of May, 1915, were intended to give effect in Shantung and Fukien to arrangements which

had been adopted earlier in South Manchuria, and to perpetuate the Japanese hold on Manchuria.

There was no reason to oppose Japan as the temporary custodian of German interests in China, but the Okuma demands of 1915 drew out a storm of protest, especially from the United States, and as a consequence they were profoundly modified. This incident practically destroyed the Powers' confidence in the integrity of Japan's intentions in China.

Thus by a narrow but a sufficient margin China escaped in 1915 from being reduced to a status of a Japanese protectorate. What saved China, and what is likely long to continue China's safeguard against Japanese encroachment, is the magnitude of the Powers' interests in her territories.

In spite of the set-back of 1915 Japan continued secretly to coerce China. A whole sheaf of secret engagements date from the years 1915 and 1916. When Okuma was followed by Terauchi as the head of the Japanese government, the whole world trembled for China's independence, for it was this formidable militarist who had annexed Korea. But nothing startling resulted from the change of governments; merely a new crop of concessions, military and financial, sprang up during the Terauchi régime. More significant by far was the Japanese government's attempt to wring some advantage out of America's preoccupation with the war in 1917. The Ishii-Lansing Agreement is the fruit of that effort. Once again were repeated the old threadbare formulas; only two new phrases are worth noting. In the preamble the State Department whitewashes Japan's conduct in China during Okuma's term of office, and in the body of the document recognizes that Japan "has special interests in China." What use Japan will make of the recognition remains to be seen.

How, then, is Japan's policy in China to be regarded? From this review of the past at least two phases stand out prominently—Japan poses as the sole assignee in insolvency for every foreign power in China; Japan exploits every opportunity for furthering her economic penetration of China. Nevertheless, the danger of China's becoming a Japanese colony seems remote. The annexation of Korea was one thing, quite another the absorption of China. Even without actual annexation of China, if Japan's formula for peace in the Far East is her hegemony over Asia, then I would say that Japan constitutes a grave menace to the peace of the nations interested in China. A *par Japonica* could not be a stable peace. In that direction lies war, and the ultimate defeat of Japanese pretensions. Nor is the way of peace to be found in the perpetuation of the existing *status quo*, but in the reform and development of China into a powerful modern state capable of dealing on terms of equality with the other great nations of the earth.

# HUNTING BATIK IN JAVA

By CAMILLA CANTEY SAMS

EVERYONE hunts in the Far East. Out there the game is the thing, whether one goes in search of a Bengal tiger or a Korean amber button, a Chinese railway concession or a tiny Japanese gold-lacquered *inro*. I knew one man who zealously and successfully hunted lovely night moths in the mountains of Japan in the summer and elephants in Siam in the winter. My hunting was of the variety Japanese woman shoppers call "teasing the merchant." I hunted eagerly many things in many lands, but hunting Javanese batik in its native lair was to me the most novel and exciting chase of all.

The name *batik* or *batek* originally meant "to trace, paint or design" and is now used to indicate "cotton cloth upon which designs have been painted or traced with molten wax." This double art of painting and dyeing which has recently become popular in the United States has been known and practised in Java for at least two thousand years. One can still see on the marvelously carved, magnificent ruins of the Buddhist temple of Boro Budor in the heart of Java human figures wearing clothing with the same batik designs that are used in Java today. Ever since it was borrowed from India batik has been an important art industry of Java.

Textiles and embroideries are among the most fascinating of the art products in the Far East. I went to countless textile exhibitions, museums and factories in Japan, China, Korea and the Philippines, but the batik of Java, because of its warmth of color and its



DESIGN OF INDIAN ORIGIN REPRESENTING THE TREE OF LIFE AND THE BIRDS OF PARADISE.

quaint designs, appealed to me more than any other textiles in the Orient. Long before I had heard of the Javanese batiks I had seen the Japanese imitations of them in some Osaka printed goods designed for Japanese cushions. I chose one of these patterns for curtains in the upstairs study windows which occupied three sides of my miniature Japanese house and looked out over one of those little picture valleys, filled to the edge and spilling over with gray tiled roofs of temples and houses. These curtains both in color and design were typically Javanese. They may have represented only an experiment by the Japanese mill men with a view to future export to Java, although two years later in Java itself I saw no evidence of the importation of any Japanese imitation batik.

The first genuine pieces of batik that I ever saw were worn by a Javanese baby nurse, or "Babu," who was traveling with a young English couple and their baby in a boat between Japan and Hongkong. Typically Javanese was this devoted little nurse, small and slim and neatly dressed in her pretty native costume—batik *sarong* worn as a skirt and thin long jacket of white, pale pink or yellow cotton stuff. Her fortune was pinned up in her jacket, several hundred dollars worth of gold sovereigns, and, biggest and most conspicuously placed of all, an American gold double eagle. The closely crushed but neatly folded turbans of the Javanese men who were on the Dutch ship between Singapore and Batavia suggested strongly, with their

speckled brown and white, a guinea hen's wings. No sooner had we landed and ridden in the funny little train that runs between the harbor town of Tanjong Priok and the residence part of Batavia, or Weltevreden, seven miles farther inland, and seen the pretty chocolate-hued Javanese women and girls bathing and washing their chocolate-tinted batik sarongs in the same chocolate-colored waters of the canal that runs through the main street of the capital, than I became an inveterate devotee of batik.

It is difficult to tell which hunts the harder in Java, the buyer or the seller. The tourist may look for batik on his own initiative, but he is soon pursued by the batik peddlers, or bazaar men, who scour the country for rare pieces. The trader tracks his human prey through the island's 660 miles of sinuous length until the chase ends on the dock or boat as the weary tourist, with empty purse and arms full of doubtful batik, bids farewell to batik-land. There is an old saying in Japan that the second six months are spent in throwing away the things bought in the first six months in that artistic country. This can equally well be applied to Java, the island counterpart of Nippon in the South Seas, in nature, art and the density and interest of its people.

I shall never forget my first piece of batik, bought the first day we landed. After tiffin, a Gargantuan banquet of *rijattafel* (rice meal), the Dutch world, especially in the most fashionable hotel in the Dutch East Indies, retires to the endless rows of villas or bungalows to sleep it off for two or three hours. By taking his siesta in front of our room door, the *Jongas*—the Javanese name for room and hotel boy—kept the peddlers from disturbing our afternoon nap by the barrier of his own sleeping body. But no sooner had he gone to fetch our afternoon tea than there came a timid knock, and instantly a soft, shuffling, bare foot inserted itself within the gently opening door of the private upstairs porch sitting-room. My curiosity and interest were immediately aroused by a head, beautiful turbaned in batik, which insinuatingly thrust itself through the aperture, followed by an arm covered with glowing *sarongs*, *kain-kapellus* and *slendangs* (skirts, head-cloths scarfs). Before Jongas could get back with his tea tray, the whole porch had been converted into a bazaar, with batik cloths draped over every piece of furniture, hanging on the balustrade and screens and spread over the floor, in the midst of which the "shy trafficker undid his corded bulcs."

To those familiar with the brilliant colors and impressionistic effects of American made batik, painted on soft silks, the Javanese cotton batik with its prevailing tints of warm brown, dark blue, burnt orange and dull red may be disappointing. To get

the fullest appreciation of the beauty of coloring and design, one must see batik in its native home—the sarongs closely wrapping the slim, graceful bodies of the Javanese girls and the slendangs worn like a sling or a long scarf to carry indiscriminately on the hip, fruit, vegetables and children.



*AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY*

#### AN UNUSUAL PIECE OF SEMARANG BATIK

The Motif for the Panel Consists of One of the Puppets from the Shadow Plays Popular in Java

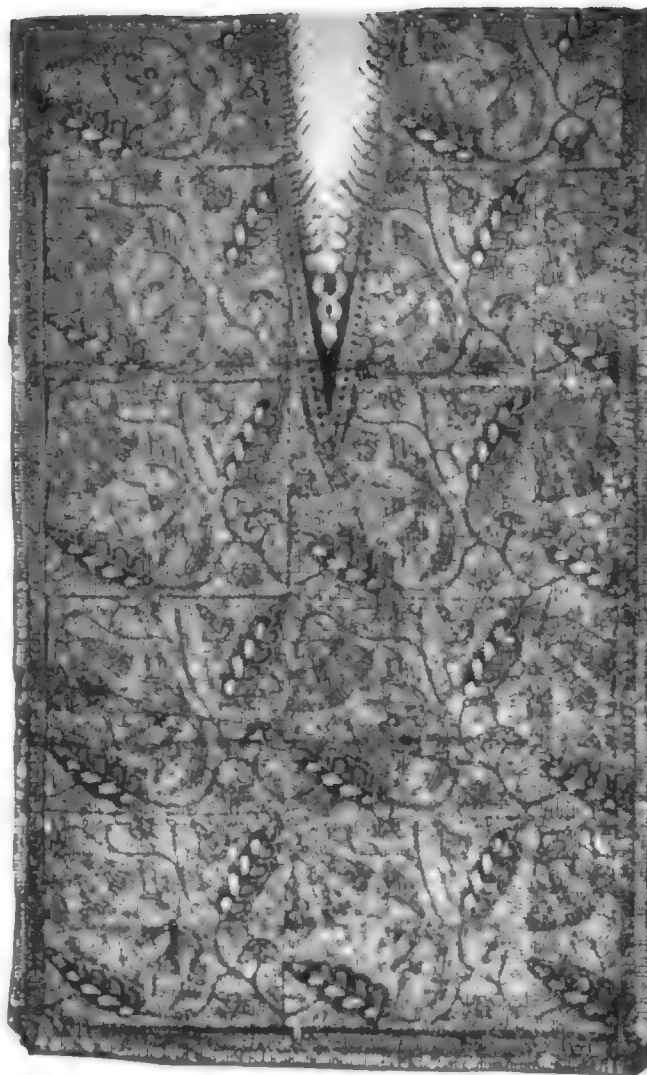
Then the dyed browns become tawny chestnut like the towering palm trunks, and the blues are the distant mountains or the sky of a tropical night, and the whole is Java, the most beautiful island in the world.

Many of the designs have been used and repeated from time immemorial, but there is a wide difference in the execution. The Javanese have never been great travelers but at different times in their history the world has come to them; so there are traces of Arabic, Persian, Indian and Chinese influences in designs and colors. But the best batik is purely Javanese in origin and color, as well as in

design and method of dyeing. The artists take their own palms and ferns, the wonderful vines that sway like strands of hair from the tops of their giant canarium trees to the ground and paint them into the background of the design with tiny streams of hot wax squeezed out of a small pipe-like instrument, called a *tjanting*. Over this jungle background they trace feathers, birds, bees, moths, butterflies, flowers and fruits. The resourceful woman artists cut crosswise their famous fruit, the delicious mangosteen (that Queen Victoria tried so hard to have sent to her) to paint its flowerlike center. The cacao, pomegranate and pineapple are similarly treated. For their sultans and princes they create sporting scenes with wild stags and the hunters with their horses and dogs in the midst of the jungle. And though the Javanese are now Mohammedans, nominally at least, they

often recall, for the sake of art, their Buddhist and primitive beliefs of a thousand years ago and use world old symbols like the phoenix and the swastika. Perhaps on the same piece also will appear their national masked dancers of the *Wayang*. The woman batik artists are particularly fond of the royal design of the bird of paradise and the tree of life. As these women wear no hats to adorn with birds, they paint the bird of paradise, native to Java, on their dresses.

It takes weeks to evolve the finest specimens of batik, for many boilings in castor oil are necessary to prepare the fine white cotton cloth to take the dye properly. Only the design in a single color can be dyed at one time; therefore, the hot wax tracings have to be repeated for each color, as the purpose of the wax is to protect the parts that are not to receive the dye. Very often the same process is



American Museum of Natural History

**SCARF WITH TYPICAL LEAF AND BIRD DESIGN**  
Javanese Batiks with Their Fine Technique and Their Prevailing Tints of Brown, Blue, Deep Orange and Dull Red Contrast Strangely with the Gayly Colored Impressionistic Batiks of Modern American Production

repeated on the other side of the material, so that it is difficult to distinguish between the right and wrong sides. Before the workers can begin to trace the designs in this hot wax, the cloth must be cut into exact lengths; 45 inches wide and 75 inches long for the sarong; about 45 inches square for the headcloths; and for the scarfs and slendangs, 86 inches long and 22 inches wide. All the headcloths have a square center of white, burnt orange, dark blue or red, with the main part of the design running around it, and a narrow border. The sarongs are more elaborate and usually have a band with a design different from the main motif either near the end or through the middle running across the width, called the *kapella*, decorated in long points, the narrow ends of which almost touch one another. The border for the bottom of the sarong is somewhat wider than for the upper part.

There are more than fifty-one different motifs for these borders alone and the study of them is filled with suggestion for an artist. The veined marble or cobweb effects of some of the American batik would be considered serious flaws in Javanese batik dyeing. No matter how skilfully the wax surface is prepared by the batik worker, it is likely to crack here and there, if melted by overheated dye, and permit the dye to trickle through to parts of the material that were not intended to take the color. Consequently a finished piece of material occasionally shows the shadowy or cobweblike traces of color which have been adopted as typical batik motifs by some American designers. The best Javanese batik is so characterized by strong exact design and brilliant colors that the flaws, if they exist at all, are not noticeable. The dyes used in batik are made from the plants and fruits of Java



*American Museum of Natural History*

#### THE ART AND INDUSTRY OF BATIK IS ENCOURAGED BY THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT

A Museum Has Been Maintained for Years at Djokjakarta As a Center for Collecting and Selling Fine Examples of Batik. Here Are Preserved Some of the Special Designs Used Exclusively by the Susuhunan, Sultan of Surakarta, and the Sultan of Djokjakarta

—indigo, of course, furnishing the blues. The rich cinnamon brown of the Djokjakarta batik and the deep burnt orange of the Surakarta or Solo batik is made from the bark or rind of the mangosteen, the most delicious fruit in the world, which grows only in these regions. The bark of other native trees and plants is also used. All these vegetable dyes are permanent, a sure test of the real Javanese batik.

The styles of batik differ from one city to another. The famous Djokjakarta batik is perhaps the finest, but Surakarta or Solo, the other semi-independent central Javan province and rival of Djokja, was superior in the past if not at present. Djokja batik is known by its rich chestnut tones on a dark blue or cream white background, and that of Surakarta by its darker brown, burnt orange and black designs, the "black" really being the deepest shade of indigo or midnight blue. Semarang, a large port on the Java Sea, uses gayer colors with more red, a dull red, however, and richer blues and creamier backgrounds. Hardly any of the brown tints are used and the designs are broader and freer, with many fruits and flowers. In the cities, like Batavia and Sourabaya, the initiated can always tell where the natives have come from by the color and design of their sarongs. No gifted batik worker is satisfied merely to repeat some small conventional pattern. He gives full vent to his

imagination, religious feeling and traditional background. Every artist is dependent on his own flora and herbs and on his own individual knowledge of the application of their juice. This knowledge has been limited and localized, particularly in the past, so that each district has its own dye stuffs and designs. Although the variety of subjects for batik designs is endless, the connoisseur, familiar with the composition of the dyes and local history, can always tell in what period and locality a given piece of batik has been made.

The Dutch government is doing all it can to encourage the art and industry of batik and has maintained for years at Djokjakarta a museum and a center for selling the best batik and other native handicrafts. At the museum are preserved examples of all the special designs of batik exclusively used by the Sultan of Surakarta, called the Susuhunan, as well as those of the Sultan of Djokjakarta. Some of these batiks, with the designs outlined in gold, give the effect of wonderful velvet brocades with depth on depth of color.

The most cherished batik day in my memory was the day we went to see the palace of the Sultan of Djokjakarta, who has an establishment of fifteen thousand wives, children, grandchildren, soldiers and servants. An old Dutch official showed us everything except the old Sultan himself. A gold umbrella, the insignia of Javanese royalty, always



From the Museum of Natural History

**EVERYONE WEARS BATIK IN BATIK LAND**  
Children of the Royal Household or Children of the  
Bazaar. All Wear the National Costume with Infinite  
Grace and From Infancy Learn to Fasten Their But-  
toonless Sarongs with a Dexterous Twist

accompanies the Sultan and his family wherever they go. On state occasions many gold umbrellas are carried behind the Sultan or held over him by his maids of honor, who live in one of the shed-like entrances to the private apartments of the Sultan. These maids of honor, to whom we talked through an interpreter, were handsomely dressed in the finest batik sarongs and wore glittering jewels on their bare necks. No one can be admitted to the honorable post of maid of honor until she has reached the secure age of seventy years, and those we saw, to judge by their wrinkled faces and bony shoulders, must have held the position from twenty to forty years. The royal batik workers in the palace also are old hags, so that there may be no grounds for jealousy on the part of the Sultan's three hundred odd wives. The royal wives, by the way, find amusement in designing and making batik as a sort of fancy work.

The soldiers guarding the entrances to the differ-

ent courtyards were as fine looking men physically as one might see in Java, in spite of their perfect comic opera uniforms. They seemed taller than they actually were, because each of them wore a black fez tall as a chimney-pot and held himself as straight as a ramrod, as he marched across the plaza with slow majestic step, which was not unlike the ritualistic walk of a high-church acolyte or a stately Shinto priest. The soldiers as a rule wear nothing above the waist, but, in deference to the "cool" seasons, perhaps (the temperature had dropped to only 95 degrees or so) they were, when I saw them, wearing blue and black jerseys with broad stripes running around their muscular torsos. Their brown batik sarongs were not trimly and tightly folded about the waist, as most Javanese wear them, but were bunched up in a fantastic way like a huge bustle or pannier over one hip, to allow them, I inferred, to get at the *kris* which was always worn on the tucked up side. Their feet were bare, yet I noted that several of them were wearing puttees above their shoeless feet. When on guard at the entrances they do not stand as our sentries do, but squat in Javanese style or sit cross-legged in semi-Turkish fashion. Their officers, rich young noblemen, were obviously elegant dandies, who disported with an indescribable grace and air the most wonderful cream and chestnut colored batik sarongs.

Unfortunately we missed by a day or two one of the great annual festival when the Sultan comes out with all his numerous retinue—including the charming maids of honor holding the gold umbrella over him—and parades through the main street of Djokjakarta on the arm of his "Elder Brother," the Dutch Resident and real ruler of the Province. But we saw, we are sure, the most charming member of the royal family, the seven or eight year old little Princess who is the Crown Prince's daughter. She is said to be the favorite granddaughter of the Sultan, and she was certainly the favorite of the dear old Dutch official in charge of us. The little Princess was lovely grace itself and she shone like a star among her retinue of playmates and attendants. As soon as she saw the Dutch official she left her devoted followers and ran across the courtyard holding up her little sarong to keep from tripping on it. We stood aside while the old gentleman and the little girl bowed low to each other. Then she held out one slim little hand with a royal gesture of command, and he fished in his pockets for some colored picture postcards which she knew he always brought for her. Another low bow to him and to us, and she was off again like a little humming bird to her nurses and attendants. I could not tell what kind of batik she wore. I remember only how prettily and tightly her little sarong was tucked under her beautifully shaped and

slender arms and bare, creamy brown shoulders, her oval face with the sweet, bright, brown eyes and radiant smile when she found that she had not been forgotten by her old admirer. Dear little Princess! She is not ten years old yet but may already be betrothed, if not married, by this time.

From the little Princess of the palace of the Sultan to the children of the bazaar is not so long a step, in the matter of clothes at least, as it would be in western countries; for they both wear, as a rule, only one cotton garment, the sarong. The poorest children cannot afford anything but imitation batik, but even these are pretty. Very small girls dress usually in bright reds. They learn to put on their sarongs with great celerity, deftly and tightly fastening them with a rapid twist, apparently very securely, in spite of the absence of buttons and hooks and eyes, for they seem to stay in place in spite of vigorous play. When we were buying batik sarongs one day in the bazaar at Sukabumi, the official mountain resort on the slopes of the great active volcano Gedé, we asked the merchant's little four year old girl to try on for us, for the effect, an endless number of children's sarongs, and it was marvelous to watch the quick, neat way she tucked the skirt securely around her little chest.

I could not speak more than a word or two of Malay but I slipped off one morning in Surabaya, the Chicago of Java in business and the—well, there is no other hotter place in the world to compare with it for heat—and went through the bazaar looking for batik designs and specimens. It is the largest bazaar in Java and the best one for batik. As it was about nine o'clock in the morning, the rush of early business was over, so the merchants gave me their undivided attention and curiosity, and, I must add, courtesy, even when they found that I was not going to buy more than a few inexpensive pieces. When they saw my real admiration for good batik, however, they opened up some of their treasures which were kept specially wrapped up and were shown only to the elect. There was also, alas, much cheap new stuff, largely imported from Europe in the gaudy modern style becoming popular in the southern part of the island.

Hunting for old masterpieces of batik is the real quest, however, and these can best be found, as a rule, in the government pawn shops. The Javanese are not a thrifty or bustling race and they love their siestas. A railway train cannot be run long after dark in Java, since it is impossible to keep the native engineer and conductors awake. In consequence of the more or less indolent habits of the people the pawn shops have done such a thriving business that the Dutch, who are not what one would call lacking in thrift, have taken the pawn shops over as a government business and now clear some \$300,000 annually thereby. It has become



*American Museum of Natural History*

#### JAVANESE BATIK IS CHARACTERIZED BY INFINITE VARIETY OF DESIGN

The Batik Artists Are Fond of Conventionalizing the Wonderful Fruits, Trees and Birds of the Tropical Jungles of Their Island Paradise

quite the thing for Batavian society, the capital setting the fashion for the rest of the Dutch Indies, to go to the monthly and quarterly auction sales of the unredeemed treasures stored in the government pawn shops, and here come the batik enthusiasts looking for fine specimens.

True to the custom of the country, the batik dealers pursued us to the very end of our stay in Java. But I had acquired the day before we sailed, through a trusted and native employee of one of our official friends, an old and rarely beautiful sarong of Surakarta batik. The Tuan, or head of the family, had at the same time hunted down and captured an equally fine specimen of Javanese handicraft, a really old and "lucky" kris, so we were as full of satisfaction as our pockets were empty when we chugged out in the launch to the Dutch ship that was to take us on the twenty-one day voyage to Melbourne.

# ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

**RUSSIA'S AGONY**, by Robert Wilton. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1919, pp. 357.

Many writers on Russia seem content to emphasize the spectacular, the inexplicable, in her history and development, and let it go at that. Their wavering, uncertain conclusions suggest an old Chinese proverb, which runs, "All generalizations are false, including this one." They would rather be indefinite than wrong.

Not so Mr. Wilton. His volume on *Russia's Agony* represents a serious effort to understand the causes and the consequences of the Revolution. He begins with an analysis of the predisposing conditions. Among the influences, direct and indirect, are the mystic idealism of the people, the old régime, the pogroms, the power of Germany both within and from without, Razputinism, and a singular proneness for mass action, as already expressed in the co-operative societies and the workmen's artels. These first one hundred pages of the book reveal an unusually penetrating and deliberate mind. Whatever the reader may feel inclined to accept or disregard in the succeeding chapters, he can ill afford to ignore this analysis if he is searching for an illuminating account of the turbulent pre-revolutionary period.

Next follows a description of the Revolution itself. To this author the mass action of the revolutionists represents only hopeless endeavor. He is unsympathetic toward all of Kerensky's later efforts to regain the favor of the mob. In Kornilov he finds the truest expression of what is sane and good in Russia. The country's agony is to him the agony which Kornilov described when he addressed the popular conference in Moscow, in August, 1917. Kerensky had summoned representatives of the four Dumas, of the Zemstvos and Municipalities, of the Co-operatives, the Soviets, the Committees and the military and social organizations. Against the expressed wishes of Kerensky, Kornilov spoke and swung the mob halfway in his favor with his emphasis on the need for saving the land from thralldom, on the sapping of the discipline of the officers, many of whom had been foully murdered or shot in the back, and on the specter of hunger in the ranks.

Never does Mr. Wilton fail to insist that Bolshevism is a force more deadly than German militarism and yet he sees good coming out of it all—in spite of rather than because of the Revolutionists. He sees the end of the day of Lenin and of destruction. At the close

he sounds a note of warning lest we permit Germany to capture the Russian markets. Taken all in all, this stout volume of Mr. Wilton's unquestionably will find a permanent place among the works of those who have endeavored to present a sane and historic account of one side of a two-sided question.

**THE LUZUMIYAT OF ABU'L-ALA**, first rendered into English by Ameen Rihani. James T. White and Company, New York, 1918, pp.100.

There is something refreshing about a vigorous one hundred per cent pessimist like Abu'l-Ala. Something stoic, too, and merciless. "The Earth then spake," he says,

"My children silent be:  
The same to God the camel and the flea:  
He makes a mess of me to nourish you,  
Then makes a mess of you to nourish me."

He calls us, now coins that fade in circulation, now a sapless weed, now a shadow on the sandy waste. When his dreams are evil they come true; and when they are not, they are only dreams. It is all as gloomy as the morning paper our fellow commuters read every day on their ride to the city, if we can judge the papers by the expression of their readers. The realization that the world has continued for ten centuries since this Syrian poet penned his song of discontent emphasizes the profundity of Galileo's famous "e pur se muove." No matter, though; there is compelling power in his attack on hypocrisy and quackery, in his recognition of the supremacy of reason and the human soul. Abu'l-Ala died about the time when Omar, the tent-maker, was born. The similarity and dissimilarity one detects between the "Rubaiyat" and the "Luzumiyat" may be merely a reflection of the spirit of the age. Those who still fondly turn to the former for enjoyment some lazy night will surely find stimulus, too, and pleasure in these ruthless rhymes.

**YASHKA: MY LIFE AS PEASANT, OFFICER AND EXILE**, by Maria Botchkareva; as set down by Isaac Don Levine. Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1919, pp. 340.

Even in the tumultuous days of two summers ago or less, the achievements of Maria Botchkareva and her "Battalion of Death" fired the imagination and captured headlines in the press. The normal desire of her admirers to

know her more intimately is satisfied adequately, indeed generously, in this volume bearing as its title the nickname by which the soldiers learned to admire her, both as comrade and friend. Botchkareva, or "Yashka," is semi-literate. That is why she does not tell her own story. She could scarcely have found a more sympathetic—well, for lack of a better word one must call Mr. Levine an amanuensis, or, paradoxically, an autobiographer. His very excellences and wide information about Russia become his handicap: too often he snatches an opportunity, the reader suspects, to turn a chapter or paragraph into a peg on which to hang his own opinions. But at least this additional background of fact and opinion lends richness to the narrative, which in itself seems too stark and spectacular to convince the average reader. The outstanding features of the account are Yashka's intense devotion to the cause for which she fought heroically, her gentler side as revealed in her love for aging parents, a clean cut portrayal of the Russian leaders, especially Kerensky, and a ghastly picture of the hopelessness of Bolshevik forces in action. Wherever one's sympathies may lie, so far as the latter are concerned, Yashka's is an inspiring and impelling tale.

**ROUMANIA YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY**, by Mrs. Will Gordon, F. R. G. S., with an introduction and two chapters by H. M. the Queen of Roumania. John Lane Company, New York, 1918, pp. 270.

For many a moon the voice of little nations will be heard telling and retelling the tragic story of the past half decade. In Mrs. Gordon's volume on Roumania the voice is alternately plaintive and rhapsodical, the former when it recounts the horrors that caused Bucharest to veil itself in mourning and the latter when it dwells on memories of native woods of enchantment in the days before the war. Roumania, the Belgium of the East, fought pluckily. The sixteen divisions which represented her whole army at one time resisted thirty-seven supremely equipped German divisions. By drawing down upon herself these forces she felt, even when disaster threatened, that she was contributing towards the historic triumph of Verdun. Queen Mary, in a couple of chapters and in an introduction, furnishes a passionately interesting story. Indirectly and quite unconsciously on her part she makes us realize that only a plucky country could be worthy of such an heroic queen.



THE RIDDLE OF NEARER ASIA, by Basil Mathews, with a preface by Viscount Bryce. George H. Doran Company, New York, 1919, pp. 216.

THE TRAGEDY OF ARMENIA, by Bertha S. Papazian. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1918, pp. 164.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO ISLAM, by James L. Barton, LL.D. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1918, pp. 316.

The title of the first of these books suggests more or less the theme of the three. To the western world the Near East remains a riddle, even in the recognition that its future will be a determining factor in the development of both the Occident and the Orient. Mr. Mathews dreams of a day when Aleppo, the true center of Nearer Asia, will become the railway junction for Paris, Singapore, Petrograd, Shanghai, Cape Town and Madras, as well as the clearing house of an aerial mail-system from Vancouver, Canton, Tokyo and Calcutta to London, Rome, Cairo and Johannesburg. (Incidentally in reading one wonders how so slender a volume can hold such a wealth of sociological information presented in an extremely interesting way.) In that not far distant day it will matter, for civilization and for art, if gallant and sacrificing Armenia will have been found worthy and capable of self-determination. The Armenians, heroic and patient, are a riddle to writers like Bertha Papazian and to others from whom she quotes—to Dulaurier, who called them the "Dutch of the East," to Lamartine, who found them like the Swiss; and to American missionaries, who exclaimed, "We have met the Yankees of the East." Yet her simple and unassuming account helps us to understand this particular enigma better. And Dr. Barton, in "The Christian Approach to Islam," strikes the same chord, with its heavy and mysterious undertones. His contribution, in a nutshell, is an insistence on proper recognition of the Near Eastern point of view. The approach to Islam is through Islam: the way to change the Mohammedan mind and heart is through the Mohammedan mind and heart. This, Dr. Barton, asserts, some missionaries have failed to understand. And the realization that this assertion is only too true makes his contribution the more valuable. The next impression one gets from reading any one or all of the three books under consideration is the broad tolerance of the authors, even when discussing phases of life with which they may not be in entire sympathy. It is a commendable feature, which definitely contributes toward the establishment of missionary work on a sound and scientific basis.

A. L. O.

PENCIL SPEAKINGS FROM PEKING, by A. E. Grantham. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1918, pp. 295.

Some years ago a small volume in the form of Letters purporting to come from the pen of a "Chinese Official," caused something of a small tempest in the western literary world. Why? Because the writer presented a penetrating survey of the fundamentals of western and eastern civilization, as exemplified particularly in the history of England, as compared with that of China, and dared to state in no equivocal terms that in every particular Chinese civilization had proved itself superior. The volume was directed, however, not so much toward praising China as throwing into illumination the weaknesses and evils of the English industrial and social systems.

A. E. Grantham, who writes altogether too well to be as unknown in the field of literature as the total absence of biographical data would seem to indicate, has furnished a significant and somewhat mysterious sequel to this earlier volume by Lowes-Dickinson. *Pencil Speakings from Peking* is a thoughtful production of historical and philosophic import. To say that it is one of the distinctive contributions for all time to our better understanding of China and the great problem of the East is in no way an exaggeration, for it goes back of the present political turmoil to the molding of Chinese thought and character, which are the tools for the shaping of Chinese history.

The author expresses himself as well aware of "the immense difficulty of compressing forty centuries of an unknown people's chronicles into a shape that is both readable and portable." Consequently, we must make shift with "a shadowy outline, a few bright splashes of color here and there amid the impenetrable darkness." What follows is no compendium of the intricate dynasties that have ruled the Middle Kingdom, but an erratic yet brilliant series of pictures, vividly portrayed, of periods and men, frequently interspersed with rapier-like thrusts at western institutions and principles, and an original balancing and estimating of life's ideals. It is in the tone of a Chinese sage that much of the book is written. Either consciously or unconsciously, Mr. Grantham presents us with Chinese philosophy at first hand.

"Irreverence towards what is left of the trivialities of the past is stupid enough—contempt of its real greatness is criminal folly. . . . Placed in the clear dawn of history, before the din and music of human theories and activities had reached their present gigantic and confusing proportions, these wise men of

old could discern more readily than we moderns the goal and purpose of man's life on earth, the secret of his destiny, which is none other than the realization of eternal harmonies from among the fleeting discords of the hour, the steadfast shaping of a world of beauty, order and wisdom out of the seething chaos of violence and ignorance."

In his research for truth, for some inviolable justification of existence, Mr. Grantham fastens on the bright past. If one is an idealist, though not an optimist—the distinction is clearly defined—one is drawn either backward or forward to unnumbered dreams of a world a little nearer to the heart's desire. This world, with its flowers of poetry, its freshness, its sincerity and simplicity, its aspiration, its immense tolerance, its contact with things eternal, the essential loveliness and beauty of physical as well as spiritual forces Mr. Grantham finds in ancient China. His point of view is perhaps best summed up in a passage describing the Temple of Heaven in Peking—"lonely watch-tower true to its trust in a turbid welter of havoc, change, and desecration." "The slender poles of wireless telegraphy stand there now, gathering the world's gossip out of the blue. One wonders whether the mystic influences which the untutored instinct of the ancient Chinese thought of attracting out of their skies by fragrance of burnt-offerings, by music of lutes and bells and drums, were not on the whole more conducive to spiritual welfare than the latest news of battle-fields, parliaments, or Stock Exchange. Still those slender poles do point upwards, and some day they may vibrate with nothing but messages of peace and good-will from nation to nation, from race to race.

"That day is not yet."

There will be many who will quarrel with Mr. Grantham's evaluation of the past and his impatient scorn, his withering contempt for today. Undoubtedly not a few clever literary detectives will piece together his remarks about the predatory instincts of Napoleon, of England, his occasional sympathetic utterances in regard to Frederick the Great and Germany, and declare the book to be "pro-German," putting down the writer as soured by the outcome of the great European struggle. Such snap judgments deserve short shrift. It is the "great financial, commercial, and industrial trusts, which, under the spurious cry of progress, democracy, and civilization, are gradually drawing the whole of mankind into their polyp-like tentacles," that the author of *Pencil Speakings from Peking* challenges with the clarion cry of the idealist.

G. E.



## Did They Quit?

**T**HEY did not. And they are not quitting now.

Neither did you while we were winning the war.

Well, are you going to quit now—when the war is won? Our job isn't finished yet—not by a long-shot. And it's a man-sized job, too—if we are going to turn our victory to real account, if we are going to make from it a more prosperous America and a better world to live in.

We have fighting men to bring home and find jobs for. We have our wounded to care for and our crippled to rebuild into confident, successful citizens. There is still work for our fighting men to do in Europe, if we are to gain from our victory the kind of world we have been fighting for.

It's a big job. If we leave it unfinished now—when the end is in sight—Chateau-Thierry and the Meuse will have been fought and won in vain.

There's a bill of some billions of dollars to clean off the slate—before we can call it a day and enjoy the new world that we have won.

**Let's finish the job—with this  
Victory Liberty Loan**

*This space contributed by*  
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### Winners in Essay Contest

The American Asiatic Association takes pleasure in announcing that the prizes of \$75, \$50 and \$25 offered to members of the Chinese Students' Alliance in America for the three best essays submitted, have been awarded to

- B. Y. Chu—"Currency Plans and Possibilities for Reform"  
C. H. Nee—"The Marketing Problems in China"  
Chuan Chao—"International Cooperation in Financing China by Foreign Lands"

The American Asiatic Association and the Chinese Students' Alliance extend to the winners in the contest their congratulations and to the participants their appreciation, thanking the judges, Messrs. W. F. Willoughby, Edward A. Ross and Amos P. Wilder for their courtesy in acting.

### Change of Address Notice

If you desire ASIA to be sent to your country residence, please give us at least a month's notice of your change of address, mentioning your former location as well as the new one. This will insure prompt delivery of the magazine to you.

### Contributors and Contributions

W. B. HARRIS, F. R. G. S., is the Morocco correspondent of the *London Times*. He has written several books about his travels and explorations in Morocco and northern Africa.

H. M. HYNDMAN, the well known English socialist, contributes in this number the second of a series of articles on India.

J. E. LODGE is curator of Chinese and Japanese art in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Z. T. SWEENEY was United States consul-general at Constantinople from 1889 to 1893.

OLIVE GILBREATH, a young American writer living at present in Vladivostok, is making a study of Siberian and Russian conditions.

EARL HERBERT CRESSY, missionary of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, is principal of Wayland Academy at Hangchow.

STEWART CULIN, curator of ethnology at the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, has made many scientific expeditions to the Orient and is an authority on various oriental subjects.

JAMES S. de BENNEVILLE lived in Japan from 1901 to 1917. He has explored unusual fields and recorded the results of his studies in *Sakurambo*, *More Japonico*, *The Yotsuya Kaidan*, and other books.

"SHAHINDA" is the pen name of Begum Fyzee Rahamin, a member of one of the most respected and progressive Muslim families in India. She is now in the United States, lecturing and writing on the arts of India.

WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, professor of Biblical literature at Vassar College, is interested in the movement to found a school for American children in Tokyo.

ROY CHAPMAN ANDREWS is associate curator of mammals at the American Museum of Natural History, New York. His expeditions have taken him to little known parts of the Orient.

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#### PRINCE FAISAL, SON OF THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ AND ARABIAN DELEGATE TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE

The Crown Prince of the new Arabia that is hoping for much from the Peace Conference is, with his turban and priestlike robe and beard, one of the most picturesque figures in Paris, where he flies the new-born Arabian flag from his automobile. Prince Faisal, commanding the Arabian army, which acted as the British right wing on the Near Eastern front, brilliantly assisted the British to defeat the Turks and Germans in Mesopotamia. The Arabian sun has really risen above the setting star and crescent of Turkey. Prince Faisal, on behalf of the Arabian people, thirteen million strong, is demanding the self-determination of his people and a state that may be formed out of the former Turkish provinces of the Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Syria, Yemen and Nejd. He has urged in strong terms that the United States and no other country be made the mandatory for the new Arabian kingdom, which, he says, is to be composed of federal states with one national parliament. It is not at all certain that the people of the United States are eager to assume the responsibility of trusteeship for the new kingdom. But the problem of Arabia and the whole Near East is one with which America is most vitally concerned because, upon her decision in the Near East, depends the trend of her whole future policy in international affairs.



DR. INAZO NITOBÉ, A DISTINGUISHED JAPANESE VISITOR TO  
THE UNITED STATES

No one is more eminently fitted to interpret the finest ideals of Japan to the United States or at the same time to carry back to his own country the spirit of all that is best in American life and thought than Dr. Nitobé, now in the United States and planning shortly to sail for France and England with Baron Goto. Dr. Nitobé is no stranger to the United States. He has been warmly received here many times and on his last visit, in 1912, he came at the invitation of the Carnegie Peace Foundation to deliver a series of lectures at American universities, published later as "The Japanese Nation." Dr. Nitobé is a true cosmopolitan. He has lived and studied in many countries and has the unusual gift of understanding the problems and customs of other races. He received his Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins and afterwards studied at German universities. When he returned to Japan he became a professor at his own Alma Mater, the Sapporo Agricultural College. For some years Dr. Nitobé has occupied at the Tokyo Imperial University the chair of colonial history and administration, on which subjects he is a recognized authority, not only because of his research work, but because of his actual experience as adviser to the government of Formosa. Dr. Nitobé spends himself generously in every movement that has for its object the welfare of the socially oppressed and downtrodden in Japan. His life long labors in the interest of the higher education of Japanese women have recently borne fruit in the establishment in Tokyo of a new college for women, of which he is president.





ADMIRAL KOLCHAK, HEAD OF THE OMSK GOVERNMENT WHICH IS GAINING STRENGTH AMONG THE DIFFERENT RUSSIAN FACTIONS

At the right of Admiral Kolchak is General Fleishkoff, commander of the Manchurian armies; at the left, Mr. Popoff, Russian consul at Harbin. The Omsk Government, because of the recent progress of Admiral Kolchak against the Bolsheviks, is rapidly gaining strength. Kolchak's troops have been pursuing the Bolsheviks toward the Volga, and are now planning an advance on Moscow. Everywhere they are reported to be in retreat. Although it was the original intention not to recognize the Omsk administration officially until the German delegates had signed the peace treaty, there is now a general movement on foot to consider it the de facto government in Russia not only because of Admiral Kolchak's military successes, but also because of his political victories. The Archangel Government, the Cossack Government at Ekaterinburg and the other Russian factions, with the exception of the Bolsheviks have agreed to recognize the Omsk administration as the central government on condition that Admiral Kolchak will call a constitutional assembly elected by universal suffrage and permit the local governments to have control of their local affairs.



—L. C. GARDNER

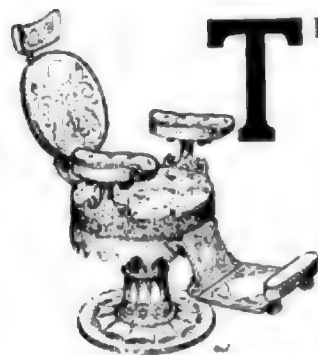
THE FAMOUS TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA, BUILT BY THE MOGUL EMPEROR, SHAH JAHAN, AS A MEMORIAL TO HIS FAVORITE WIFE, MUMTAZ MAHAL.

This Dream in Marble, Remarkable Alike for its Color, Design and Decorative Workmanship, Has Been Painted and Described More Than Any Other Single Building in the World. The Taj Has Given Rise to the Saying That the Moguls Designed Like Titans and Finished Like Jewelers.

# THE LIQUIDATION OF A SULTANATE

By W. B. HARRIS

Illustrations by Gué



**T**HE year 1912 saw the end of the independence of Morocco, and though there must always be present a regret when something very old and very picturesque disappears, yet on the whole the end of its independence was a matter for congratulation.

Built up originally on the foundation of the religious prestige of its rulers, for the Sultans of Morocco were descendants of the Prophet, the rotten old edifice had stood for many years in a state of imminent collapse. Only its isolation and the exclusiveness and fanaticism of its people had postponed its earlier disintegration. For a long time, in the throes of mortal disease, Morocco had kept up a semblance of life. A young and spendthrift Sultan, Mulai Abdul Aziz, had wasted the revenues of the country and emptied its treasuries—for the greater part on the most useless purchases of European origin. His reign had been the epoch of the *commis-voyageurs*, when caravans converged upon Fez from all the seaports, bearing cages of wild beasts and the most astounding assortment of every imaginable and unpractical object of luxury and bad taste. It was an era of fireworks and barrel-organs, of fantastic uniforms and beds made of looking glass, of cameras and parrots from the Amazons. This expenditure, his association with Europeans and the weakness with which he administered his Government gave rise to a rebellion. His half-brother, Mulai Hafid, proclaimed himself Sultan in the southern capital.

The war between the two Sultans was tedious and uninteresting. Since the principal object of both seemed to be to avoid an encounter, they contented themselves by issuing edicts of mutual excommunication and by pillaging the tribes in order to obtain money, regardless of their political opinions. When either Sultan had funds he had soldiers also; failing resources, the armies alternately dwindled away almost to the point of disappearance. In fact, they were both dependent for troops on the deserters from each other's forces. At length Mulai Abdul Aziz left Fez for the scene of the rebellion, and marching slowly by a very devious course, so as to avoid any possible encounter with the enemy,

he set out for the South. Meanwhile Mulai Hafid, equally pluckily, set out to conquer the North—also, and for the same reason, by a very devious route. In all probability each would have successfully reached the other's capital without a hitch if Mulai Abdul Aziz's army, when only a short distance from its goal—Marakesh—had not suddenly pillaged the imperial camp, driven the Sultan to seek refuge on the coast, and declared for his rival. A few months later he abdicated in favor of Mulai Hafid, who, with only a few followers (for his army had likewise deserted him) had meanwhile arrived in Fez with little more than the proverbial half-crown in his pocket.

Fez accepted him as Sultan, on the distinct condition that the city was to be exempted from all taxation. This His Majesty solemnly promised. He kept his promise for a few weeks—until, in fact, he was strong enough to break it—and then he collected taxes, legal and illegal, with gusto never before experienced. His authority for changing his Sultanic word was backed by the fact that meanwhile he had collected a little army. Naturally the Treasury was empty, and no tribesmen presented themselves to enter the military service, as no pay was forthcoming. The situation was precarious. Without troops Mulai Hafid could do nothing, not even collect the taxes he had promised to forego; and without the taxes he couldn't live. At all costs he must have an army. So one day the public criers announced in the streets and market-places that on a certain day the Sultan was giving a great feast at the palace to the adepts of the sect of the *Gennaoua*. Now the confraternity of the *Gennaoua* is very popular in Morocco, though, limited almost entirely to the southerners, who are largely of negro extraction and form a class by themselves of laborers and water-carriers, it is looked upon as unorthodox by the more educated Moors. The Sultan even hinted that he himself had leanings toward their particular doctrine. On the day in question the *Gennaoua*, washed and in their best clothes, flocked to the palace and entered its great walled courts, surrounded by frowning towers. With every sign of holiday-making and joy they manifested their pleasure at the honor of being invited to the Sultan's religious garden-party and sought the refreshments. Alas, there were none—nothing but high walls and closed gates—and the next day a sad but resigned army was being drilled on the palace parade ground.

Mulai Hafid was not the man to restore dying Morocco to health. Tribes revolted; he himself adopted barbarous methods and the condition of Morocco became worse than before. In the early months of 1912 the Sultan was besieged by the tribes in Fez. He appealed to the French, already installed at Casablanca on the Atlantic coast. An expedition was hurriedly despatched to the capital, which was relieved. A few weeks later the Treaty of the French Protectorate was signed, to be followed immediately by a massacre of French officers and civilians in Fez. Mulai Hafid's position became impossible, both in the eyes of France and of his own people, and he decided to abdicate. The court moved to Rabat, on the coast, and there the final scenes of Moroccan independence took place. They consisted in the most rapacious bargaining on the part of the Sultan in order to obtain the best possible terms for himself.

Before leaving Fez he had already begun to secure his future comfort in life. He had informed all the royal ladies of his palace (and they are legion), the widows of former Sultans and a host of female relations, that they must all accompany him to Rabat. He gave them stringent orders as to their luggage. All their jewels and valuables were to be packed in small cases, their clothes and less costly belongings in trunks. They strictly followed these injunctions, but on the day of the Sultan's departure the ladies and the trunks were left behind. They are still in Fez; the jewels, there is reason to believe, are in Europe. Mulai Hafid always prided himself on his business qualities.

The last weeks of his reign were one continual period of wrangling with the French authorities. He was still Sultan, and therefore dangerous; and, as the question of his successor had not been settled, he still held some trump cards which he played successfully. Even when everything was arranged and the letters for the proclamation of his younger half-brother, Mulai Yussef, the reigning Sultan, had been despatched to the interior, Mulai Hafid changed his mind. On reconsideration, he stated, he thought he wouldn't abdicate or

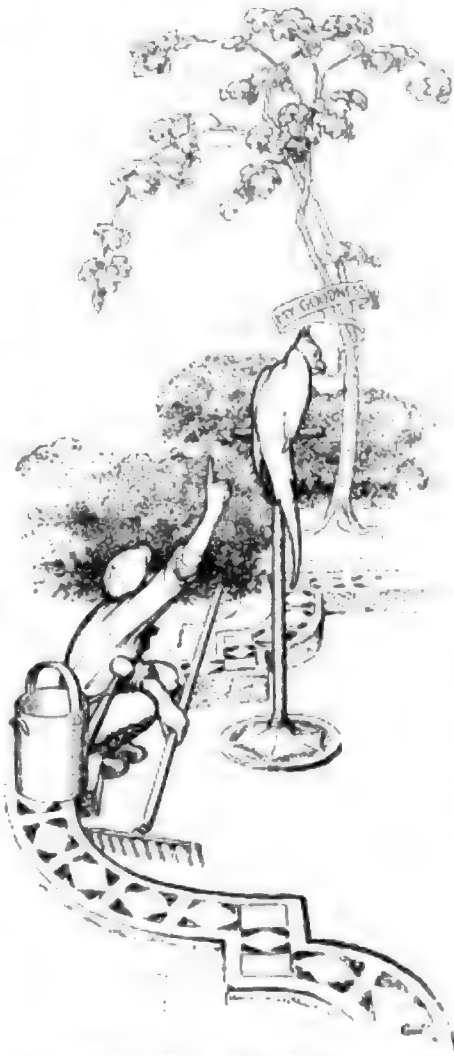
leave the country as had been decided. The situation was desperate. Instructions had already been circulated in the interior to proclaim the new sovereign, and the reigning one refused to abdicate! Then Mulai Hafid said that possibly he might be persuaded again to change his mind. He was; but it cost the French Government another £40,000,

which was given him in a cheque as he left the quay at Rabat for the French cruiser that was to take him on a visit to France. In exchange he handed to the French Resident-General the final document of his abdication. The mutual confidence between these two personages was such that for a spell they stood, each holding an end of the two documents, and each afraid to let go of his lest the other paper should not be delivered.

The night before the signing of his official abdication Mulai Hafid destroyed the sacred emblems of the Sultanate of Morocco—for he realized that he was the last independent sovereign of that country and was determined that with its independence these historical emblems should disappear, too. He burnt the crimson parasol which on occasions of state had been borne over his head. The palanquin he hewed in pieces and consigned also to the flames, together with the two cases in which certain holy books were carried. The books themselves he spared. The family jewels he took with him. From Rabat Mulai Hafid proceeded to France, where, as the guest of the French Government, and traveling in semi-state, he made a protracted

tour. At the conclusion of this journey he returned to Tangier, where his immediate family and retainers, in all about a hundred and sixty persons, had meanwhile arrived. The old Kasbah (castle) of Tangier was placed at His Majesty's disposal and there he took up his residence.

Almost immediately after his arrival at Tangier began the discussion of the terms of his abdication, for only its more general lines had been settled at Rabat. In a very short time the ex-Sultan's relations with the French were seriously embroiled. Mulai Hafid apparently did not regret that he had abdicated. He knew that his continued presence on



THE GARDENER FROM KEW TAUGHT THE PARROTS TO SWEAR

the throne was out of the question under the circumstances. What he did regret was that he had not made better terms for himself and he still hoped to be able to extort more money and more properties. Thus the negotiations were being carried on by him in a spirit of grasping meanness that rendered any solution impossible. At the beginning of his reign, only four years before, he had shown signs of an elevated and patriotic spirit and really intended to do his best to maintain the independence of the country. But he had quickly realized how impossible his self-set task was. He became unscrupulous, neurasthenic and cruel. He made enemies on every side, amongst his own people, by his barbarities and his extortions, and amongst the Europeans by his cynicism and intransigence.

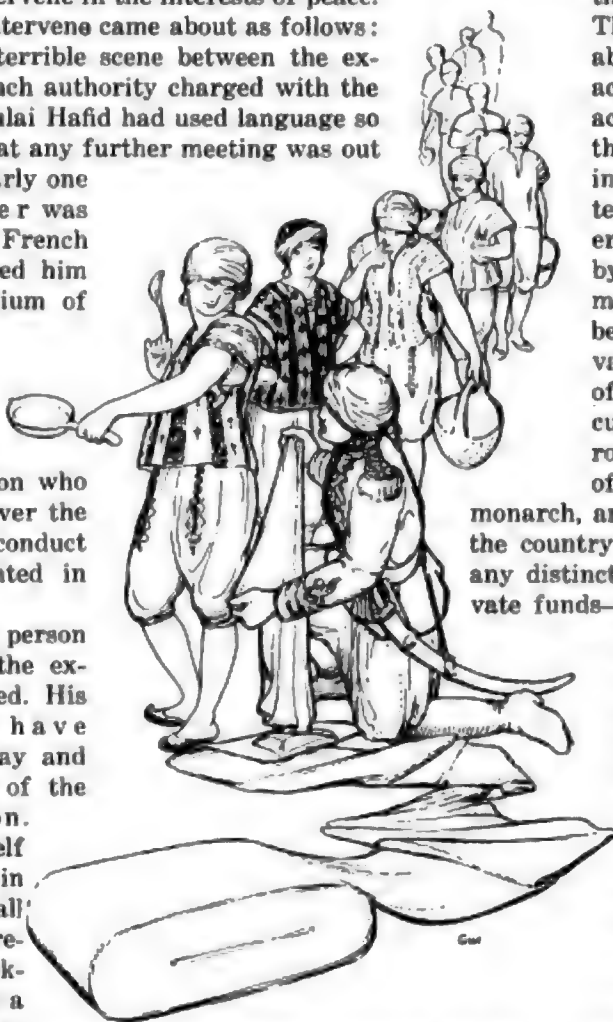
So it came about that in a very short time after his arrival in Tangier his relations with the French authorities were strained to breaking point. It was at this moment, when everything seemed almost hopeless, that the writer was asked, independently by both sides, to intervene in the interests of peace. This invitation to intervene came about as follows: There had been a terrible scene between the ex-Sultan and the French authority charged with the negotiations and Mulai Hafid had used language so unparliamentary that any further meeting was out of the question. Early one morning the writer was quietly visited by a French official, who implored him to become the medium of the conversations and proposals, paying him the compliment of saying that he seemed to be the only person who had any influence over the ex-Sultan, whose conduct was bitterly resented in high quarters.

Scarcely had this person disappeared when the ex-Sultan himself arrived. His nerves appeared to have completely given way and he was in a state of the deepest depression. Throwing himself upon a sofa, and in tears, he poured out all his woes, real and pretended, while attacking the French with a vehemence that was as violent as it was un-

just. "You," he said to the writer, "seem to be the only person who has any influence upon these villains. Will you continue the negotiations?" Under the circumstances there was nothing to do but to accept.

An hour later the parleys had recommenced. The ex-Sultan spent the whole day at the writer's villa and could scarcely be persuaded to eat or drink. During the writer's absence at the French Legation Mulai Hafid took his departure, and that was not all he took, for he carried away with him the choicest specimens of the writer's Arabic manuscripts. Being of a literary disposition the temptation of the illuminated books was too great. The writer never saw them again, but it is only fair to state that His Majesty sent a present in exchange the same evening—a gold and enameled dagger.

During the following weeks the principal points of the negotiations were successfully solved: the question of the pension, funds for the construction of a palace in Tangier, the retention of certain large properties in the interior and the future of the ex-Sultan's wives and children. Then came the question of the debts, about which there ensued a long and acrimonious discussion. It had been accepted on principle that all debts that had been incurred directly, and in certain cases indirectly, in the interests of the state should be considered as governmental debts to be paid by the French Protectorate Government, while all private debts should be settled out of the ex-Sultan's private fortune. Now this distinction of debts was rendered extremely difficult by the system under which Morocco had been governed. The Sultan of Morocco was always an absolute monarch, and in that capacity the revenues of the country were his. There had never been any distinction between public funds and private funds—all belonged to the Sultan. As a rule, the expenses of the state, as well as the palace upkeep, were paid by bills drawn upon the custom-houses of the coast. It was therefore no easy task to arrive at an agreement as to which were state and which private debts, so inextricably mixed had they been in the past. There, for instance, a bill for a fine marble staircase, ordered in Italy for the palace at Fez. The French authorities argued that this very expensive staircase was merely a piece of wild extravagance on the part of Mulai



ONE CLAIM WAS FOR CRIMSON CLOTH FOR THE TROUSERS OF THE IMPERIAL KITCHEN-MAIDS



Hafid and that accordingly he ought to pay for it. The ex-Sultan, on the contrary, insisted that the palace was the property of the state—he had argued just the other way when he had been called upon to explain why he had brought away with him certain valuable fixtures—and that any additions and improvements he had made to it were all to the advantage and interest of the state. It was, he said, his successor and not he himself who would benefit by the marble staircase. The Protectorate Government allowed the justice of this argument and paid the bill. The sequel to this incident is worth the telling. A few months later, when the ex-Sultan was signing the contract for the construction of his new palace at Tangier, he eliminated one of the several marble staircases marked in the plan. He had, he said, a very superior marble staircase which would do admirably in its place. The writer ventured to ask if it was the same one about which there had been so much discussion. "It is," replied Mulai Hafid. "You see, it had not yet left Italy, so I telegraphed to have it delivered here, instead of at Fez."

A still more complicated claim was for some hundreds of yards of very expensive and very fine crimson cloth. Naturally the Protectorate authorities scheduled this among the private debts. The Sultan protested. The cloth, he said, had been purchased for governmental purposes, in fact for the trousers of the Imperial kitchen-maids; for there are several hundred slave-women employed in preparing the palace food. The Protectorate Government refused to be responsible for this debt. The ex-Sultan drew up a historical treatise to prove that Imperial kitchen-maids were part and parcel of the state, and passed, like the palace itself, from Sultan to Sultan. The principle was accepted, but the debt was disallowed on the ground that these good ladies did not require such expensive stuff for their nether garments. A cotton material, they argued, would have equally well served the purpose. The Sultan's reply was unanswerable and crushing. "In Europe," he said, "it may be the custom for the Imperial kitchen-maids to wear cotton trousers, but in Morocco we have more appreciation of the dignity of their position."

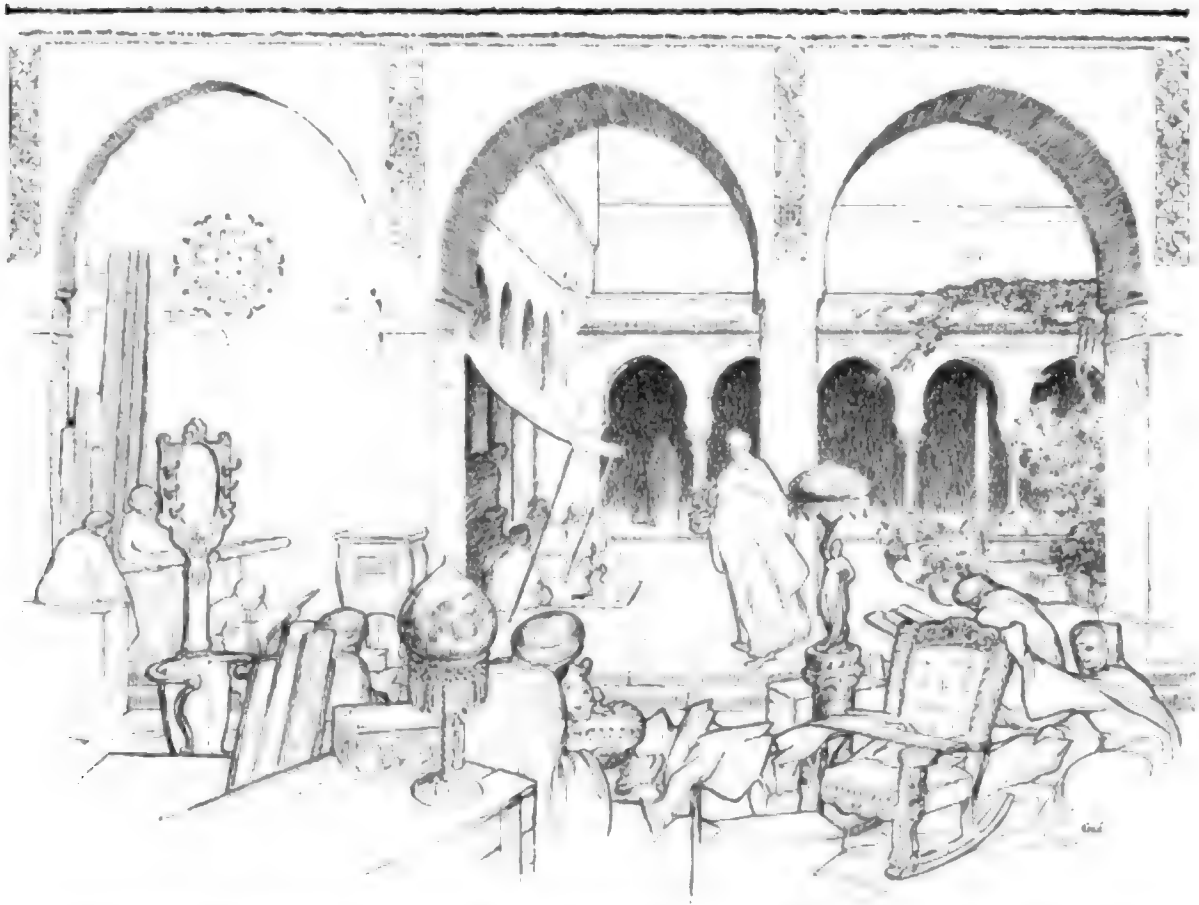
There was nothing more to be said. The debt was paid—by the Protectorate Government.

The long discussions which the writer, practically unaided, had to maintain with the Sultan, were not always facilitated by the surroundings in which they took place. There were no regular business hours for these conversations or for the examination of the voluminous documents, which were always in the wildest disorder, but which none the less required a careful perusal. Whenever and wherever His Majesty felt inclined, he would burst out with his grievances, and as at all costs he had

to be kept apart from the French authorities, the whole storm used often to fall on the writer's head. Sometimes the ex-Sultan, struck by a brilliant idea for escaping the payment of some small sum, would arrive at the writer's villa at dawn; at other times the writer was hastily summoned to the palace at midnight. The debts were discussed and argued over in every possible situation, and anyone present, native or European, high authority or slave, was dragged into the discussion. There were two aged ladies whose opinion was constantly asked. One was an old black slave nurse, the other a Berber woman, quite white, who was the Sultan's soothsayer and fortune-teller. Her advice was always good and to the point. She never hesitated, when occasion required, to tell the ex-Sultan that he was acting foolishly and she rendered a distinct service toward the unraveling of these complicated questions.

Sometimes, seated on mattresses and rugs surrounded by his slaves, in a garden, Mulai Hafid would argue that all debts were state debts, and that private property never had legally existed and that individual responsibility, especially for debts, was contrary to the highest principles of divine nature. He discoursed with great facility and great literary ability. He had a classical Arabic quotation at hand, often most skilfully misquoted, to prove his every argument. He could persuade others quickly, and himself at once. Leaning slightly forward, swathed in his soft white robes, he would speak slowly and with great distinctness and charm, with an accompanying slow movement of his right hand, and then in the middle of it all his attention would be attracted by his elephants or his llamas or a group of cranes that would come wandering out of the shrubberies and turn his thoughts and his conversation into new channels.

While his two elephants were being brought from Fez to Tangier at the time of the abdication, one of them escaped on the road, and, being an unknown beast to the villagers of the countryside, it met with many adventures. Wherever it appeared it aroused panic and consternation, and the whole male population turned out with such weapons as they could lay their hands on to drive away this terrible and unknown beast. The country population, however, possessed only very primitive firearms with a short range and bullets that dropped harmlessly off the sides and back of the huge pachyderm, thereby increasing the panic. The elephant, luxuriating in the spring crops, grazed undisturbed, while the outraged proprietors, approaching as closely as they dared, poured volleys against its unheeding bulk. But one day it found itself on the road again and came rolling along into Tangier none the worse for its adventures, but remarkably spotted with the marks of spent bullets.



A ROOM IN A HIDEOUS VILLA, FULL OF A HOST OF OBJECTS WHICH THE EX-SULTAN HAD BROUGHT FROM FEZ—IN-  
NUMERABLE MUSICAL BOXES, CLOCKS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION AND MECHANICAL TOYS

Sometimes the conversations were carried on in a room in a hideous villa that Mulai Hafid had greatly admired and bought as it stood. It seemed haunted by the microbe of irritability. Not only was its decoration appalling, but it was full of a host of objects which the ex-Sultan had brought from Fez, among them innumerable musical boxes, clocks of every shape and form—he evidently fancied particularly a kind made in the shape of a locomotive engine in colored metals, the wheels of which all turned round at the hours, half hours, and quarters, for they were in dozens, almost—and mechanical toys. Everything, or nearly everything, was broken, and an Italian watchmaker was employed to try to sort out the wheels, bells and other internal arrangements of this damaged collection of rubbish. It was in this room that the man had set up his workshop, and nothing pleased Mulai Hafid more than to sit and watch him.

It was not unseldom the writer's duty to break to the ex-Sultan that the French authorities refused to pay such and such a debt. With all oriental autocrats it is best to break bad news gently, for they are usually wanting in self-restraint and are

not accustomed to blunt facts. Often it required considerable time and a neatly expressed argument, couched in Arabic at once diplomatic and literary, to carry out the task successfully and escape an access of temper. The writer would begin with a little discourse on the origin of revenues. The Sultan would listen attentively, but just as the moment arrived to bring generalities into line with actual facts, the Italian watchmaker would meet with an unexpected success. Clocks would begin to strike and chime, or a musical box, old and wheezy, to play, or an almost featherless stuffed canary in a cage would utter piercing notes in a voice that moth and rust had terribly corrupted—or from the vicinity of the Italian's chair some groaning mechanical toy would crawl its unnatural course over the carpet eventually to turn over on its back and apparently expire in a whiz of uncoiled wheels. The ex-Sultan's attention would stray. There was an end of business, and it generally led to the ordering of a meal to be served to everyone, at any hour and on any excuse, at which the watchmaker, who might have only just finished a repast, was the guest of honor and was forced to

eat incredible quantities of very rich but very excellent food. And what was left of the royal repast was handed out of the windows and served to the slaves and gardeners.

Perhaps the most difficult claim to settle was that of the Sultan's Spanish dentist, for not only was it extremely complicated but it also became almost international. It might naturally be supposed that the dentist's bill was for professional service—but no; it was for a live lion. In the early days of his

and the gardener from Kew was entrusted with the very difficult task of teaching macaw parrots to swear. And so it was not surprising that the dentist became a buyer of lions.

In the first flush of his success at the beginning of his reign, Mulai Hafid was setting himself up as an orthodox sovereign by Divine Right—and this necessitated a menagerie. It is one of the attributes of royalty which has almost disappeared except in the East, though at one time universal. It

is perhaps fortunate. The hurried entrance of an excited rhinoceros among the guests at a garden party at Windsor Castle would prove embarrassing, and so, to a lesser degree, would be the presence of a hyena at the evening service at St. George's Chapel, but in Morocco similar incidents would have attracted little or no attention. The father of Mulai Hafid, Mulai Hassen, allowed his tame leopards to roam about his reception rooms, but his son, more timid by nature, confined the leopards in cages and replaced them in his drawing-room by guinea-pigs. The effect lost in majesty, but the afternoon callers were less nervous.

So the dentist was sent to Hamburg to buy wild beasts from Hagenbeck. But he erred. He should have returned with the menagerie and shared its glory. He delayed, and when he arrived in Fez a few months later the novelty and glamor of the wild beasts had passed; and the reception that he and the belated and unpaid-for lion, the last of a series of lions, met with was by no means enthusiastic. Mulai Hafid had discovered that the upkeep of so many sheep-eating beasts was expensive, for

the tribes, on the eve of revolt, refused to supply the sheep and insultingly demanded payment.

So far the claim presented no insurmountable difficulties; but there were complications, for the Sultan, immensely attracted by the mechanism of the dentist's operating chair, had some time previously ordered from the dentist, and paid for, a throne to be constructed on the same mechanical principles. This throne had never been supplied, so there was a counter claim. The Sultan stated that he had paid for the lion; or if he hadn't, then it was a state debt for which he was not responsible; and he demanded the delivery of his mechanical throne. The question was still under discussion when the term of the dentist's contract expired and the ex-Sultan notified him that it would not be re-



SO THE SULTAN'S SPANISH DENTIST WAS SENT TO HAMBURG TO BUY A LIVE LION FROM HAGENBECK

reign the Sultan had engaged the dentist at a regular stipend and he had become a permanent member of His Majesty's household. For a time he was kept busy patching up the mouths of the court, but the task was at length accomplished and the teeth of the ladies glistened with gold. The dentist remained unemployed. Now there is no possible reason in the world why dentists shouldn't be employed to buy lions. It is not, of course, usual, and so sounds incongruous. In Morocco, views as to the limitations of professions are much less restricted than with us. In Mulai Abdul Aziz's time, a very few years ago, one of the duties of the Scotch court piper was to feed the kangaroos; the professional photographer made scones; a high military authority supplied the Sultan's ladies with under-linen,



newed. But the dentist held a trump card, for the ex-Sultan had lodged him rent free in a little villa situated on one of His Majesty's Tangier properties. The dentist refused to quit and the Spanish authorities upheld him, for by the capitulations each power protects the interest of its respective subjects. A body of slaves were sent to eject him. They found the villa barricaded and were met with pistol shots. The complications were becoming serious, international in character. The Sultan, the French authorities, the Spanish dentist, the black slaves, the writer—a British subject, and the German lion threatened to cause annoyance to the Governments of Europe if recourse was made to fire-arms. The writer made an impassioned prayer for conciliation on the part of everyone. After much delay and no little difficulty an interview was arranged between the ex-Sultan and the dentist, at which the writer was to be present as mediator. Each was studiously coached in the part he was to play; the dentist's plaintive appeals to the generosity of the ex-Sovereign were rehearsed, as was also the Sovereign's 'gracious reply,' while the writer's little speech on the blessing of brotherly love was a gem of the first quality.

Mulai Hafid was seated on a divan studiously reading a book when the dentist entered and made his obeisance: this obeisance, polite but intentionally curtailed, did not meet with His Majesty's approval. Instead of smilingly acknowledging the dentist's salutation, as arranged, the ex-Sultan con-

tinued reading half aloud in a sing-song drawl.

A long period ensued, broken by one of the suite, who said, "My Lord the King, the dentist is here."

Without raising his eyes from his book the ex-Sultan asked in the softest of voices:

"Has he brought my mechanical throne?"

Now, that wasn't on the programme at all! There was to have been no mention of such distressing objects as dentist-chair-thrones or lions. There was to have been purely and simply a reconciliation; a sum of money promised to the dentist if he would quit the villa, and a general abandonment of claim and counter-claim. But alas! before anyone could intervene the dentist had shouted out:

"Pay me for my lion!"

And then the fat was in the fire. For some moments the atmosphere boiled with vituperative allusions to lions and dentist-thrones, until, while the writer restrained the infuriated potentate, the dentist, struggling and shouting, was removed from the presence-chamber.

By dint of great persuasion the writer eventually brought about a settlement. The Sultan did not get his throne, nor did he pay for the lion, which the Protectorate Government took over, without having been informed that it had died in the meantime. The dentist received a sum of money in payment of all his claims. The writer, whose solution it was, got the thanks of none of them, all three parties expressing themselves as distinctly dissatisfied with the settlement.

## TARDY

From the Chinese of Li Lang Du

By CAROLYN HILLMAN

*THE house of my heart is vacant.  
Closed fast is its silver door.  
Dead are the flames of the brazier  
For now and forever more.*

*And I, but a frozen starveling  
In the desolate moonlight wait,  
Where through the purple shadows  
Comes the guest of my heart—too late.*

# THE ECONOMIC BASIS IN INDIA

By H. M. HYNDMAN

THE agricultural population of India is the most poverty-stricken mass of human beings in the whole world. It constitutes four-fifths of all the inhabitants of Hindustan. The true test of the prosperity and good government of any country is not the average income of the whole population in which the great revenues of the millionaires, big landowners and heads of industrial or transport combines balance the wages received by the artisans, small cultivators, or agricultural laborers, but the real well-being of the whole of the producing class. Now this in India is steadily deteriorating decade by decade and year by year. Mr. William Digby's book with the misleading, ironical title, *Prosperous British India*, which I implored him not to use, was published in 1901. It contains the most terrific indictment of British rule in Hindustan that has ever been penned. The facts and statistics contained in its 650 pages are drawn almost entirely from official reports, documents and calculations. The whole constitutes a social, economic and political investigation of surpassing interest and value. One categorical statement alone is enough to condemn our entire system:

In the year 1850, seven years before the Mutiny, the estimated income of British India was 2d. per head per day.

In the year 1882—a generation later—the official-estimated income was 1½d. per head per day.

In the year 1900 an analysis of all sources of income gives less than ¾d. per head per day.

What the real impoverishment of the Indian *ryots* or agriculturists of British India actually must be, when the incomes of all the well-to-do population in the cities and districts of Anglo-India are deducted can scarcely be imagined by the inhabitants of the poorest European state. Mr. Digby's previously quoted 12/6d. per head per year is probably now an over-estimate. Can we wonder that a sense of deadly dullness, depression and ruin weighs on that portion of Hindustan where Europeanization is supreme? It is not poverty alone that occasions this sad state of things. Everything tends in the same direction. Native Indian arts are disappearing, education is neglected, there is no life or pleasure available, no outlet for energy, no hope of change, no variety of occupation. An American traveler in a recent book full of glorification of Europeans and European rule has described the vivacity, color and magnificence of the court of Udaipur in all its ancient splendor, side by side with ancient indifference, ancient abhorrence of the new, ancient

customs and ancient devotion to a sacrosanct ruler possessed of a pedigree directly traceable for thousands of years. And then he cannot restrain himself from comparing this un-Europeanized relic of the past, still holy to scores of millions of Hindus, with the squalid monotony and unending sadness which pervades British India.

It may be, as the majority of Englishmen and European visitors believe, that India can never emancipate herself without external aid from her present position of subjugation. Whether it is consonant with the claims of England to be the champion of justice and freedom in other directions that she should keep what might be a great and glorious empire under her permanent and ruinous domination, is a matter which must soon be considered. It will be seen also that of late years a school of extremists, as well as a school of moderates, has grown up, both of which demand self-government and in the long run complete emancipation of India.

When these criticisms on European rule are made and evidences of continuous and increasing poverty of the *ryots* are adduced, the defenders of the British Government bring forward a number of facts and figures which are conclusive of prosperity to the ordinary western mind. Against the contention that so far 150 years of European management and teaching have produced no enduring effect on the Indian mind and have introduced no permanent improvement in Indian affairs, one great argument also is used. "See," say the optimists, "how we have introduced everywhere the blessings of peace! From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Burmah to Bombay, wars have ceased, internecine struggles are unknown, religious riots are at once quelled, life and property are secure as they never were before in the history of Hindustan. The Pax Britannica is more profound and affects a larger population than the Pax Romana ever did. Here all these numerous nations and peoples and religions and castes dwell together, if not in unity, at any rate with trifling differences. Hindu and Mohammedan, Sikh, Pathan and Mahratta go on from year's end to year's end with no more than local squabbles which are easily suppressed. Raids and organized robberies are almost equally unknown. Justice is administered without the suspicion of bribery or the possibility of dangerous disputes out of court because of the decision reached. The military caste no longer exercises any influence. Peace, the greatest boon that can be vouchsafed to the hundreds of millions under the

suzerainty of the Emperor-King, is secured so long as the British remain masters of the country. But only so long. Let that superior power be once withdrawn, or even greatly shaken, and all the anarchy of the past will be revived, all the infinite passions now kept down will be reawakened."

Such is the tone not only of Englishmen but of most Europeans who visit the country and rush by rail through the Europeanized towns and cities and garrisons and health resorts which constitute the white man's India. That the horrors of peace may in many ways be worse than the horrors of war is a consideration which never enters their minds, still less affects their judgment. All the tests of prosperity which they are accustomed to apply are fulfilled. Population is increasing rapidly: poverty is favorable to generation. Exports are rapidly increasing: what is the amount of return? Railways have been built over a large portion of the country: transport does not necessarily increase wealth. Vast irrigation works have been built: old irrigation tanks have been allowed to decay throughout huge areas and the charges for the new water are heavy, rendered still heavier by the enforced use of government water to the exclusion and shutting down of Indian wells. These counterbalancing drawbacks are never noted. Foreign-manufactured peace is a doubtful benefit at best.

All that is great and admirable in India was created during the period when she was an independent empire with groups of fine provinces, first under local rulers and then under the central domination of the Moguls. With all their drawbacks and hideous cruelties, they lived in the country. Though they themselves were Mohammedans, they employed Hindus of all races in the very highest posts as financiers, as administrators and as generals. Asiatics ruling Asiatics, they knew how far it was safe to go without bringing ruin upon the people and being overthrown themselves. Even in their period of decay, when debauched incompetents sat on the throne of Akbar and Aurungzebe, the rule which they maladministered was native rule and the dull despair of the upright foreign despot never settled like a miasma on the country. The Mahratta chout levied by the bold reavers of the Deccan and the West was hard to bear. But impoverishing as it was in its degree and in its time, it reckoned as child's play beside the persistent transfer of wealth to a far-away country year after year, which was the inevitable consequence of costly foreign rule. Moreover, all home-bred rulers encouraged native art and native manufacture, and the best of them, such



From "Caste and Character" by H. M. Stanley

#### A DEVOUT MOHAMMEDAN OF INDIA AT PRAYER

Although the Mohammedans Tyrannized over India, Yet They Employed Hindus of Every Class As Financiers, Administrators and Generals

as the great Bahmung dynasty of Bejapoor, developed local irrigation works to such an extent that the menace of famine in the irrigated districts became more and more remote. There were terrible famines indeed in some districts and provinces in these days prior to European invasion. But they came at long intervals and in the periods between them there was no steady, continuous reduction of the amount of food available for the people whose persistent labor provided the whole of the agricultural produce.

Peace, in fact, may be purchased too dear, and law and order, however admirable theoretically, may become a grinding economic and racial tyranny if enforced by foreigners who fail to comprehend alike the nature of the many diverse races beneath them and the best means of raising them to a higher level of prosperity—foreigners who never remain permanently in the land they control. Suppose a succession of capable Chinese mandarins, supported by a Chinese army and an Italian army



From "Cromwell's and Aurangzeb's Invasions of India"

ONE OF THE MOGUL ARMY THAT INVADDED INDIA IN THE 16TH CENTURY  
Akbar, the Great Mogul Emperor and Contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, Was  
a Wise Ruler Who Gave Each Tributary Raja a Real Place in the Feudal State

under Chinese officers had ruled in Italy, imposing peace, perfect peace, upon the City Republics a few hundred years ago. They would have imposed also Chinese ideas of morality and justice, industry and culture—and very high ideas they were and are—upon the countrymen of Dante and Petrarch, Borgia, Machiavelli and Leonardo da Vinci. But is it not clear that the world would have been infinitely poorer for the repression of Italian initiative and

tacks from without than the different countries named at the above periods. And the rigidity and miscomprehension of Chinese domination in Europe could scarcely under any circumstances have been greater than the rigidity and miscomprehension of European despotism in Hindustan.

It was the economic pressure which perhaps first roused the more intelligent Indians to a full comprehension of the permanent injury which persistent Europeanization was inflicting upon India as a whole. And this was first appreciated and forcibly expounded not by Indians themselves but by English merchants and administrators in the days of the East India Company, long before the Mutiny or the National Revolt of 1857 had openly manifested the discontent that existed on other grounds. Thus even at the time when the real significance of the yearly drain of produce to England from India was far less, alike in amount and effect, than it is today, an Englishman, Mr. Montgomery Martin, pointed out what the wholesale transfer of Indian wealth to England really meant. Dur-



From "Cromwell's and Aurangzeb's Invasions of India"

DELHI, THE ANCIENT MOGUL CAPITAL OF NORTHERN INDIA.  
The Extravagance of Maintaining Unnecessary Capitals at Delhi and Dacca  
Encourages the Waste of Much Annual Revenue, Derived from Poor Agriculturists

ing the early times of unregulated appropriation, the amount paid away to the West, in one shape or another since legal methods had been introduced and enforced up to 1857, amounted to many hundreds of millions of pounds sterling, without any commercial return. That is to say, India had been depleted of her wealth to that extent for the benefit of England, as a consequence of European conquest and rule. Even the abolition of suttee by Lord William Bentinck, the check to female infanticide and the suppression of the Thugs made no economic amends for this ruinous impoverishment of a poor country, all the territory of which was already occupied, some of it tilled to the point of exhaustion and some very densely populated. But this drain of produce enormously increased after the assumption of direct government by the Crown and the great extension of Europeanization in every direction.

The higher minds in the government service strongly insisted upon the great and increasing danger of this economic policy. Civil servants and military men alike enlarged upon the ruin that was being wrought. Mr. James Geddes and Mr. A. O. Hume, Major Evans Bell and Colonel Osborne, Mr. William Digby and Mr. Knight, all in their various ways did their best to represent to the government in England and in India the irretrievable mischief that was being done. So did others. The famous Parsee, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, only too fast a friend of British rule in India, devoted himself also for many years to this question. All to no purpose. At one point, 1878-79-80, the English Government at home did appreciate what was going on, and Lord Salisbury and Lord Iddesleigh, with the concurrence of Lord Cranbrook, Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Edward Stanhope and Sir Louis Mallet, made the first steps toward the gradual restoration of Indian rule. A beginning had been made most successfully in this direction in Mysore in 1868 to the permanent advantage of the population. There the removal of

the rigid system of taxation and the revival of the old Indian system of consideration of Indian needs at once uplifted the well-being of all the inhabitants of that territory.

But the influence of the hide-bound Indian bureaucracy and the personal interests of the middle class at home were too strong to be resisted. On the return of Mr. Gladstone's Liberal administration to power, all the preliminary reforms introduced were swept away, and from that time to this, Europeanization has become more and more the panacea for all evils, the foreign government has

become even more expensive and extravagances such as the creation of new and wholly unnecessary capital cities at Delhi and Dacca encouraged waste to the extent of many millions sterling. Naturally, to keep pace with this fatal system, the land tax is more cruelly exacted than ever and the agriculturists get poorer all the time. Compare this with the statement of Mr. Chester Macnaghten in regard to the comparative results of Indian rule:

"The fact is, that under existing circumstances, a Native State under British superiors is almost an ideal of prosperity. This remark is a general one, applying to Travancore, Mysore, etc., as well as to Baroda. While the people are governed in their own simple way, the revenue is not wasted. The peace and prosperity

which characterize the rural population of India are maintained, while the corruption and dishonesty which characterize native courts are checked. The system is an inexpensive one to the states which enjoy it and contains all that is best in British and native methods. I believe it is only true to assert that there is not a single Native State in India which, if so administered, will not show a surplus." And these Indian states have little if any drain of payments to Europe. Even so, there is in some of these states too much meddling by the European residents with a tendency to the current bureaucratic belief in Europeanization.



From "Gladstone and Gladstone's Oriental Despot"  
BABUR, THE TIGER, FOUNDER OF THE MOGUL DYNASTY OF INDIA

Even When Debauched Incompetents Sat on the Throne of Babur and Akbar, the Rule They Mal-administered Was Native Rule and the Dull Despair of the Upright Foreign Despot Never Sentled Like a Miasma on the Country

done. So did others. The famous Parsee, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, only too fast a friend of British rule in India, devoted himself also for many years to this question. All to no purpose. At one point, 1878-79-80, the English Government at home did appreciate what was going on, and Lord Salisbury and Lord Iddesleigh, with the concurrence of Lord Cranbrook, Lord Beaconsfield, Mr. Edward Stanhope and Sir Louis Mallet, made the first steps toward the gradual restoration of Indian rule. A beginning had been made most successfully in this direction in Mysore in 1868 to the permanent advantage of the population. There the removal of



From "Hindustan and the world's financial account"

THE MOTI MASJID, OR PEARL MOSQUE, IN AGRA  
The Europeanization of Hindustan Has Stifled the Inspiration of Such Perfect Art As That of the Mogul Period

But the phenomenon of the economic drain calls for closer investigation. This is especially injurious, of course, to a poor country. It may arise to all appearance advantageously and without the additional drawback of foreign rule, and yet be a very serious hindrance to the country which suffers from it. On the other hand, it may constitute comparatively so small a proportion of the total wealth of the country increased by the investment of loaned capital on which the economic drain represents the interest that the advances can be redeemed with ease at maturity. Both the United States and Russia have been large borrowers—the former to a comparatively small amount in relation to its wealth of late; the latter has constantly required loans. But the United States was an undeveloped country, rich in virgin agricultural soil and vast mineral resources, developed by the constant exertions of a vigorous and in the main not

needy population from Europe. Railway communication afforded profitable outlet for all products and if the lines were overloaded with indebtedness the companies simply did not pay. As the wealth of the vast territory grew, the loans and bonds were bought back or the capital borrowed again at a lower rate of interest for new enterprises. It is the same with municipal borrowings and state loans issued in Europe.

With Russia the case has been different. The country outside of Siberia was already settled, the people were poor and ignorant, the development, except in the oil regions, did not keep pace with the borrowing; the body of agriculturists, mostly emancipated serfs, got no richer. Therefore the unwieldy Muscovite Empire with all its wealth of undeveloped resources could not sustain the drain of produce to the West for the interest on the money that was advanced. Thus it befell that even more and more loans were needed to keep up payment of interest. Prior to the war of 1914, Russia was fully £150,000,000 behind in the payments to meet her liabilities to western creditors, mostly French. Her yearly debt on this account was not far short of £55,000,000 sterling. So, as shown in her account of exports and imports, she was nearly three years overdue in meeting her indebtedness—a deficit which had been covered by all sorts of shifts. Russian agriculture, the mainstay of that great country, had lost instead of gained strength, as was clearly shown by Professor Milukoff. The difference between the United States and Russia is obvious. In one case the imported capital had enhanced and quickened production far beyond the amount needed to pay the yearly interest: in the other case the interest represented for the most part a deduction from production, which had been little increased, if not diminished, in agriculture and not sufficiently expanded in manufacture and mining. Hence, the drain of Russian produce has been ruinous and the inevitable outcome is bankruptcy and repudiation.

But the real economic condition of India is far worse than this. Putting aside the profits on tea-planting, gold-mining and other enterprises established and financed by English capitalists, which cannot be fairly regarded as withdrawals from actual Indian wealth, seeing that these ventures are purely European, the total amount of the payments made in produce from India to England without any commercial return is not less than £30,000,000 every year. This is an understatement of the truth. Moreover, the drain does not apply to the so-called Native States—that is to say, to states under British protection but not under direct British rule.

These great provinces not only are relatively wealthy, in comparison with the rest of poverty-stricken Hindustan, so far as their agricultural population is concerned, but also they have practically no remittances to make to England on civil and military account and little for interest on railways. Their trade, therefore, is relatively greater per head of population. But, as the English trade returns are made out, it is practically impossible for any outside investigator or critic to discriminate correctly between the commercial dealings of British territory proper and those of these great Native States which contain considerably more than one-fifth of the entire inhabitants of Hindustan. The drain of produce, therefore, is derived not from the 315,000,000 of people in India but from 245,000,000: the 70,000,000 in the protected territories should be deducted.\* And the trade of these 70,000,000 constitutes in reality much more than one-fifth of the total trade. This is a very important fact in considering the economic effect of European rule in Asia and it is not generally recognized. For, in the calculations which follow, it must always be borne in mind that certainly not less than one-fourth of the trade imports and a very much greater proportion of the treasure imports go into the countries which are not under direct British rule—the great Native States with 70,000,000 inhabitants.

Under pre-war conditions the total amount of exports by sea of private merchandise of Indian products from British India and the Native States together for the five years 1909-10 to 1913-14 was £731,657,602, or an average of £146,331,520 a year. The total amount of imports by sea of private merchandise during the same period of five years was £486,157,310. Here is a difference of not less than £245,000,000 between the exports and the imports of private merchandise, or a yearly disparity of £49,000,000 without return in the form of merchandise, although the imports for 1912-13 and 1913-14 reached the exceptional figures of £107,000,000 and £122,000,000 respectively. Against this extraordinary discrepancy the almost equally remarkable import of treasure, ranging from £25,000,000 to as high as £41,000,000 in the years under consideration, is naturally put forward by official apologists for India's desperate poverty. But the Government of India has always refused to make any distinction between the exports and imports of the Native States and those of British India. I am quite confident that at least half of the imported treasure, as well as a great deal more than their proportional part of the imports of merchandise, goes into these Native States. The yearly drain from British India of commercial produce for which there is no commercial return I put at upward of £30,000,000 a year.

\* Census of 1911.

If India with its vast population were even a moderately rich country this drain of produce to a foreign power going on year after year and increasing rather than diminishing would be a matter of concern, especially as it has proceeded now for just 150 years. But when the amount thus calculated is extorted from the poorest population on the planet, then it is clear that the name which I gave to this process nearly forty years ago, "Bleeding to Death," represents what is being done.

Lord Curzon estimated the average income of the Indians at not more than £2 a year. Mr. William Digby put the average value of the production of the cultivators at not more than 12s. 6d. a year per head. It is inconceivable to us that human beings can exist upon such a miserable pittance. Yet out of this despicable return for constant work upon the soil the Government Land Tax, which produces the Land Revenue, deducts no less a sum than £21,000,000 a year. Moreover, the British Government insists upon this tax being paid by the cultivators before the crops are grown, and paid in silver calculated at a factitious rate. This means that while the actual value of a rupee on the markets of the world may be not more than 11d. or 1s., the defrauded Hindu ryot is compelled to pay his Government Land Tax in rupees at the rate of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d., or above 30 per cent more than the rupee is worth—this, I repeat, before the crops are grown and reaped! What is the result of this? Inevitably that the cultivators are forced into the hands of the native money-lenders at rates varying from 15 to 60 per cent. And then official apologists for the Government hold up their hands in horror at the exactions of the usurious money-lenders. The result is that the position of Indian cultivators and their families is becoming more and more hopeless.

It is preposterous to argue that irrigation is remedying this state of things. Nothing of the sort. Irrigation applies to a very small area as carried out under European engineers. Sometimes the quality of the water supplied has proved actually injurious, owing to miscalculation as to the nature of the silt it would carry with it. In other cases the charges have been in excess of the value of the water to the cultivators, who were compelled to take it and to close down their own wells in order to do so. If the soil is constantly being exhausted by over-cropping, irrigation by itself does no good. It was not an Indian but an Englishman, Mr. Thorburn, holding a high official post in Bengal, who said: "We are driving a juggernaut car of western progress over the fortunes of the people of India." The word "progress" is evidently used there in an ironical sense. Mr. Donald Smeaton, too, declared that England was working up in India to a revolt beside which "the Mutiny would be child's play." That is my own conviction.

# BUDDHIST ART IN ASIA

## II: Chinese Buddhist Art

By J. E. LODGE

*"Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lumps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lump. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to anyone besides yourselves."*

*"Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: 'Behold now, brethren; I exhort you, saying, "Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!"'*

*This was the last word of the Tathagata!*

MAHA-PARINIRVANA SUTTA.

REMEMBERING always that the Buddha was a philosopher in a land of philosophers, it seems at once the more remarkable that his doctrines

as he preached them should have been entirely free from the speculative ingenuities so dear to the Indian mind, and the more a matter of course that, during the four centuries which elapsed between the Great Decease and the introduction of Buddhism into China, every implication of the founder's austere and simple teaching should have been thoroughly worked out and metaphysically elaborated by his followers in response to the necessities of their own thinking. This process within the Buddhist Community naturally gave rise to various schools of thought, and these, in turn, to the formation of sects. Moreover, industrious propagation of the religion throughout India and Central Asia brought it into competitive contact with orthodox as well as pagan beliefs and practices from which it received and assimilated many influences quite as compelling as those it disseminated among the converted populations. Indeed, these early developments of Buddhism may well be compared with those through which Christianity passed during the first five hundred years of its history. If we may say that both the Buddha and the Nazarene taught Common Law, we may justly complete the metaphor by saying that their followers, for

the most part, taught Equity. In either case, the initial attempt to make religion popular was transformed into a more largely successful effort to popularize religion; and therefore in A.D. 67 when the envoys sent into the West by Ming Ti, second Emperor of the Later Han dynasty, returned to China bringing with them the sacred books of the new religion, Buddhism had already become an established Church carried on by a well organized priesthood and supported by a vast and wide-spread congregation numbering many millions of believers. The "Way of the Buddha" was no

longer a steep and narrow path for the individual elect who would and could be lamps and refuges unto themselves. It had become, instead, a fair, broad highroad for all mankind to travel, bordered with the lights of dogma, with images, with stately temples and smoothed to the feet of the most errant wayfarer, whose troubled gaze might now come to rest in the long vistas of a capacious and receptive pantheon whence a sumptuous ritual of worship and prayer would bring forth some measure of divine beneficence and mercy.

Such, in brief, was the Mahayana—the Buddhism of the Greater Vehicle—as the Chinese first became generally conscious of it; and, in many ways, a religion less likely to appeal to them could hardly be imagined. On the one hand, in spite of the conspicuous and largely alien attractions it had evolved from within and acquired from without, the great Indian heresy was rooted in the profound worldly pessimism which had given it birth: to live—to exist—was to suffer; in this life, in an infinity of lives past and to come, existence and suffering were inseparable. Granted the deed, its consequences were certain, and since the cause of this misery lay in desire, in the will to



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

6TH CENTURY VOTIVE STELA  
Showing Both Indian and Pre-Buddhist Chinese Technique



live, so the only escape from it, from the endless cycle of rebirth, lay in the severance of all mundane attachments, the extinction of desire, liberation from the illusion of self and ultimate absorption into the peace of *nirvana*. All this was in direct opposition to the ordinary thoughts and behavior of the Chinese, who were, by racial habit, active rather than contemplative, optimistically worldly and practical in their aims, fond of the good things of life and industriously devoted to getting a share of them. Now, on the one hand, they were asked to exchange actual, present values for an intangible, ultimate bliss, to seek release from an inexorable world-misery of which they had been for centuries contentedly unaware, and to seek it through the discipline of an unsocial, monastic life which was repellent to their every ideal of existence among their fellows. On the other hand, Taoism had long since prepared their minds for the acceptance of metaphysical and mystical ideas, and now came Buddhism—making its way in virtue of what it included rather than what it excluded, tolerant and receptive, here as everywhere, of native institutions—with its teachings in regard to what might be expected after this life, its doctrines of salvation and beatitude, and its countless, merciful Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who could love as well as bestow. Contrasted with all this was the combined ancestor- and nature-worship which the Chinese had inherited as their state religion: the dignified, but settled and colorless, fate of the honored dead; the formless energies of nature which were defined only by the functions they fulfilled and were without plastic, dramatic personality; powers of which it was enough to know what they did, without trying to imagine what they were like—to which prayer was made and worship offered for the people, not by them. Evidently here was little if anything to stimulate the emotional and aesthetic sensibilities of human nature, and it was largely to these that the Indian religion successfully appealed. From Buddhism the Chinese learned for the first time a religion of the inner man, and in nothing is the effect of this revelation more strikingly manifest than in the religious art they subsequently produced.

The pre-Buddhist art of China, in so far as we know it either through surviving examples or through literary references, seems to have been essentially an intellectual art of embellishment, symbolism and illustration. Out of the long-inculcated love of propriety, dignity and refinement to which they appealed, came the noble bronze ceremonial vessels made from time immemorial for use in sacrificial rites; similarly, in an orthodox reverence for the able and virtuous of Chinese antiquity, lay the origin and end of those characteristic scenes with which the engraved stone sheathing of the



THE CROWNED BUDDHA MAITREYA (MI-LO-FO)  
A Stone Sculpture of the Fifth Century, Typical of  
the Tatar Buddhist Art of North Wei

Han tombs in Shantung has made us familiar. From the latter, too, it is possible to gain some idea of that early Chinese pictorial art which the Classic History carries back to the second millennium B.C. Of early sculpture, however, few vestiges remain, either actual or documentary; but there is otherwise no reason to doubt that it existed, if only as an ornamental adjunct to architecture. On the whole, therefore, we may conclude that although before the advent of Buddhism all the chief dimensional arts—with the probable exception of sculpture in the round—were seriously and proficiently practiced throughout the Middle Kingdom, the prevailing native conception of the function of art was distinctly one-sided. Art was regarded primarily

as an accompaniment and decoration of life, not as a necessary medium of realization and expression; and it was just this counterbalancing aspect of art that Buddhism inevitably supplied.

During at least two centuries prior to the beginning of our era, rumors of the Mahayana doctrine undoubtedly had found their way into China through the military and commercial relations established by the Former Han emperors with their distant neighbors of Central Asia; but the effective

divisions, the Southern ruled by native princes, the Northern by invading Buddhist Tartars, and it is in historical reference to this period that the appearance of Buddhist influences in the arts of China is first definitely recorded. Thus, notwithstanding occasional persecutions, Buddhism seems to have flourished. In the South, paintings and images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were produced by the foremost artists of the time, of whose work, unfortunately, only written accounts remain; but in the North began that important development of stone sculpture and rock-hewn grottoes to which we owe the earliest examples of Chinese Buddhist art now known to have survived.

From these sculptures of the fifth century it may be seen that the problem of adapting settled habits of observation and technique to the adequate expression of comparatively new ideas had by no means been solved. Evidently the art was not as yet thoroughly acclimated, nor had it remained wholly exotic. Inseparable from the very nature of Buddhism was a tendency to assimilate alien influences quite as readily as it disseminated its own. Thus, early in the fourth century,

we find the approved moralities of Confucianism—filial piety, loyalty to superiors, worldly goodness and the like—enumerated among those virtues deemed most certain to admit their possessor into the flowery paradise of the merciful Buddha.

Amitabha; just as, somewhat later, we find the Pure Ones of Taoism grouped in the triads or seated on the lotus thrones of Buddhist divinities. The three religions had, indeed, thriven side by side, and for that reason it is the less a matter for wonder that Buddhist sculptures of the fifth century and after should exhibit conspicuously foreign elements more or less informed, or merely associated, with many traits of purely Chinese origin. But however imperfectly amalgamated this early art may appear, however primitive it may be in execution, there is, in the slender, gracious Buddhist figures so typical of the Northern dynasties, a suggestion of absorbed sincerity and aloofness which might be sought almost without avail in the far more splendid art of later times.

Meanwhile it should be borne in mind that the division of China was not political only: it was artistic as well. Both north and south of the Yellow



*Monastery of Yung Kung, Beijing*

#### THE BUDDHA PREACHING—A LIMESTONE PANEL OF THE 9TH TO 10TH CENTURY

The Art of Stone Engraving As It Was Practised in Pre-Buddhist China Is Here Seen Carried to Its Highest Point of Perfection

rise of Chinese Buddhism must be held to have begun with the official introduction of the religion by Ming Ti. In China, as elsewhere, Buddhism at various times owed much of its success to royal patronage; nevertheless its appeal seems, on the whole, to have met with a more ready response from the people at large than from the highly educated and official classes which strove rather to maintain the Confucian tradition in full vigor. Progress for the newer religion was slow at first. Sacred texts were, indeed, studied and translated; temples were built; doubtless, too, the wars and civil upheavals which followed the collapse of the Han dynasty impelled many to seek the quiet seclusion of monastic life. And in these troubled ages must have been the beginnings of Chinese Buddhist art. During the fourth century, however, discord within and aggression from without had at last, in 386, separated the Empire into two main political

River, it is true, Buddhist art developed apace and fresh impulses continued to arrive from the older centers of Buddhist culture; whereas in extending their Empire southward, the Chinese dynasts had come in contact with new peoples and were in easy communication with India itself by sea, their conquerors on the north still maintained less direct relations with the latter country by the arduous over-land trade routes to Central Asia, and there can be no question that these differing conditions exerted proportionately different influences upon the two schools of Buddhist art of the fifth and sixth centuries. In 534, however, the Tartar power was finally broken by the Chinese and, after a few decades of internal commotion, the Empire was in 589 again united under the Sui dynasty of native rulers. This short period of less than twenty years was politically little more than a prelude to the great Tang dynasty with which it was culturally continuous. In art, much that had been divergent in the styles of the past two centuries now tended to merge in the richer forms of expression dominated by the more highly developed motives and methods of the southerners returning to power; and now, too, for the first time, we read of specific artists coming to China from Khotan, the most important focus of Buddhism on the West, heralding the steady influx of that more varied and abundant stimulus from without which was destined to be instrumental in making the next three hundred years the most brilliant epoch of Chinese history.

That period which lay between the early seventh and middle ninth century was an era of political strength attended by unprecedented expansion abroad and tolerant



BODHISATTVA, PADMAPANI  
(KUAN-YIN)

Late 6th or Early 7th Century Sculpture.  
This, Perhaps, Marks the Coming of  
Buddhist Influence in Chinese Art

growth at home. The Tang Empire was not only a radiant center of Chinese culture, but also a fertile area for the development of foreign ideas. The religions and arts of many peoples flourished luxuriantly, and among them Buddhism was no exception. In India, moreover, the Mahayana was already suffering as a result of its chameleon-like ability to assume the complexion of its surroundings; it was, in fact, gradually being absorbed—at times none too gently—into the background of orthodox Brahmanism from which it had emerged; and to such conditions may be attributed the transference of the Buddhist patriarchate from India to China by Bodhidharma, the great reactionary of the sixth century, while to an aggravation of them was doubtless partly due the later immigrations of Indian and Central Asian Buddhists. Under all these circumstances of protection, encouragement and constantly renewed inspiration, the Church prospered in a worldly sense at least, and its art, although retaining great dignity and seriousness, became decidedly more sumptuous, more charming, more suave, more sophisticated and, on the whole, more mannered. From this period also date the earliest surviving specimens of Chinese Buddhist painting, in which, despite a greater display of technical refinement and facility, there is still much that suggests the frescoes of Ajanta.

It must not be supposed, however, that the indigenous traditions of Chinese arts and letters—though undoubtedly subjected to severe competition—were even temporarily eclipsed by the spreading growth of Buddhism, for they, too, accomplished miracles of expression in the stimulating atmosphere of the times; but



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

AN ARHANT AND HIS ATTENDANT NEAR A LOTUS-POND

Painted in the Twelfth Century by Lu Hsin-chung.  
In This the Touch of the Philosophy of Nature is  
Clearly Apparent

if the wonderful dynasty of T'ang can be characterized by a single feature of its prolific career, it may justly be called the age of predominating foreign influences. Toward the middle of the ninth century, China could number more than forty-five thousand Buddhist establishments carried on within the boundaries of the Empire by over two hundred and fifty thousand ecclesiastics and sustained by multitudes of devoted adherents. Owing, no doubt, to the general spirit of toleration for which the Buddhists were largely responsible, both Nestorian Christianity and Zoroastrianism were also freely countenanced by the Chinese in various parts of their country; and although these religions, as such, seem to have made little or no lasting impression upon the thought of the period, there is, in the

decorative arts of T'ang, sufficient evidence that the implied contact with Byzantium and Persia was productive of marked effects. In 844, however, after an investigation by the Board of Sacrifices, the Emperor Wu Tsung inflicted on Buddhism, and on all other alien religions as well, a drastic persecution from which it never fully recovered. Temples and monasteries, apart from a few specified exceptions, were torn down and their lands sequestered; monks and nuns were returned to secular life; images, bells and the like of bronze were converted into coinage, those of iron were recast in the form of utensils, those of silver or gold were melted and the precious metals deposited in the imperial treasury, while other objects of the cult were largely destroyed. But the belief that these formidable proceedings were not merely iconoclastic is amply supported by the evidence of succeeding centuries when the movement thus violently begun in the interest of Confucian orthodoxy and all its works quickly developed a new phase of the ancient pre-Buddhist culture which, for the importance of its intellectual and artistic achievements, has hardly been surpassed in the annals of China.

Even before the fall of the T'ang dynasty, the imperial successors of Wu Tsung—actuated, indeed, rather by respect for geomantic considerations (*feng-shui*), than by any real interest in the religious aspect of the situation—had modified his onerous restrictions to the extent of allowing certain Buddhist temples and monasteries to be rebuilt; in the following dynasty of Sung, also, Buddhism was allowed, at times, an even greater measure of toleration. Clearly, however, the fate of Buddhism from now on must be attributed to pro-founder causes, of which official persecution, more or less, was merely a gross symptom. What really undermined the religion and forever robbed its art of the old vitality, was its own intellectual decadence on the one hand and on the other, the now definite ascendancy of neo-Confucianism so called—more properly the Philosophy of Nature—which, together with its characteristic literature, art and manners, dominated the whole atmosphere of the Sung dynasty (960-1280). This classic revival was not, of course, a mere resuscitation of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, for the early Taoist philosophers, and after them the Buddhists, had raised a host of metaphysical questions which could not be ignored; moreover, with the *Ch'an* or Meditation sect of Buddhism, founded in the sixth century by Bodhidharma, the new Philosophy of Nature had much in common. Formally, nevertheless, the typical art of this period was non-Buddhistic. In technique it was a continuation of the secular art of T'ang, and returned, in some measure, to the more restricted usage of far earlier times. It found little

vital expression in sculpture—much of a high order, in painting and calligraphy. Its inspiration came, for the most part, from purely Chinese sources; its forms—whether landscapes or figures or as seen even in contemporary ecclesiastical art—were accomplished and appreciated in the light of Taoist mysticism. And yet without Buddhism this unique idealistic art of Sung could never have existed. It was, in fact, a culmination which had been long preparing: a true fusion of all that was most significant in the Chinese and Indian systems of thought and expression; a net result, of which neither system alone would have been capable, achieved as only the Chinese could have achieved it. Marking, as it did, the last high level of Chinese attainment in art and philosophy, it was also the farthest limit of Buddhist momentum and long served to inspire, if it could not vitalize, much of the intellectual and aesthetic activity both of the Middle Kingdom and of Japan.

Under the following short-lived Yuan dynasty (1280-1368) of Mongol emperors, the Buddhist Church was freed from all external restraints. Monasteries and temples again rapidly multiplied, and everything possible was done to revive Buddhism from the low estate to which it had fallen. Its forces were materially augmented, too, by the many Lamas who followed in the wake of Kublai Khan, and, as a consequence, the influence of Tibetan Buddhism, greatly modified, indeed, by the natural refinement of the Chinese, may be plainly seen in the rather stiff and formal ecclesiastical art of the period. Encouragement from without was no cure for internal decay: the elements favorable to a genuine Buddhist revival were lacking; and with the return to native supremacy under the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), all the former restrictions were reaffirmed—a condition which was maintained and even intensified under the following Manchu dynasty. Buddhist sculpture and painting that had attained their height in the brilliant and flourishing periods of Tang and Sung had now hardly the influence of respected traditions, and the contemporary art was at best wholly academic.

The decline of the Mahayana in China may be likened to the corresponding process in India; but whereas, in the latter country, Buddhism was assimilated out of existence, in the former there remained a rather sluggish ecclesiastical residuum consisting of that which could not be absorbed and for which the native creeds could provide no substitute. As a religion, Chinese Buddhism has now joined the indigenous cults in a common stagnation; as a stimulus to art it is as impotent as modern Christianity; but in its great days it was an overpowering intellectual, emotional and aesthetic force. For nearly a thousand years after its introduction—when Confucianism was rigid orthodoxy and Tao-



*Source of Four Arts, Boston*

THE ARHANT DARBHA MALLIPUTRA ASCENDING TO HEAVEN IN CONTEMPLATION OF WATER AND FIRE. Painted in 1178 by Chou Chi-chang and Lin Ting-kuei. Even in This Formal Composition the Influence of Sung Idealism May Be Felt

ism a degraded system of magical rites—practically all the thinking, religious or philosophical, done in China was done in Buddhist monasteries, while to the innate Chinese genius for endowing form with spirit, it added a consummate ability to express spirit in form.

# FOUNDERS OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

By Z. T. SWEENEY

THE origin of the Ottoman Turks is obscured by the mists which overshadow the past. The Turks have many traditions to account for their origin; one of the principal ones is that in the ark with Noah there were more than eight persons. They claim that a son born to Japheth during the flood and named Turk was the progenitor of both the Mongols and Tartars. These races sprang from two great grandsons of Turk named respectively Mongol-Khan and Tartar-Khan.

Another theory is that they are descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel which were captured by Shalmaneser, King of Assyria, and confined in the land of Media. They support this theory by the fact that Jewish names, such as Dan, Zebulon and Naphtali were common among them.

Another is that they are descended from the ancient Trojans, whose early name was Teucri, which was corrupted into Turci or Turk.

But leaving the realm of tradition and emerging into the clear light of history, we find a small band of nomads under the leadership of one Solyman Shah leaving their home in Khorassan and emigrating into Armenia, then a powerful and prosperous nation. They were hospitably received and kindly cared for by the Armenians, who then and there received the serpent into their bosom which has since stung them to the death. Led on by the wander-lust they left Armenia and started down the Euphrates River toward Syria. On the way Solyman Shah was drowned in the Euphrates River and his followers dispersed. A small remnant under the leadership of Solyman's two sons, Ertoghrul and Dundar, went westward to find a dwelling place in Asia Minor. Their intention was to throw themselves upon the hospitality of Ala-eddin, the Sultan of Iconium. As they approached the city of Angora they beheld a battle between a strong force and a much weaker one. Not knowing who the combatants were, nor the justice of the issue, Ertoghrul, "the right-hearted man," formed the resolution to espouse the cause of the weaker side and at the head of his four hundred and forty warriors instantly charged the stronger force and drove it from the field of battle. It so happened that the leader of the weaker side was none other than Ala-eddin, to whose domain they were journeying.

In gratitude for the effective aid lent him by Ertoghrul, Ala-eddin bestowed upon him a rich country at the western edge of his domain which joined the territory of his old-time enemies, the Byzantine Emperors. Whether it was gratitude or

policy that caused Ala-eddin to place this band of fierce fighters between him and his enemies has never been definitely determined.

Ertoghrul remained a faithful vassal of Ala-eddin to his death and by fighting off the Byzantines earned the title of "The Sultan's fore-front." Othman, eldest son of Ertoghrul, was born at Sugut A. D. 1258 and was the first ruler of his line to assert his absolute independence. From him came the name Othmanlis, or Ottomans, as his descendants are now called. He was the first in the line of thirty-six distinguished men who have followed in his succession without a break. The history of ruling families does not find a parallel to it. Montesquieu says of the first kings of Rome, "One finds nowhere in history an unbroken succession of such statesmen and such generals." Montesquieu would have revised that statement, had he been familiar with the Founders of the Ottoman Dynasty. Jouannin asserts that it was "more prolific in great men than any other dynasty which has reigned on the face of the earth."

Othman selected the new moon for his emblem and marrying Malkhaltoon, "Treasure of a Woman," symbolized her by a star which he placed in his crescent as a symbol of receiving her into his bosom. The Star and Crescent have been the emblems upon the Turkish flag ever since. In 1299 he coined money with his effigy upon it and caused public prayers to be said in his name, distinctive marks of royalty among Orientals. He lived long enough to rejoice over the fall of Brusa, capital of Bythinia, which left no opposition between his dominion and Constantinople. His whole life was simple and lacking in ostentation. He left no wealth behind him, only a salt spoon—symbol of hospitality—a braided coat and white linen turban, with some cattle. He was called Black Othman because of his swarthy appearance—a most honorable thing among Ottomans. Like Artaxerxes, his hands reached to his knees. The best wish that can be made for an Ottoman child today is "May he be as good as Othman."

He was succeeded by Orkhan, his eldest son, who chose his younger brother, Ala-eddin, for his Grand Vizier or "Burden-Bearer." It was under Orkhan that the first standing army in the world was organized. Under his reign the Janissaries came into being. Each year one thousand children of Christian parentage were taken and carefully instructed in the doctrine of Mohammed, cut off entirely from family ties. Knowing nothing but soldier life, with its severe discipline, they became the right arm of



*Amurath legatus Rex re dedit promissa  
Rex deditur Ottomanis ante hostes  
Amurath deditur gladius in manu compunct  
Sicque pueri deditur pueri  
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the Sultan in carrying on his wars of conquest. They were called "Yeni-Tscheri"—"New Troops"—which has been corrupted into Janissary. Every year for three centuries the Christian population was systematically robbed of its fairest and brightest boys to build up this military system. Under Orkhan the Ottoman troops crossed the Bosphorus and planted the Crescent on the European continent whence Christians have vainly tried for half a millennium to expel them.

Sultan Orkhan died in 1359 at the age of seventy-five years. At the death of Orkhan his son, Amurath, or Murad as the Turks call him, succeeded him. He was forty years old and reigned thirty years, enlarging the Empire greatly. In 1360 he crossed the Hellespont and invaded Europe in a series of victories which were only terminated by his death on the battle-field of Kossova in 1389. He captured Adrianople, Philippopolis, Sagrae. He penetrated to Niasch and forced the Prince of Serbia to sue for peace. He obtained it on condition that he pay a tribute of one thousand pounds of silver and furnish one thousand cavalry horses each year. The Ottomans had at this time conquered nearly

the whole of Thrace and modern Rumelia. Amurath died by an act of treachery on the battle plain of Kossova on August 29, 1389. The Turks were facing the Christians with Sultan Amurath commanding the center. His eldest son, Bayazid, commanded the right flank and his second son, Yacoub, held the left. In the thick of the fight a Serbian noble, Milosch Kabilovitch, pretending he had important secrets to reveal to Amurath, approached the Turkish center. He was led into the presence of the Sultan and knelt to do him homage; on rising, he stabbed Amurath to death with a dagger and was immediately hacked to death by Turkish sabres. Amurath died shortly, but not before he sounded the charge which led to victory and pronounced the death sentence upon the Serbian King Lazarus, who had been captured. Prince Bayazid assumed the Sultanate over the remains of his father. His first act was to seize and put to death his brother who had fought bravely by his side through the battle.

This act he justified by a statement of the Koran that "Disquiet is worse than murder." He dictated a victorious peace to Serbia and a few years







*Constantine, Rahmet, emperor of the East, was  
Imperator of the Eastern Empire, and  
Emperor of the East, and of the East,  
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with Hunyades, the illegitimate son of King Sigismund of Hungary and the beautiful Elizabeth Morosiney. Again and again Amurath retired to private life, only to be called back in critical periods of Turkish national life. His long reign of thirty years was unassailed, his character unimpeached. He died in 1451 and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed II—called the Conqueror because of his capture of Constantinople.

Mohammed II did not possess the high honor and lofty virtue of his father. His reign was marked by deceit and perfidy, violence and cruelty. His first official act was to cause his baby brother, still at the breast, to be drowned in the bath at the very moment his unhappy mother was extending her congratulations upon his accession to the throne. Soon after his ascension he commenced preparations for the capture of Constantinople—a city that has been besieged twenty-nine times—twenty-one times it has withstood the siege and eight times it has fallen. Fourteen batteries were formed along the land wall between the Sea of Marmora and the Golden Horn. Cannon ballistas and catapults were used to hurl great missiles against the walls.

Archers showered arrows upon those who exposed themselves on the walls. The number of the besiegers has been estimated as high as 250,000. In addition to these land forces there had been collected a fleet of 320 vessels. Combats between the Christian flotillas and the Turkish vessels resulted in a victory of the Christians and relief of the city. Mohammed placed his troops most effectively and transported a large number of his vessels from the Bosphorus to the upper end of the Golden Horn. He then sent for the last time a summons to surrender, which was defied by Constantine, the Greek defender, on the 24th of May, 1453. On the 29th at sunrise the assault was made against the land walls and at the same time against the sea fortifications. After two hours terrific slaughter Hassan of Alubad with thirty followers gained the summit of the ruins of an overthrown tower, through which the Turkish army rushed and overflowed the fallen city.

Thus fell the Cross and was upraised the Crescent over Constantinople where it has ever remained till the good year 1918. It is now again in the hands of Christians and, it is to be hoped, will remain so forever.

# THE SICK MAN OF SIBERIA

## A Story of the Trans-Siberian Railroad

By OLIVE GILBREATH

**S**HORTLY after Miss Gilbreath mailed this article from Vladivostok in February, the plan she outlines in the final paragraphs was put into operation. This plan, proposed by Japan and accepted by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, China and the Czechoslovak armies in Siberia, contemplated an Inter-Allied Committee representing the countries named, of which the chairman should be a Russian. The Russian selected was Mr. Oustrougoff, formerly Assistant Minister of Ways of Communication under the Kerensky Government and now Minister of Ways of Communication under the authorities established at Omsk. The plan, in addition to the Inter-Allied Committee, which is to supervise the operation of the railways, provided for the establishment of a technical board of railway experts who, in coöperation with Russian officials and personnel of the railways, should have charge of the technical operation of the lines. The president of this board is Mr. John F. Stevens, builder of the Panama Canal. It is Mr. Stevens' appointment to this position which has given rise to the idea that the railways are being operated by Americans. This is only partly true. The supervision of the railway lines rests with the Inter-Allied Committee with its Russian chairman. Mr. Stevens and the technical board, which is composed of railway experts from all the countries named, operates under the Committee and has at its disposal not only the Russian Railway Service Corps of American Engineers, but also Japanese and other foreign railway experts. A Russian manager or director is made responsible to the Russian chairman for each division of the railroad.

The plan proposed by the Japanese also provided for the establishment of a military board which should be responsible for matters concerned with military transportation in connection with Russian, Czechoslovak and Allied troops now in Siberia.

In accepting the foregoing plan all the governments concerned reached an express understanding that the operation of the railways under the supervision of the Inter-Allied Committee with its Russian chairman, should be undertaken for the benefit of Russia and without modifying any existing rights by whomsoever held, and that it is a temporary arrangement undertaken to enable the Russian people, with the support of their friends, to re-establish order in Siberia.

It will be remembered that the Railway Advisory Commission to Russia, consisting of Mr. John F. Stevens, Chairman, and Messrs. Miller, Darling, Gibbs and Greiner, visited Russia in the spring and summer of 1917 at the request of the Provisional Government and inspected the following railways: The Siberian railway—Vladivostok to Petrograd; railways from Moscow to the Donetz Basin; Archangel; and Murmansk railways.

Their conclusions were submitted to the Provisional Government of Russia, and the various members of the Mission, as they submitted their recommendations in turn, came back to the United States, with the exception of Mr. Stevens, who was retained by the Provisional Government as special adviser to the Ministry of Ways of Communication. In the early fall of 1917, upon the suggestion of Mr. Stevens, the Ministry of Ways of Communication requested the organization of a body of American railway engineers, who would form about fourteen skeleton units for the administration of railway divisions as known in this country. This body of engineers was organized as the Russian Railway Service Corps and proceeded to Russia in November, 1917. The Corps, commanded by Colonel Emerson, was recruited largely from our railways in the Northwest where conditions of traffic most resemble those on the Siberian railway, where it was intended they should commence operation. The Corps was placed under the general direction of Mr. Stevens. Bolshevik uprisings, which extended to Siberia, prevented any operations being undertaken by the Corps until the spring of 1918.

The latest cable information, as we go to press, is that the American and Allied Governments had decided to loan the Inter-Allied Committee \$20,000,000, in no sense as an investment, but as an assurance of the continued and more efficient operation of the trans-Siberian railroad.—*Editor's Note.*

**T**HE landscape along the trans-Siberian has, within recent months, taken on a new feature. The long reaches of the steppe broken by timbered villages or the brush camps of the Buriats now show caravans of camels lengthening to the westward from the Manchurian border. Camels are not unknown in the northern plain; there have always been some camels in the vicinity of Hailar, but camel caravans are not a familiar feature. Neither is the sight of men along the line of rails, packs on their backs, staffs in their hands. And

if the eye skimmed that same caravan route from Peking north through Urga and Kiatchka into Siberia, it would pick out an incongruous detail among the ox carts and the wool wagons—motor lorries breaking the silence of Genghis Khan's old trail. A year, even six months ago, these signs did not exist. They are the recent indications of a situation which in the last few months has been nearing its crisis—the paralysis of the most important nerve in Siberia, the trans-Siberian railroad—makeshifts which by their very variety and inadequacy indicate something of the magnitude of the collapse of Siberian transportation.

And yet the magnitude of the collapse can be measured only by the magnitude of what the road signifies to Siberia, the one Siberian railway, decreed by ukase of the father of the late Tzar, Alexander III, in 1891, to plumb the wilderness of this remote but virgin-rich Russia in Asia. Asiatic Russia has never had to solve the problem of lack of resources, but rather how to gather in and transport its amazing treasures and spread them over the world. Bounded on the north by the Arctic and on the south by China, Siberia has been singularly lost in its own exitless immensity and far-lying distances. The future of the Kara Sea route now seems assured since the invention of hydroplanes, by which the ice fields may be charted and ships sailing from Europe guided to the mouths of the Obi and the Yenisei; previously, however, the Arctic route has been too dangerous and uncertain to signify. Across the Altai on the south, China is practically without commercial paths. And this, a closed north and a trackless south, has for centuries left Siberia a middle ground of unpenetrated and undeveloped riches, practically insulated; the slight forays from the east coast into the gold fields and the furs and the almost legendary timber have been but a nibbling at the edges of this vast pie. And the most valuable undeveloped land in the world is still Russia in Asia. To comprehend the potentiality of it, one must cease to visualize Siberia as a map or as the frozen tundra of the exile and travel—follow the railway from Vladivostok through the wheat belt of the Ussuri, across the soya bean fields stretching west to Bukedu and the grazing lands of the Buriats around Chita, pass days in the shadows of the virgin forests reaching from Lake Baikal west and still west toward Novonikolaievsk—perhaps the greatest body of timber known, extending two hundred miles south of the railway and so far north as timber grows. One must enter the fertile dairy district of Barnaul and smell the soil in that rich alluvial plain, the black-earth wheat belt next the Urals. One must hear tales of the northern gold. All this and vastly, unimaginably more, the resources of Siberia, still undeveloped; undeveloped but no longer unknown,

for the trans-Siberian has begun to plumb them and to draw Siberia within the circle of the world. In one year after the construction of the road, passenger traffic increased fifty per cent and freight still more; it has from that time been one of the most heavily taxed lines in the railway world, with steadily increasing demands. A master builder—the trans-Siberian for the north of Asia. It is a commonplace that a railway line trails immigration in its wake, but the trans-Siberian has been peculiarly the forerunner of Russia in the Far East, formerly colonized by forced settlements of prisoners who covered the great distances on foot. And it has not only colonized the East but it has buttressed and held it against the aspirations of Japan. Without the trans-Siberian and the assumed possibility of transporting speedily an army, Russia would long ago have met her irresistible force in Japan; the trans-Siberian has kept up the illusion of Great Russia. As a personality, it has accomplished much, though intangible. For the Siberian himself living along its shining lengths or from afar aware of it, it is a living link with the land for which he must always feel—exile or immigrant—something of nostalgia. To the more intelligent it has been even more; the pledge that by the power of the road and the magic of his own treasure he himself may create a world of economic well-being such as he has glimpsed in other nations.

It is not pleasant to watch a tremendous organism disintegrate and it has not been pleasant to watch the trans-Siberian break up. The last seven months have been particularly acute. First-class cars are as scarce as auk's eggs; even second are rare; third-class cars and freight wagons, battered, ventilated with Siberian winds, have been the methods of travel de luxe for the troops. As for schedule—trains arrive and depart from an hour to a season late. Freight is refused or accepted only in limited quantities. There have been times when, owing to the congestion of the road, no goods trains have gone out of Vladivostok for three weeks. The result has been vast accumulations; at the port of import: tea, sugar, boots, everything for which the interior clamors. And there along the line pile the mountains of exports which the world needs and which would set Siberia on her feet again in the world of credit. But between stretch the miles of frozen steppe and the only communication, a feeble, choking railway lapsing into its final coma. The Japanese alone seem to have the sesame that provides them with goods wagons, but Americans and British complain bitterly of the futility of effort. The collapse has reached such a point, in fact, that to procure wagons or send a train through means an almost inconceivable expenditure of personal energy, exerted not only against the disorganization of the road, but against the natural inertia of

Russia, now sinking daily in its slough of despair.

The road is now said to be less than twenty per cent efficient. The causes which have thus reduced it are briefly: the general unrest among the workmen which has so reduced the labor in the shops that whereas thirty days were previously needed, for instance, to repair an engine, one hundred and twenty are now necessary; the tampering with the engines by the Bolsheviks and the deliberate opening of the switches; the lack of repair parts, formerly made in Russian factories or imported from Germany or America; the absence of proper lubricating oils, butter being substituted with disastrous results, also of cotton waste and other running materials and the diminished number of cars. These latter, more or less mechanical factors, have been abetted and rendered more effective by recent labor troubles of a particular variety. Men who know the Russian railway workman for the most part praise his heroic qualities, his comparative loyalty in the midst of general unrest. In fact, many count the railway workman the salvation of Siberia. During last summer's fighting between the Czechs and Bolsheviks and also during the fighting between Kalmykoff and the Bolsheviks it was not unusual to find the guard of the Permanent Way at his post between the lines. He found it his duty; inspired, perhaps, by pride in the road or the knowledge that the interior depended on him. Whatever loyalty he

has showed is the more remarkable in that he worked from September to November without pay, while the cost of living soared and the Bolsheviks were tempting him with six hundred roubles a month as a Red Guard. This behavior, it must be added, however, was more frequent in the workmen away from the big centers. And recently this loyalty has had a severe strain. With the interior paying extravagant sums for certain commodities, a number of the population have begun to beat their way up to the Manchurian frontier, there to load up their packs and trudge back into the interior to profiteer. These are the figures seen along the railway; and the fact that the workman has not been absent from the ranks has still further demoralized the line. The labor has been recently lowered in effectiveness also by Semenov. The most difficult sector of the whole length of the road is the trans-Baikal sector, where that most picturesque figure in Siberia, the Ataman of the trans-Baikal Cossacks, is practically dictator. According to one point of view, Semenov—supported by Japan or, at least, his course not interfered with by them—has been the one most troublesome factor on the road, where he has run his armored trains at will, commandeered wagons and flogged the workmen in the repair shops with the *nagaika*. The most conservative statement must admit that he has for months sat astride Koltchak's line of communication

to Vladivostok and, with no pretense to the contrary, kept the trans-Baikal railway from coming under the authority of the Omsk government. Whatever the cause, the labor problem has been especially complex on the trans-Baikal.

These are, in brief, the conditions and the causes. The result is clear even to the unintelligent observer. It is the universal chaos of Siberia. So long as this main avenue of transportation remains unrestored, so long must Siberia remain unrighted. Foreign powers may remove the ban on Siberian exports and open her gates and her markets to Siberian raw products, but so long as they are there stranded in mid-Siberia, not here at the port, there is no help in them. Commissions for economic relief may land ship-loads of



AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN A TRANS-SIBERIAN BOX CAR

The Head of the Technical Board Concerned with the Actual Operation of the Lines, Is an American, John F. Stevens, of Panama Canal Fame



GENERAL SEMENOFF, COSSACK ATAMAN  
Responsible for Much Lowering of the Efficiency of  
the Service in the Trans-Baikal Sector of the Railway

supplies, but so long as they can only add to the accumulations of the hills and valleys of Vladivostok, there is no power in them to clothe, feed or restore self-respect. Two million dollars' worth of supplies have been distributed by the Red Cross. A few carloads of goods have been shipped in by the American and British official commission dispatched for economic assistance, but they are only sops and they must continue to be only sops until the trans-Siberian can carry something of its normal commerce. As a matter of fact, if the road could be restored, there would be little need for relief except among the poorest refugees. The trans-Siberian, it cannot be said too positively, is the key to every situation in Russia—economic, military and political. Military, from the fact that it being impossible to guarantee supplies, military operations on the Ural front have been seriously hindered. And no serious military enterprise can be launched until the road is reorganized. Political, from the fact that the populace, seeing the road occupied by military transportation, instead of administering to civil needs, are turning in greater numbers than ever before to the left wing.



GENERAL GAIDA, CZECH LEADER IN SIBERIA  
He Saved the Lake Baikal Tunnels by Routing the  
Bolsheviks Before They Could Explode the Mines

The restoration of the trans-Siberian—it is a task to challenge the interest even of an engineer of Panama caliber, not only because of the magnitude of the débacle but because of the future, out-running the vision of any man. This pioneer plumb-line of Alexander III is, as a matter of fact, not one but seven railways under separate and distinct managements, all formerly controlled by the Minister of Communications at Petrograd. These railways are the Ussuri, Chinese-Eastern, trans-Baikal, Tomsk, Omsk, Perm and Northern: a distance of 5,435 miles from Vladivostok to Petrograd, of which 2,329 miles are double tracked. Concerning this track itself, railway experts are in unanimous agreement that it is of excellent workmanship, Russian trackmen being among the most finished and thorough track workers of the world. And it has, strangely enough, through all the fighting of Czechs and Bolsheviks along its line suffered comparatively little destruction. The Bolsheviks tried to wreck several of the bridges, but owing to the inexpert placing of the explosives, although the charges were stupendous, they wrought comparatively small injury to the larger bridges,



THE RAILROAD BRIDGE ACROSS THE ONON RIVER, SIBERIA, DESTROYED BY BOLSHIEVIKI  
The Trans-Siberian, in Spite of All the Fighting Along Its Lines, Has Suffered Little Destruction. The Bolshieviki Tried to Wreck Bridges and Tunnels. But Were, for the Most Part, Unsuccessful

except to the 350-foot spans of the Onon bridge. Some of the smaller bridges were damaged, but they were quickly repaired by the Czechs and the Americans and now offer no obstacle to traffic. The stroke of amazing good fortune for the trans-Siberian was that the forty-one tunnels around Lake Baikal were not dynamited. The Bolsheviks had every opportunity to do this and had planned it, mining the tunnels for the trapping and obliteration of the second group of Czechoslovak echelons crossing Siberia under General Gaida. But the twenty-eight-year-old Czech leader outflanked the Bolsheviks by a swift, daring raid through the unknown mountains and forests and routed them before they had time to explode the mines. Only one, the famous tunnel, Number 39, they touched off before their retreat, and this they completely "day-lighted." The one tunnel wrecked held up the Czech echelons three weeks and came more nearly proving their undoing than any other one episode. Had a number or all of the tunnels been wrecked, it is impossible to say when the great lead into Russia could ever have been cleared. The good condition of the track fails to apply to the rolling stock and the operative system. On these two sides the road can absorb unlimited energy.

The first step in the restoration of the trans-Siberian must be to raise the efficiency of the loco-

motive repair shops. This is not easy in the present state of restlessness among the workmen and their generally distraught mood. It can probably be aided by better wages, the running of continuous work shifts and the relief of the suffering among the families of the workmen. Of the repairs, the most urgent are those of the locomotives, fifty per cent of the locomotives now being "sick," many only from minor ailments. At present writing fifty trains are stopped on the trans-Baikal for lack of engines. To hasten these repairs, it is necessary not only to import the prime materials, but also to collect and re-use the old materials from which smaller parts may be manufactured. Every effort should be concentrated on providing locomotives for moving freight rather than upon restoring passenger traffic, of which there is now already too much proportionately.

The repair shops rendered effective, the second step must be to bring the locomotives already on the line up to a maximum of efficiency. According to western standards, Russian methods of operation, like Russian methods in general, are extremely antiquated. Fueling is done by hand instead of by mechanical appliances by which fuel may be discharged almost instantaneously. Watering an engine requires from twenty to thirty minutes instead of five, water being fed by six-inch instead of

by twelve-inch hydrants as on American roads. There is no proper arrangement for cleaning the ash boxes or for clinkering. Coupling is not done by automatic buffers but by the hand link and pin, long since superseded in America; a method which not only slows down operations, but which limits the length of the trains, the hand-coupling being unable to bear the strain of a long train. All these slow minor processes retarding the traffic and limiting the capacity of the line must be replaced by more modern methods. Fuller financial return must also be expected from the investment in the locomotives. Under the Russian system an engineer takes out no other locomotive than his own; while he rests, the locomotive also rests. Since each locomotive represents an outlay of forty or fifty thousand dollars, this means a disproportionate return on the capital. In America, engines coming in from runs are looked over, cleaned and sent out at the first call.

If the Americans operate the railway, the old staff system will probably be supplanted by the American system of dispatching trains through a central dispatcher using telegraphic and telephonic communications. The staff system has its peculiar temptations for the Russian character. If the Russian station-master is drinking tea, he may not be inclined to unlock the next section and deliver the staff. Trains have been known to wait hours on tea drinking and there is a tale sworn to by an American officer, credible to anybody knowing the Russian. The officer was traveling by a train which carried also a well-known violinist with a new violin. The station-master at — was an old friend of the violinist and also a man of taste.

"Come up to the house; I will hear the violin," he proposed.

"But the train?"

"*Nechevo.*"

"I cannot, the passengers——"

"My wife will like it."

And the two repaired into the interior of the town for a concert. Even some British engineers believe the discarding of the staff system not necessary, but the Americans here include the skeleton units for a dispatch operation and they prefer to insure against the concert engagements and the Russian temperament.

The immediate situation met, more permanent improvements are contemplated: the gradual substitution of heavier steel rails and more powerful locomotives; the establishment of round houses for minor repairs in order to free the locomotive terminals for the thorough overhauling of the locomotives; the employment of transportation inspectors who will round up freight cars, see that they are picked up by their trains and, in general, keep the lines clear. If the road passes under American

operation it is the intention to train Russians working together with Americans so that they may be able to manage and operate the road when it passes back into Russian hands. Some of the details of reorganization are small, but in the aggregate they are important and no detail may be legitimately neglected which can increase the efficiency of this gigantic carrier, which has already borne some of the heaviest freight in the world and which in the future will be taxed even more excessively.

Why, then, if this need is so imperative and the program clear, is the trans-Siberian not restored? Why has the American railway commission, appointed by the Kerensky government and paid by Kerensky gold for the purpose of reorganizing and operating the railroad, sat unemployed for eighteen months while the last state of the Sick Man of Siberia has grown distinctly worse than the first?

The main reason has been Japan.

In December of 1917 the American commission of engineers headed by Mr. John F. Stevens, whose statue in Panama commemorates his service there, and comprising about two hundred technical and operating engineers sailed into the harbor of Vladivostok. Unfortunately, at this time Vladivostok was reported to be in the hands of twenty thousand Bolsheviks and the commission put back to Nagasaki. In June of 1918 they again came to Vladivostok. But the government which had appointed them had long since deceased—long since in terms of the meteoric changes in fluctuating Russia of that period—and the whole sky had shifted its colors. Among other hues, most notable was that of the Rising Sun of Japan. In short, that which had once been delegated to America by the Kerensky government—the reorganization and operation of the transportation of the seven railways—has within the last year become one of the most stubbornly fought propositions in the world, complicated by national and racial jealousies, by questions of jurisdiction, trade influence and, from the side of the Russians, a deadly fear of losing the road itself or of territorial aggression on the part of Japan. That this latter fear is not without foundation appears from the fact that in January of 1919 the Tokyo *Kokumin Shimbun* openly refers to what has been generally understood, that—as stated by Putnam Weale in the *Shanghai Gazette* of May 14, 1918—Japan had acquired an interest in the Chinese-Eastern railway: a transaction also credited to the Kerensky government.

The American point of view is simple and practical. The task is a one-nation task and that nation is America; the nation here and "on her toes," with men, money and materials to start the gigantic machinery, and admittedly the most disinterested friend of Russia. Why not let America proceed? To Japan, doubtless, the affair looks equally simple.



JAPANESE MARINES ENTERING VLADIVOSTOK THROUGH ARCH ON PETER THE GREAT STREET  
Japan, With an Interest in the Chinese-Eastern Railway and 72,000 Troops in Siberia, is Said to Have Been One of the Main Factors in Blocking the Work of the Engineers Sent to Reorganize the Siberian Railways

carefully rehearsed as she is in the Monroe Doctrine of the East. "The major interests in the Orient are ours. Why make a gift of the railways to the Americans?" The Japanese officer asks it quite bluntly and the Japanese soldier sticks close to the trans-Baikal. The Russian whose road is being taken has under the present bankruptcy and chaos not too much to say. Naturally, the *natchalnik*, or official, is unwilling. The trans-Siberian has laid too many golden eggs for him to surrender it easily. But the democratic classes are willing and the workmen are willing, seeing under the Americans better conditions and a chance to climb to the position of officials; an upward slant never possible under the old "caste of the diploma." The most human touch in the situation, this hope of the workman to set his feet on the ladder, looking up.

After months of wrangling, a compromise has been suggested. This is an inter-Allied committee of eight, with a Russian head; to this committee shall be responsible Allied technical and military committees, finances to be borne by America, England and Japan, with the operation of the road passing to American engineers. And there are railway men other than the interested Americans who bitterly condemn the spirit of compromise that would take the matter out of one nation's hands,

with what they are convinced can be only disaster.

But all these questions met, there still remains one stupendous problem. Perhaps it is the premier. "Who will guard the line?" The trans-Siberian has not always run through friendly territory. Only six months ago it did not. When the Czechoslovaks broke their way out of Europe toward France, the outlying country of the trans-Siberian was Bolshevik, a Bolshevik-German net spreading from Kiev to Vladivostok, with concentrations of Red Guards at every large center. And if the Allies maintain their present static policy, the great road may again run through Bolshevik territory in Siberia. Who will insure its safety? For it is obvious that if millions of money and thousands of men are to be poured into reconstituting this gigantic enterprise, safety must be guaranteed in advance and adequately. At present, Americans guard the line to Harbarovsk, the Japanese extend through trans-Baikalia, there are British troops about Omsk and the Czechs and Siberian regiments nearer the Urals. But if the American engineer is to do the work he would like an American soldier to guard him. There must never be for the American a fear for his lines of communications. Will American soldiers and American engineers let down the first rope into the chasm of Russia?



# CONVERTING THE MISSIONARY

By EARL HERBERT CRESSY

**R**ECENTLY a missionary about to return home on furlough stated that as in the Far East he had been a representative of the spiritual life of the West, so during his stay in America he would be an ambassador of the culture of the Far East. Yet, seven years before, he had gone as a missionary to a "heathen" land and, save that he had looked on residence abroad as a cultural opportunity, it had not occurred to him that his mission involved anything beyond the transmission to the East of the spiritual heritage of the West. He had realized that the East must be allowed to appropriate this in its own fashion, and develop it according to its own genius, but it had not dawned on him that there was to be any real give and take. He had come to the Far East with a message that he was on fire to give, but in the process of transmission the East had spoken its message to him. He had gone out to change the East, and was returning, himself a changed man.

The attitude of the new missionary toward the religions of the peoples to whom he goes is, as a matter of course, one of superiority, although it is often tempered with a considerable degree of sympathy and respect. He is apt to have the same attitude toward all the other aspects of their life, for he shares the conviction, common to all peoples, that his own civilization is superior to every other. In his case, however, this is counterbalanced by the great missionary ideal of the brotherhood of man and his motive of service. His first impression of the Far East is one of overwhelming strangeness. He judges everything in terms of unlikeness to what he has known at home. After a time when he begins to enter into the life of the people and learns the inwardness of some of their customs, it comes over him that many that seemed queer at first are simply different ways of getting at familiar results, and often not such bad ways either. As the years pass, he becomes so habituated to oriental methods that the ways of his own people seem strange, at first, when he returns to them, and he finds that he has really come to like many of the customs of the Far East.

In due time he enters upon his work in the new field and takes charge of churches, schools or clinics. He begins by using the methods to which he was accustomed at home but he soon finds that many of them are unsuitable. His common sense leads him unconsciously or as a temporary expedient, to adopt new ways of doing things, some of which may not square with the traditions of his denomination.

He may even go so far as to hold that different conditions and the stiffness of traditional procedure justify the change. Then, on his return home, many of the practices among which he grew up and which he never before thought to question, appear naïve, and he begins to compare them with the more vital measures which he has adopted on the mission field. Again, he may read widely in order to know more of the people among whom he lives, and, if he desires to understand the larger aspects of race and social organization and religion, he will find himself in the realm of anthropology. Then the realization will come to him that life in its deep spiritual significance and its constructive purpose is the same the world over; and that the unusual customs he observes are not in a class by themselves, but fit into classifications and sequences that make up the evolution of human culture. After he has taken that mental step things that were strange will assume a very human quality. The change in point of view along this line is emphasized by two books, Smith's *Chinese Characteristics*, a classic of many years' standing, and *The Changing Chinese* by Ross. The former gives a deliciously witty presentation of Chinese life based upon intimate knowledge, with the emphasis upon aspects that seem odd to the West. Its accuracy and fairness can scarcely be questioned, but the interpretation is in terms of difference. The following quotation from Professor Ross's book may serve as an exposition of the newer point of view: "To the traveler who appreciates how different is the mental horizon that goes with another stage of culture or another type of civilization than his own, the Chinese do not seem very puzzling. Allowing for differences in outfit of knowledge and fundamental ideas, they act much as we should do under their circumstances."

Given these changes in the point of view of the missionary, due to his residence abroad, how does his conversion by the Far East come about?

The first task of the missionary is to learn the language and this is quite a different proposition from learning a new language in the West. The Romance and Germanic tongues have a civilization in common, and the whole Indo-European family of languages has much similarity of vocabulary and grammatical structure. The vocabulary and grammar of languages in the Far East are entirely different from these of the West. This difference, deeper than mere rule and form, springs from diverging habits of thoughts and modes of life. The

obvious western reaction to a given situation would be unfamiliar to the eastern mind. The different point of view of the Oriental finds expression in his speech. It is not possible for one to develop a train of thought in English and then try to convert it into the eastern vernacular. Life is made up of a series of experiences, each of which has a definite emotional reaction and an appropriate response in word or act. No Westerner learns an oriental language until he has some understanding of the race mind and social heredity of the people. Why does the word "mystery" in China signify the southwest corner, or "good" a woman and a son, and how comes "heaven" to be written as the conventionalized figure of a man? A simple illustration shows the value of knowing the usual method of approach in any situation.

A Westerner meets a Chinese peasant on the road and, wishing to inquire the way, plunges in forthwith in his best Mandarin, or whatever dialect he may have studied. The peasant replies that he does not understand English. But if the student of Chinese is sufficiently acquainted with the introductory exchange of courtesies to ask first if the farmer has eaten his rice and follow up this approach with the rest of the expected formula, the desired information will be forthcoming, even if the stranger's Chinese is very broken. There are men who have passed all the examinations at the end of a two-year course in the language, but who have never been able to understand or make themselves understood, chiefly because of failure to get into the circuit of thought and feeling of the people. The missionary must make use of the customs of the country as well as of the language. Those who insist on clinging to their western ways of doing things are apt to find themselves in an awkward deadlock. For example, the Chinese do not like to transact business face to face, if anything unpleasant is to be said. The foreigner who does his own plain speaking will soon find himself cut off from all but a small circle of those who for one reason or another are willing to accept his brutal western frankness. The use of a middleman is a great economy of time and temper. The principal of a school may wish to engage a teacher. He finds the interview with the candidate very satisfactory, save that the latter refuses to state what salary he will take, courteously leaving all mundane details to his prospective employer. This by no means implies that he is ready to accept whatever is offered. Here the middleman comes into action, conducting the closest kind of bargaining, which does not in the least prevent all personal relations between principal and teacher from being maintained on a high plane of scholastic dignity, uncontaminated by any taint of commercialism.

As learning the language involves setting up new

mental habits, so adoption of the customs of the country builds up a new set of social habits—rules of etiquette for various occasions, conventionalities and proprieties. But in spite of this new mental and social background the missionary finds that he has not penetrated deeply into the cultural life of the country. He lives close to the people and inevitably sees more of the seamy side than of the romance of the Orient. The masses toil for a bare living, and everywhere the raw sights and rank odors of the animal side of existence are in evidence. Those with the leisure to cultivate a love for beauty hide their light under a bushel, and it is only gradually that the missionary becomes aware of the more agreeable aspects of life in his new environment. His work generally takes him more or less into the country. It is a continual delight of field and flower and wood, save where the mud huts of a village rise like some foul excrescence from the soil, dank, gloomy, malodorous and vermin infested. For years he may see only the pigs wallowing in the filthy mire of the narrow streets, the swarms of flies, the scarecrow buildings, the noisome sores and deformities of an appalling proportion of the population. Then some evening, traveling in the glow of the sunset, a village rises ahead of him against the blue of the distant hills. He observes for the first time the mellow coloring of the yellow mud wall surrounding it, and the weathered browns of the thatched roofs rising amid the feathery foliage of bamboo. After that he finds beauty everywhere, for the charm of the East is upon him.

It is the same with the cultural life. At first there seems to be something lacking, partly because it manifests itself in unexpected forms, and partly because the cultured class is comparatively small. The new missionary first comes in touch with it through his studies. In China, for instance, he begins with the Confucian classics, long the basis of education, source of all knowledge and royal road to office. Here is a system of social and political philosophy that has been honored in the breach as well as in the observance for unnumbered centuries in China and has long been potent as an influence in Japan. It has behind it the authority of the schools and of the ruling class. Its lofty morals and wise saws make a deep impression on the student, an impression that is deepened by the prestige of a system that has held unchanged sway from remote antiquity. But as the missionary becomes more familiar with the history of China, he becomes aware of another trend over against the intolerant conservatism and rigid orthodoxy of Confucianism—brilliant periods in the development of art, literature, philosophy and religion, which have come to fruition in spite of Confucianism, and before which the myth of the arrested development of Chinese civilization breaks down.

Later he purchases a volume of T'ang poetry, and struggles in vain to comprehend it wholly, while yet its beauty shines through the archaic diction, and carries him back thirteen centuries to the great days of early T'ang when, in Fenollosa's phrase, China was the metropolitan garden of Asia, surpassing the splendors of Khan or Caliph at Samarkand and Damascus and Bagdad; when the most glorious capital perhaps in the world was Lo Yang with its population of two millions, where palace gardens were raised on mighty walled terraces that enjoyed far prospect over lake and bay, pavilions rising above granite and marble foundations in rainbow tier after tier, with great banqueting halls, and blue silk awnings and heavy portières shot with golden thread.

Then he begins to come into contact with the more tangible evidences of the glorious past—porcelain, painting, tapestry and cunning workmanship in jade and jewels and gold. But when he stands before a great painting, unless he is willing to forego his western conventions and can get along without shadows and have the perspective travel up the picture instead of receding into it, unless he has a sympathetic acquaintance with fairy tales and philosophies and can understand that passionate feeling for nature that finds its culmination in the worship of heaven, he may look upon it with unseeing eyes. In short, he must be able to enter with the artist into another world, even as Wu Tao Tsz, who in the days of T'ang painted on the palace walls a glorious scene with mountains, forest, clouds, birds, men and all things as in nature and unveiled it in the presence of the emperor and all the court. As all gazed in admiration the artist pointed out a little grotto at the foot of a mountain in the picture and suddenly stepped in, whereupon the gate thereof closed behind him, the picture disappeared, and he was never seen again.

At length the missionary becomes sufficiently familiar with the history of the development of Far Eastern culture to get a glimpse of its vast sweep. The first and overwhelming impression is that of its great antiquity. Coins from the cash-drawer prove to have been in common use for hundreds of years and tombs and temples mark spots that have been held sacred for forty centuries. But the impression which gradually grows and comes to be the dominant one is that of the greatness and glory of this civilization. Even the simple inscription on a stone slab in the grass-grown court of some unpretentious and tumble-down memorial hall brings thoughts of the splendor of the day that is gone in the Far East.

And what is the relation of this civilization to that of the West? The history of civilization has been marked by a series of unifications, embracing an ever widening area. Egypt, Mesopotamia,

Judæa, Greece, each represented a unification of culture throughout a given area and were in turn swept into the Empire of Alexander. This again was taken up into the synthesis of the Roman Empire, which later gave way to the larger complex which we call the West. This process has been cultural as well as political, and it should be noted that it has involved elimination as well as preservation. Each of the lands around the Mediterranean had its own laws and customs, yet the legal codes of the West bear in large part the imprint of Rome. No people was without religion, yet the West has come to speak of itself as Christendom. In all lands were the beginnings of literature and art, but they were outshone by the perfection achieved in Greece.

All this time beyond the mountain barrier of Tibet another culture was coming to fruition. Contact with the West there was and is, but only enough to impart new impulses to development, never sufficient to determine its emphasis or direction. Art, religion and philosophy from Rome, Parthia, Persia and India have entered the Far East, but China has set its stamp on all that has been appropriated and in this movement Japan has been a participant, and, for a brief moment, Korea. No ideas or suggestions have been taken over unchanged and all have been given a characteristic evolution.

Thus in the era of world contact that is now beginning, two great civilizations are for the first time face to face. Each has been self-centered and unwitting of the other. The East was made aware of the West by the rude contact of commerce and force of arms. The West is only beginning to discern the vastness and possibilities of the culture of the East, great according to its own genius, and lacking things that the West considers vital. But it is precisely this one-sided development, this different emphasis, that gives promise of rich contribution to the life of the West. At a time when most of the available elements seem to have been added to the cultural synthesis in the West, a new vast area of culture is disclosed, the last remaining independent civilization. Here is something infinitely precious, potent with new impulses for the enrichment and development of the life of the world.

The missionary who has gone to the Far East as the ambassador of the spiritual life of the West enters into the heritage of the culture of the Far East and feels its influence. How does this affect his attitude toward his mission? Does it make him less a missionary, deprive him of his message? Rather it makes him twice the missionary he was, first to the land of his adoption and then to his native land. It leads to a modification of his message, but intensifies the need for it. It actuates the missionary to restate his message with an emphasis upon its



universal and fundamental aspects and to divest it of all local elements. With the entrance of the Far East into the modern world his mission appears in a new light. Whether the religions of the Far East were adequate for earlier conditions or not, they were and are, to a very large extent, bound up with outworn social conditions, the break-up of which they can with difficulty survive. The spiritual life of the East must be modernized along with its industrial and intellectual life. It is the task of the missionary to contribute toward this new spiritual life the best that the West has to offer.

What, finally, is the significance for the West of the civilization of the Far East? The missionary gets a hint as to the answer of this question immediately on his return home, when his baggage suffers more in a brief trip than in repeated journeyings in the Orient. He finds this typical of a defect in the national economy whereby one works for hours to repair damage caused by the haste of another. Because of the care and patience which they bestow upon their use, Orientals get long service out of utensils so flimsy that Americans could scarcely make shift to use them at all. In cultured circles the frugality of the Far East reaches its perfection in a very fine simplicity. The recent coronation ceremonies in Japan sorely disappointed many of the foreigners who had traveled far to behold pomp and pageantry. The same trait appears in an account of Chinese life given by Parker: "There is little luxury in the ideal Chinese life; no board floors; no ceilings or papered walls; no glass or linen; no expensive wines or smart reception rooms. As a rule the life, no matter how high the retired official may be, is what may be termed farm life. Plain cotton clothes; plenty of rice, pork and vegetables; good plain cookery; fine clothes for ceremonial occasions stowed away in chests; a modest store of good books; bedizenment for the women; pigs, poultry and ploughing cattle, seldom carts or horses; manure in heaps; fish, hams, or pemmican drying and being smoked in the rafters; stiff chairs or benches; easy demeanor to servants and slaves; and above all, perfect democracy and the entire absence of snobbery: age is the only 'quality,' money counts not."

Inseparably bound up with all of this is the leisureliness of the Orient. It is true that that indefatigable worker, the Chinese, seems always to be doing something, but there is no speeding up and he is never in a hurry. The Oriental simply refuses to rush, and, although the missionary finds this characteristic immeasurably irksome at first, it later leads him to considerable thought. The classic comment on the situation from the oriental point of view is the remark of a member of a Japanese delegation, transferred from a local to an express in the subway in the course of being shown about

New York. Inquiring the reason for the change, the party was informed that three minutes were thus saved. It is reported that on emerging at their destination the leader of the delegation turned to their guides and blandly inquired, "Now that we have saved three minutes, what shall we do with them?" This is a point the West might well ponder.

During his furlough at home the missionary more than once feels the lack of the courtesy for which the Far East is famed. He is accustomed in the Orient to seeing students rise and bow at the beginning of the recitation, and he feels ill at ease when no one at the occidental university takes note of the entrance of the professor, and the opening sentence of the lecture cuts across a buzz of conversation. In making a call he is not seldom shown out into the hall of the apartment at parting and is left to find his own way out of the building. The first time this happens he cannot help feeling a little queer as he recalls how some Chinese friend escorted him clear to the street, or how some official had the great doors of the *yamen* opened and bowed him out with all ceremony. All such things take time, to be sure, and seem troublesome and useless as well, but to one who is accustomed to them they add much to the amenities of social intercourse, and invest with dignity many commonplace occasions of life.

It is not the purpose of this paper to attempt to enumerate all the lessons that the West might learn from the Far East, but simply to indicate some of the changes that it brings about in the missionary. But it should not be assumed that he can give himself unreservedly to the influence which the Far East brings to bear upon him. He must guard his democracy against the insidious appeal of class distinctions that place him, in spite of himself, above the majority of those among whom he moves. He must fight to keep leisureliness from degenerating into the passivity and fatalism of the Orient. It is said that white men who have long resided in China in some official capacity often become too Chinese in point of view to be of much service to their governments. The missionary must not become too oriental to be of service to the Orient.

The conversion of the missionary by the Far East results in his being not only a missionary but an internationalist, an intermediary between the two great civilizations that inherit the earth. Abroad, he represents a universal religion, and is himself an embodiment of the strivings of the West to attain its ideals of social justice and world brotherhood; at home, he is constantly changing the attitude of the millions of his constituency, who are sincere well-wishers and good friends of the Far East, by bringing to them something of his new breadth of vision, and helping them to a larger appreciation of the greatness and worth of the civilization of the Far East.

## THROUGH THE GATES OF THE MOGHREB



Frederick M. Jones

Despite French protectorate and international "incident" and concessionaire on the fringe of the country, Morocco remains essentially what it has been throughout the Islam centuries—the land of Berber and Arab. Even Tangier, that alluring outpost of northern Africa, is more than the cosmopolitan gateway to the Mohammedan East. Modern hotels, post offices, curio shops, guides, tourists—at all that the true Moor shrugs his shoulders indifferently and routinara in his fatalistic circle. Tangier may be contaminated by the anachronism presence of the enemies of the Prophet, but it has not yet lost its Moslem color and atmosphere. The streetmost vendors call their wares, the bread sellers, sitting on the ground of the "ask," or market-place, screech out loaves for their customers, the merchants crouch in their tiny dark shops in the midst of brilliant silks and embroideries. The beggar is whining for alms—"Aiorbi! Aiorbi!" And everywhere one comes into intimate touch with medieval pigantry. Perhaps it is some Moorish dignitary mounted on a white horse, preceded by drums and bagles and barefooted black retainers. Or perhaps it is a long procession of country folk returning to their distant plains, for Tangier is a meeting place for all the tribes of Morocco.



Frederick Moore

*The Moroccan encampment, whether it is military or that of some traveling band, is always picturesque. The tents of persons of distinction are often surmounted with copper balls and decorated with arabesques of cloth. Camping is a fine art in Morocco, where the roads are almost impassable and the chief means of transportation is by caravan. All day one rides across the great plains, sparsely covered with iris, daffodils, daisies, buttercups and wild lavender. Perhaps a wild band of horsemen will gallop by, their robes, sea green, salmon colored and blue, streaming in the wind, their steeds richly caparisoned like those of some crusading king. Occasionally one visits a little village built of mud and wattle and surrounded by fields of wheat and barley. Here and there the white-domed shrine of some saint rises serenely above the plain. And at sundown the shepherds playing on their reed flutes drive their flocks of sheep and goats home from pasture. Then it is time to pitch the tents near a grove of orange trees or on a fairy carpet of red anemones. One dines on roasted sheep and cous-cous, and is lulled to sleep by the songs of the guard under the intense blue of the African sky.*



Frederick Sharpe

*The soldier who stood guard on the "kasba" or citadel, above Tangier did not resemble in any way the millions of khaki-clad men who have fought in Europe for the past four years. He wore a uniform of knee breeches and coat that might have been any color of the rainbow, but when off parade duty he preferred his Moorish "djellab," a hooded cloaklike garment of white, and a scarlet fez over which he often wound his turban. It is said that when Sir Harry Maclean attempted to reorganize and drill the Sultan Abdul Aziz's army he found it expedient, in order to attract volunteers, to permit every man to choose the color of his own coat. But in spite of their dazzling Gilbert and Sullivan appearance, the Moors are a most warlike people. Their real treasures are long brass and silver mounted guns and curved knives with blades that would cut the wind.*



*Fredrick Moore*

Through the narrow lanes of Moorish cities, the water carrier, who has filled his goat-skins at the nearest fountain, plies his trade from house to house. The towns of Morocco do not extend open smiling arms to the stranger. The houses present cold, forbidding fronts. The winding, irregular streets twist and turn in a bewildering fashion and the low arches, often linking house with house, convert the streets into a series of high-walled semi-open courtyards, still more confusing to the uninitiated. But if one is privileged to enter through the massive gates fearfully reinforced with heavy iron bands and heavily bolted, one may step into courtyards inlaid with mosaics and ornamented with laced arabesques, surrounded with arched passageways that are richly carved and covered with luxuriant hangings: into a melancholy garden flugged with ancient slones, where a marble fountain plays softly and great orange trees are outlined voluptuously against the white walls and the unclouded sky. Who knows how many wistful harem ladies have languished there, what fantastic oriental tragedies have been spun out on curiously fatalistic silken threads?





Printed: Blaux

Through the beautiful arches of ancient Moroccan towns caravans of camels and mules are continually coming and going, bringing in the fruit and vegetables of the distant farms, carrying away the wares displayed in the marketplace. There is plenty of intensified interest and activity for the pilgrim from afar in the narrow cobbled streets choked with mud and indescribable filth. The booths in the cloth street are vivid with gold and silver brocade, with blue and orange silks. In the quarter of the leather merchants there are richly fashioned harnesses and embroidered saddles and powder horns inlaid with gold for a people who spend their lives on horseback. The workers in brass are continually hammering out their plates and vessels and not far from them are the armorers who make the much-prized long guns inlaid with silver. Sudanese minstrels clash their cymbals. A holy woman prophesies to the credulous bystanders. Snake charmers with their cobra performers are very popular. The story teller provided with legends that never seem to furnish with age is always surrounded by a crowd of men, women and children. The marketplaces of Morocco still preserve the atmosphere of the Thousand and One Nights.



Frederick Moore

"Alike for those who Today prepare,  
And those that after some Tomorrow stare,  
A Marzouk from the Tower of Darkness cries,  
"Fools, your Reward is neither Here nor There."

One of the first things that attracts the attention of the visitor to Tangier is the minaret towering above the principal mosque of the city. Minarets and mosques are the dominant note in all Muslim cities. In the early dawn before the first rays of the morning sun come to gild the green-tiled roofs of the mosques, at twilight just as the light of day is perishing in a purple glow, white flags are displayed from all the minarets. This is the signal for the muezzins to mount their towers. "Allah Akbar!" The cry of unquestioning faith is carried from minaret to minaret and awails in a mighty roar over the city. "Allah Akbar!" The muezzins, placing their hands to their mouths, send the long drawn wail of their song of praise to Allah to the four points of the compass. The mournful chant calls to prayer. It is the holy hour for the faithful. In the streets, in the fields, in the mosques, they sink to their knees. "Allah Akbar!"



Frederick Moore

The "kasba," or citadel, of Tangier is surrounded by walls upon which are mounted ancient guns that were once employed in defence of the city against the Spaniards. At intervals there are open archways through which one can obtain a commanding view of the White City, with its dazzling houses, crenelated walls, its little winding streets,—all overtopped by green minarets. Tangier is an animated meeting place of East and West. The Moors call it an infidel city, for here gather Frenchmen, Englishmen, Spaniards, Americans, South Americans and Jews, bringing their own customs and atmosphere and individuality, even more intensified because of the exotic and brilliant African setting. European shops have replaced many of the native booths, telephones and electric lights have been installed, foreign villas are set in the midst of gardens, but across the street from the hotel may be strolling, in all the dignity and sumptuousness of his flowing Moorish costume, the chieftain of some distant tribe or a handsome bandit who is degraded in the interior. Tangier is a potential melting pot of romance and adventure—and it beckons alluringly to the mysterious plains and cities beyond its threshold.



Frederick Menn.

No one has interpreted the mosques and tombs and white-walled cities of Morocco with more sympathetic and spiritual insight than Pierre Loti, who some years ago had an unusual opportunity to visit the interior with the French Minister. To him the Maghrib answered the rhaps of its ancient book, which is forever sealed to the dull and bigoted of vision. "The most trifling arabesque design over some ancient gateway that time and weather have almost obliterated—nay, even the simple whitewash, lying like a shroud on some ruined wall—lull me into dreams of the mysterious past, and cause to vibrate within me I know not what hidden chord. . . . Let those alone, then, accompanying me in my travels who have sometimes at evening felt a thrill pass through them at the first plaintive notes of the little Arab flutes accompanying the drums. They are my comrades, they who have experienced that, my comrades and my brothers; let them mount with me my broad-chested brown horse with flying mane and tail, and I will be their guide over plains carpeted with flowers, across solitary deserts of iris and saffron; I will conduct them under the fierce sun to the very depths of this immemorial country, and will show them the dead cities there, whose requiem is the murmur of unceasing prayers."

# ON JAPANESE CALICOES

By STEWART CULIN

I THINK we are all inclined to resent any further information on the subject of the art of Japan; and as for its brocades, with patterns borrowed and modified from Chinese originals, they are not only to be found in museums, but recently, through sales at auction, in many artists' studios as well as private houses. Good examples of these fabrics have been published in the beautiful work of Verneuil that is to be consulted in our public libraries. A systematic analysis of the pictorial elements of Japanese design exists in Cutter's book and innumerable illustrations of Japanese conventional ornament are to be seen in Japanese books now widely distributed.

We are more or less surfeited with the relatively weak applications of Chinese-Japanese art so abundantly displayed on native lacquers and pottery. A certain distrust of their validity is, I think, well founded.

During my several visits to the East I made a collection of *sarasa*, or Japanese calicos, and it is now my desire to make their interesting designs available. Our last and most direct source of information concerning them consists in stencils, for many stencils, especially those which are so numerously exported to foreign countries, are intended for cotton fabrics.

With commendable thrift stencils for the most part are made of paper for which every other use has been exhausted. The Japanese schoolboy returns the sheets on which he writes his exercises to the shop where he buys them and receives a lesser number of new sheets in return. The used sheets are often made into bags to contain the cheaper kinds of merchandise. Used paper fit for nothing else is pasted together in layers, the sheets are dipped in the juice of sour persimmon which makes them waterproof, and are then employed for the leather-like stencils. Paper thus waterproofed is used for many of the same purposes that *toyu gami* or oiled paper is employed, such as wrapping paper for bundles, rain hats, umbrellas, raincoats, kitchen fans, linings for trunks and boxes and bags used in shops. It is said that in the old time it was employed in the sliding screens in prisons. The collector of old paper, who calls out as he goes through the streets with baskets or a cart, buys paper with other rubbish from the householders, while a less considered person picks up fragments with a pointed stick.

The sheets for stencils are usually about 12 by 17 inches. The artist's design is laid on top of

them after they have been secured to a board so that they cannot move, and the craftsman cuts the pattern with a small steel blade, as many as six sheets being cut at a time. When the design is intricate the delicate patterns are strengthened by the insertion of fine threads of raw silk which prevent them from being destroyed when the stencil is used. Two identical sheets are dampened so that they may expand equally and one of them covered with paste on which the threads are laid. The other is put exactly on top, so that when it is pressed down the two adhere firmly, securing the strengthening fibres between them. The threads are so fine they do not show in the print. Henry T. Wyse, who has written informally about Japanese stencils, says that small circles and other minute forms are usually punched with steel punches similar to those used by our shoemakers, and that the three operations of designing, cutting and stenciling are commonly performed by different craftsmen.

The design is registered by four circular holes, usually at the top and bottom, and in printing, needles are inserted into the printing board, which supports the material being stenciled. The stencil plates, which eventually wear out, are easily reproduced by stenciling the pattern on the upper of the pile of six sheets and cutting them as before. Stencils are used in Japan not only by dyers, but for legends and shop marks on boxes and for lanterns, fans and children's toys. It would be as difficult to enumerate all their employments as it would be the uses of the specially prepared paper of which they are made. The dyers, however, almost monopolize the products of the stencil makers' industry. It is apparent that several stencils are necessary for many of the completed patterns. Those which are exported, new, and made mostly for foreign sale, are intended, like the key block of Japanese prints, only for the fundamental ground pattern.

Interesting and suggestive as Japanese stencils are, they fail to give us any information about color, which constitutes the great charm of Japanese dyed cotton fabrics. This is supplied by the pattern books printed in colors, but these published sources are very meagre compared with what one may seek in the fabrics themselves.

In my endeavor to secure new and useful material illustrating textile design I collected stray fabrics wherever I found them. Brocades were easy to procure. A nation of collectors, Japanese



DESIGN OF MIXED INFLUENCES — DRAGONS,  
FLOWERS AND COCKS WITH BASKET WORK



A "SARASA" PATTERN OF FOREIGN (INDIAN)  
FLOWERS AND VINES

make albums of scraps of brocade without intending to put them to any particular use, just as we make postage stamp albums. It would be difficult to tell all the kinds of things that are gathered by the Japanese amateur. Among them are games, especially the paper charts or diagrams for *sugoroku*, a popular game like our game of goose; playing cards; backgammon and chess boards and men; battledores; dolls and toys of all sorts; tea bowls, jars and spoons and other implements for the tea ceremony; old pottery; lacquers, *netsuké* and bead slides; pipes; swords, sword guards and old arms and armor generally; bows and arrows; old maps; paintings and prints; autographs and specimens of calligraphy; *makimono* and books in many categories; old seals; coins and paper money; *maga-tama* and prehistoric stone implements and pottery; Chinese jades and bronzes; Ainu and Loochooan objects; masks and appliances for the *No* theatre and the *Bugaku*, or Court dance; old costumes, including hats and head coverings and women's combs; paper charms, with pilgrim's labels; ex-votos, Buddhist images; Christian writings and relics and old foreign things, especially glass, and so on down to the labels of match boxes. All these are in addition to natural history collections which children are taught to make when they are at school. Collectors are organized in societies, among which I heard much of the Doll Collectors' Society, as well as the Pilgrim Label Society, and these societies have regular meetings and hold frequent exhibitions.

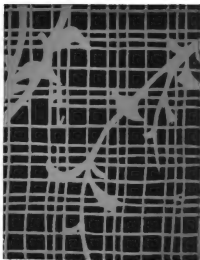
Unhappily, while brocades were plentiful I failed to secure a large collection of *sarasa*. It may be that its devotees are of a different class from the people with whom I was brought commonly in contact. Certain kinds of things are affected by mechanics and shop-keepers and their collectors keep to themselves. However, I learned something of the zeal with which specimens of old East Indian cottons are sought through the prices they are reputed to bring when they come on the market, and Mr. K. Niwa, the Director of the Commercial Museum in Kyoto, gave me an idea of the difficulties attendant upon their pursuit. Even the first editions of the printed pattern books, which are greatly superior in beauty to the reprints, are hard to find; and as for the excellent new works, published in colors by Yamada in Kyoto, they are not discovered except at the parent shop, and even there can be obtained only with much difficulty. The proprietor is engaged in the manufacture of artificial ice, and his printing business is conducted in an old-fashioned, amateurish way that is very charming—unless one wants to avail oneself in a practical manner of the really great resources of his interesting establishment.

By patient search among the second-hand book

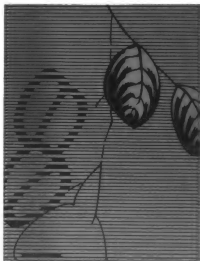
stalls I found a certain number of designers' sketch books, most of them so fresh and delightful they created an appetite for more. While still unsatisfied, I made a discovery which set me off on a new track and promised to reward my every effort. I found in Kyoto several old pattern books that had belonged to dyers and been used by them as samples from which their customers selected designs. It is an old and universal custom in Japan for both silk and cotton to be purchased undyed in the dry goods shop, the buyer himself having it dyed to suit his own taste. Rolls of undyed silk with red silk for linings are among the presents invariably given a bride. As many garments are ornamented with the mon or crest of the wearer, which must be dyed especially for each individual or family, such a proceeding is necessary. But this custom extended not only to the materials for the *haori* and *akama* and other garments, but to underwear and even to the *sabuton*, or covered cushions.

These sample books explained an earlier purchase, a roll of hemp cloth dyed in delicate blue. Its entire length, some five feet, was divided into about 102 squares, each containing a different pattern, alike only in being delicate and minute. The material, hemp, was that used for *kamishimo*, the man's ceremonial costume. The patterns were those used for the garments. The dyer would send such a roll to his customer's house for him to pick out the pattern he desired. As I examine the material in detail I realize how German and French designers have drawn upon such sources for so many of their ideas. It is difficult for the untrained mind to imagine such an infinite variety as is contained in these almost microscopic and always beautiful mazes.

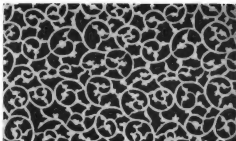
My dyers' pattern books, I find on careful examination, are made in two different ways. One kind contains samples of actual dyed cottons and silks and silk crapes pasted on the stiff paper pages; the other, of colored designs printed on thin paper similarly pasted, and made, no doubt, from the stencils used for the fabrics. The patterns again divide easily into three general classes. One consists of designs for the material the Japanese call *yuzen zome*. This is a silk used mostly for women's best dresses and undergarments, although it may be employed for men's undergarments and linings. It takes its name from a celebrated Kyoto designer, Yuzen, famous in the latter part of the seventeenth century for dyeing this fabric. Mr. Crewdson identifies him as Miyazaki Yuzen, a Buddhist priest, better known as an *ukiyo-e* painter, 1683-1687. The patterns are freely drawn in large designs on a gay-colored ground. I found I had two pattern books for *yuzen* with large pictorial designs called *so moyo*, complete design, and *suao moyo*, or skirt designs, from their being used



COTTON CRAPE OR "YUKATA" PATTERN OF WATER GRASSES ON A CHECKERED GROUND



IMPRESSIONISTIC DESIGN OF PERSIMMON LEAVES HANGING OVER A BAMBOO SCREEN



A WELL-KNOWN DECORATIVE MOTIVE, THE "KARAKUSA"  
OR CHINESE GRASS PATTERN

on the skirts of women's ceremonial silk robes. These are the gayest formal garments Japanese women wear. In one of these books the patterns are painted on silk and display realistic pictures of storks, a hawk in a pine tree, plovers repeating Korin's famous design, the Japanese bunting nestling in hydrangea, a carp in the waves, and flowers, chiefly chrysanthemums, in great variety. The other book, painted in colors on paper, contains large patterns intended to fill the entire front of the skirt and consisting of landscapes, flowers and realistic birds and animals. A third large-leaved paper pattern book for yuzen, stenciled with large colored patterns, was used by the clerk at the dyer's as an order book. In it on the backs of the stenciled sheets is a design for a man's coat and trousers in European style, drawn alongside pictures of *kamishimo* and *omigoromo*. Two sets of prices are written in different colored inks beside this long-tailed foreign coat, which is labeled *manteru*. One gives the price for the material at two *bu*, three *shu*, and for the making, one *ryo*, one *bu*. The other price is a third higher for the material, suggesting that it represents a better quality.



DESIGN OF FALLING MAPLE LEAVES AND DEER

It would be very difficult to give a true equivalent for these amounts in our present money, but it is interesting to learn that tailors were making European style coats in Kyoto in the years between 1844 and 1848, the date of this sample book.

The second class of books contain samples of fabrics practically covered with microscopic patterns of small white dots on a sad-colored ground. There are no colors in the pattern. These are called *komon zome* and are used for women's ceremonial dresses such as are ornamented with a crest. *Komon* means small pattern.

Women have three kinds of ceremonial dresses. The most formal is made of yuzen and the patterns cover the entire surface,

including the shoulders, back and sleeves. These are called *so moyo*, or complete pattern. The second kind, *suso moyo*, is identical with it, except that the figures cover only the skirt, while the third type is made of *komon zome* and is adorned with crests. It ranks next to *so moyo* for important occasions.

The other pattern books are entirely different, and it is in them that I am most interested, for they are all devoted to *sarasa*. When I look at these volumes they excite many pleasant memories. Book hunting is an agreeable pursuit and nowhere can it be conducted with more zest and profit than in Japan. I think there are more old book shops and stalls in Tokyo than in all the cities of the United States combined. In many of them one finds only school text books and cheap magazines, but there are shops in almost every quarter that contain real treasures. The greatest number are in Hongo and the neighborhood of the University. The second-hand book sellers have a society and a club house where they have weekly auctions for members, and once or twice a year they hold a public sale on the second floor of a large house belonging to the Tokyo Fine Arts Club in Hongo, near Ryogokubashi, on



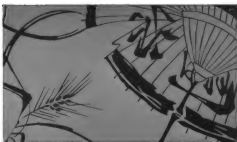
"YUKATA" PATTERN OF SHELLS ON THE BEACH



the opposite side of the bridge from the wrestling pavilion. The entire second floor is thrown into one large room by removing the interior screens and the books are spread out on the mats, each dealer's lot apart, each set of volumes plainly labeled with its title and price. There is a bewildering variety; Chinese books, often old and rare editions that cannot be found in China; European and American books of many sorts, maps, prints, rolled books and, not least interesting, albums of brocades and *ayers'* pattern books.

Many of my *sarasa* pattern books I bought from Mr. Wakabayashi, that charming and learned old bookseller to whose shop on Teramachi in Kyoto I was taken by my friend, Mr. Yuasa, the scholarly president of the Kyoto Public Library. Mr. Wakabayashi sells new books in the large shop on the street floor which gives no indications of his antiquarian collections, but favored customers who are admitted to the large store room above find not only rare books but real treasures of many kinds. He is jealous of his wares and does not show them, much less sell them, except to a small circle of favored friends and visitors. Mr. Wakabayashi's interest was excited by the character of my demands. I wanted books on football and he brought me an old lacquered box containing a collection of documents: rules and commentaries on the game that had belonged to some old football teacher more than a century ago. When I asked for *sarasa* pattern books he produced a great pile.

Now that I have a chance to study them, I find that *sarasa* patterns may be divided into three different kinds according to their size. Those with the largest figures are chiefly used for covering *futon*, or wadded bed covers, and *zabuton*, the quilted cushions used for seats. Some of the books are plainly marked as containing patterns for this

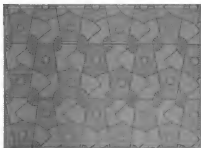


TORN PAPER UMBRELLA DRYING IN THE RICE FIELD—  
A TEXTILE PICTURE OF RURAL LIFE

purpose. Those with the smallest figures are mostly used for men's undergarments, while the intermediate size are employed for a great variety of purposes, such as linings for women's *obi*, or sashes, wrapping cloths, hand bags and book covers. The largest patterns are mostly in very gay colors, while the smaller ones are of more delicate tints and their designs more exquisite. Their cost is naturally higher. Gold and silver *sarasa*, mostly with intermediate sized patterns, are used for decorative purposes rather than clothing.

The colors are black, red of many tints, blue, green, yellow, purple and browns in great variety. Throughout the books there are constant indications that vegetable dyes should be employed. The samples in each book are numbered for convenient reference in ordering, there being from 40 to 149 different patterns in each volume.

There is a general sameness in the character of the prints and it may be concluded they all date from about the middle of the nineteenth century. The subjects of the patterns are in part exotic and chiefly Chinese. A certain number exhibit Indian and European characteristics derived from the



CONVENTIONALIZED PATTERN OF FOLDING FANS



AN UNUSUAL THEME—HOLLYHOCK LEAVES

Dutch, but this influence is displayed rather in treatment and drawing than in subjects, which are usually Chinese or Japanese. One sees Chinese and Japanese flowers and animals drawn in the Indian or Western manner. Floral designs are greatly in the majority and among the flowers I find represented chrysanthemums, asters, pinks, carnations, peonies, primroses, dahlias, cockscombs, lespedeza, tiger lilies, water lilies, iris, tulips and cherry and plum blossoms, the foreign and exotic flowers preponderating. Among the vines and trees are the ivy, paulownia, bamboo and the banana, and ferns and many kinds of sea weeds and berries of the tea plant occur. Lions, squirrels and deer, with bats, butterflies and many kinds of birds, including turkeys, peacocks and pheasants, represent the animal kingdom. Some are treated realistically and others are so conventionalized as scarcely to be recognizable. Japanese crests, fans, toys, coins and dolls are also to be seen, while geometric designs and figures made of lines, circles and small dots occur, as well as representations of plaited basketry among the smaller sized patterns. In general it may be concluded the patterns represent a simulation of foreign technique applied chiefly to native and other oriental materials. Among Yamada's publications for the use of dyers is a book entitled *Sarasa Shu*, or "Collections" reproduced in color by wood blocks from drawings by a Kyoto artist, Asano Koko, in which many patterns of an older type than I have described are illustrated. They are more distinctly exotic and realistic; human figures, Chinese and Indian, are numerous. I thought at first that these pictures were taken independently from a collection of actual sarasa, but I found that 78 of the 132 represented merely have colors applied in accordance with directions or patterns in earlier books. The new ones are less pictorial, and consist largely of geometric designs. A clue to the first is found in an earlier work, *Sarasa Dzufu*, originally published in Osaka in 1785 and reprinted in Osaka by Hanamoto Yasujiro in 1883. The designs are given only in black and white, with verbal color indications, and Mr. Asano's work is of more utility. The old book has a descriptive text that is more or less informing. For example, one pattern found in both books is designated as *Konron sarasa*, Kuenlun mountain sarasa, and is described as used for head coverings by dark natives of India who arrived on a Dutch ship. An imitation of this cloth, it says, is made in Kyoto, where it is called *Nankin* (China) sarasa.

The first Japanese book on sarasa, entitled *Sarasa Benran*, Handbook of Sarasa, was printed by Horai Sanjin in Edo (Tokyo) in 1784. From the second edition published in Edo in 1808 it would appear that even at that time the art was not far advanced and that it was not unlikely that it had been learned from the Hollanders at Nagasaki, who imported the much prized material into Japan and had a monopoly of the trade. From a picture of a Hollander painting sarasa which appears as a frontispiece in this book it is probable that the Hollanders themselves initiated the Indian-painted cottons at that time in Japan.

Another interesting book, *Kodai Karakusa Moyo Shu*, published in Tokyo in 1885, gives many illustrations for designs for sarasa of the special kind called *Karakusa* or Chinese (foreign) grass or flowers, with an appendix in which the manner of drawing these patterns with the aid of ruled squares and diagonals is illustrated.

What resources indeed Japanese students and designers command! They have explored every available field and with insatiable curiosity have reached out to the ends of the earth. They have had the unstinted aid of distinguished artists, the patronage and support of men of rank and learning, and for a century or more the coöperation of publishers whose books in themselves are models of beauty and taste.

And there is no cessation of these efforts even in these later days. Trained artists accompanied the army sent to Peking at the time of the Boxer revolt and copied the painted ceilings and wall decorations of the Chinese imperial palaces. Skilful Japanese artists are now working in India copying the old cave paintings and other treasures of which we in America scarcely have heard. A wonderful museum of art in Seoul was among the first products of the Japanese occupation in Korea. Not the least amusing of the curiosities of Tokyo is a Museum of Novelties, where every sort of foreign contraption is displayed almost immediately upon its advent abroad.

We in America have failed to avail ourselves of much that is to be had almost for the asking. In addition to our existing libraries and museums we should have depositories like that of the Library of the Museum of Industrial Art in Berlin, where could be found not only European and American printed books, but classified and easily accessible collections of documents from original sources like those I have here described.

Thomas W. Cutter, *A Grammar of Japanese Ornament and Design*, London, 1880. Verneuil, *Etoffes Japonaises*, Paris, n. d. Ernest Hart, *Stencils of Old Japan*, London, 1895. Andrew W. Tuer, *The Book of Delightful and Strange Designs, being one hundred facsimile illustrations of the art of the Japanese stencil cutter to which the reader is introduced by one Andrew W. Tuer, F. S. A., who knows nothing at all about it*, London, n. d. Henry W. Wyre, *Fifty Japanese Stencils*, Edinburgh, 1911. W. Crewdson, *The Textiles of Old Japan*, Transactions Japan Society of London, Volume XI, 1914.

# THE MECHANICS OF JAPANESE GHOST STORIES

By JAMES S. DE BENNEVILLE

THE elements at the base of the ghost story of Japanese thought are simple. They are fear and anger, two emotions not separable, the one implying the other and forming a single motive—a fact perhaps true throughout the rule of the exercise of these two passions. Built on this easily comprehended base, there is no hesitation to work into the structure of the tale current superstitions from religious experience, custom and the danger of infraction of routine. The latter is too often brought home to the individual in the contact and contest with environment.

The most noticeable feature of structure in Japanese ghost stories is looseness. Unity of time, or place, or person, is a non-essential. At times there is contained a subsidiary theme, attached by a most skeletal connection with the main story; and at times this subsidiary story is the ghost story. This does not detract from the value of the tale or its interest. Always closely involved with the more violent of human passions, these *Kwaidan*, or ghost tales, have had a vogue which demands naturalness in the environment to balance the supernatural and add the touch of realism so necessary to secure them from bathos. The element must be of the familiar, which is the keynote to the whole treatment. When the supernatural is introduced much is left to the mental habit of the reader; whether to accept it as existent, or to turn to nerves (*shinkei*) as the outward manifestation of the guilty conscience of the wrong-doer. Religion here strikes the dominant note, mainly Buddhistic. Spirit, or will, is so essentially elemental in Japanese thought—whether in the mental contest (*ki-ai*) of the fencing room, or in the theologies of Buddhism and Shinto—that materialism is only to be found in the native tainted by the influence of the western schools of philosophy.

The eschatology of Buddhism provides for after-death existence, and this is the chief feature of Shinto, the only positive dogma of its theology. The Shinto shrine figures with its added superstitions concerning the fox, the *tanuki*, badger, the ape and kindred wonders. The shrine, *miya*, usually has the evil sense of being haunted. The *kami*, gods, rarely appear; but their abundant menagerie is emphatically malignant or ill-natured. Its denizens delight to hamper and pester the much-tried avenger.

The *Kwaidan* are redolent of the Japanese country atmosphere. They deal with men and women, and are complete novels of everyday life. Of the past, there is the carefully preserved traditional treatment; as accurate as the delightful reproduction of old-time costumes and old-time life found in the long line of artists of the brush, whether in painting or literature. But this is a trait of the race, so eminently given to minute detail in featuring its environment. Its prejudices are instanced in the great importance and strict injunction as to observance and practice of long-time custom, in the ready reference of divers ills to old superstitions always uppermost in the popular mind, some widely spread, others severely local. Indeed, these latter are often used to maintain the obstinate skeptic firm in his disbelief, until the catastrophe is beyond control and avoidance.

As illustration of the conservatism of the Japanese mind, its reliance on well-worked-out formulae in daily life, the tale envelops the whole attitude to the marvelous. In women and the ignorant belief is very little qualified. In prosperity the worldly wise male may smile skeptically—and take to cover at the first ill wind. The stories emphasize this. The unbeliever is a common character, but through the hard road of practical application of the curse of the dead he is brought to belief and destruction. Does this hold good with the present generation in Japan? No true census could be secured; but fattening and battenning on the hard-won cash of the smug shopkeeper, on his contributions in kind, are hundreds of these shrines erected to propitiate those so ill-treated in life as to prefer the wretched existence of an unworshipped wandering spirit to the happier refuge in Amida's paradise. On theory all these wronged spirits have deserved and can have this destination. Their victims spend money and prayers in vain effort to secure this consummation. The *Kwaidan Shu*, or Collections of Ghost Stories, are but meager outlines of the more important traditions and tales, which, as a rule, are involved and lengthy stories, extending to several hundred closely printed pages.

"Wantonly injure a priest, and nine generations of ancestors in Heaven must return. Kill a priest, and forthwith nine generations of ancestors are consigned to the Hell of Beasts." Such is the comfortable Buddhist basis of the *Komatsu Onryo* (The



Courtesy of R. Coleman

THE GHOST OF A SERVANT RISING FROM A WELL.  
She Was Murdered by Her Master and Thrown in a Well Because  
She Broke a Precious Plate in His Collection. Nightly Her Ghost  
Returns to Haunt Him.

Curse of the Dead at Komatsu), a village near to Hamamatsu. The tale violates all propriety as to unity of time. It extends actively over three generations, with casual reference to the Master of Komatsu, who broke his neck by a fall from his horse in the first year of Keio (1865); which event local opinion of the present day consistently ascribes to the dying curse of the priest Sainen, dating from Genroku 11th year (1698).

The priest Koun was laboring painfully up the slopes of the Gorigamine. The pass over the saddle gave an incomparable view of the country of the Kawanakajima campaigns of Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Zenshin. For more than three years Koun had been wandering in search of his runaway lady-love, not knowing that she was harbored close to Ryukenshi, the temple where he lived, with the castle town of Matsushiro not too far off. Koun's ad-

miration of the view was diverted by sight of the missing lady, accompanied by two little boys and their palpable father, the samurai Tsunotsuka Joemon. Then Koun lost temper. Abusive language soon turned to a dastardly assault on the women and children. Joemon came to their defense and cut him down. Cleaning his sword, he kicked the dead body of the priest down into the valley and consoled O'Yae in her alarm at the violent scene. Not for long; the samurai had no misgivings, but the lady had.

The seventh night of Koun's removal had come. The two children and the maid O'Kuni were asleep. The uneasy mother listened with growing terror to the howling storm, battering and deluging the closed rain doors. Flashes of dazzling light lit up the scene without, visible through the cracks of the shabby inn. Fearful, O'Yae looked round the room dimly lighted by the paper *andon*. O'Kuni, mouth wide open in part snore, part mutter, twisted uneasily under the influence of a dream. For a moment O'Yae laid a hand on the quilt of one of the children. Half rising, she gave a suppressed scream. But it was only the shadow cast by the lamp. "Koun Sama! Koun Sama! Wander not a distressed spirit. Find peace and rest in the paradise of the Lord Amida. Holy the name of the Lord Buddha! Holy . . . Ah!"

"Holy the name of the Lord Buddha! Holy the name of the Lord Buddha!"

The terrified woman was on her feet. Distinctly could be heard without the stumbling approach of wooden clogs on the stones of the inn garden. The ringing of a priest's bell, the intoning of the holy name, answered her prayer. The voice—that of Koun—was now heard just outside the rain doors. A violent shock of wind and rain bent them wide apart. The mother, one hand violently on the shoulder of O'Kuni, turned to the child. He was wide awake and crying with terror.

"Oh! The fearful priest! Mother! Mother! The priest!"

"Ah, Lady!" whispered Kuni. "Truly the dream was dreadful. I was nearly strangled by the dumping stuck in my throat."

"Fool! Do you see nothing?" asked her mistress, looking away, yet pointing toward the veranda.

A violent crash and the rotten wood parted under the blast. The maid could but gibber, so

great her fright. Koun stood close by, as ready to stride forth out of the storm, cadaverous, robe dyed and face smeared with blood, so evil and threatening that the two women on their knees frantically repeating the invocation covered their faces with their hands. Then O'Kuni fled from the room. Her loud shrieks roused the sleeping household. People swarmed in with lights; and every care was given to the unconscious O'Yae.

Such is the usual machinery of the ghostly appearances. The curse of Koun, concentrated and effective in the last dying thought, begins its deadly work on the living. Within the year the former samurai Joemon, now a priest in the temple of Koun, cuts his throat and dies—like a woman. O'Yae, a degraded drab, ends her life attendant on a money leech of Edo. The elder of the two children, blind, becomes the shampooer, *Massa no Ichi*; the younger brother, expelled from the priestly band of the West Hongwanji, starts out to wander along the Tokaido, a begging friar. Thus the curse is transferred to the second generation, continued on in the misfortunes of Sainen, the renegade monk of the Hongwanji. In the course of his travels he takes possession of a dilapidated and abandoned Fudo temple near Miya-nagamura in Totomi province. He sees and loves O'Fumi, beauty of the district and daughter of its magnate. The passion is fatal. His bold and insulting letters are passed on to the brother. The courtship of this mendicant priest is badly received. Beaten and again beaten, after the last merciless and well-deserved drubbing administered by enraged farmers, he finds himself dumped into one of their ample refuse wells. He can barely crawl back to his Fudo, an imaged presentment of the deity quite as battered as himself.

O'Fumi is to be married to one Rintaro, son of Komatsu Rinzaemon, the wealthy magnate of the neighboring district. The village life is amply sketched in these scenes, the negotiations and the presents passed between those betrothed. Sainen now fixes his mind on the final wish necessary to secure his end. Entering the bridal chamber O'Fumi shrinks back in terror from the jibing ghostly face of the one-time priest. Rintaro and the brother of O'Fumi, one Jutaro, rush upon him—to find a corpse dangling from a beam, with the curse laid on them and theirs through future gen-



Design of S. Coleman

#### LANTERN IN A GRAVEYARD IN FORM OF A GHOST'S HEAD

The Lantern, Bearing the Buddhist Prayer, "Namu Amida Butsu," Swings Over the Grave of a Woman Beaten to Death by Her Husband

erations. Sainen renounces paradise, forfeited by his carnal passion, and chooses hell through generations, in order to wreak his vengeance on those who have thwarted him.

Three years pass, and O'Fumi is still childless; to the girl and the feeble Rintaro this is the result of Sainen's curse. Jutaro, the strong-minded and skeptical, jeers at them. The discussion is interrupted by their fright. Rinzaemon, the father, breaks in, harshly to upbraid them for his injuries, lamenting his fatal passion. It is the voice of Sainen, the face of the monk glaring at them. Avoid the curse by burning the body? Bones and spirit still remain, and he will haunt them to the end, through the generations of his unhappiness and of theirs. The means of Sainen's vengeance now operates. The father of O'Fumi had secured as a wedding present for Rintaro a *Sadamune* sword



Courtesy of E. Coleman

"MALEVOLENCE"—A SYMBOLIC PRESENTATION OF DEATH  
A Snake Crawls Over the Food Offering to the Dead and Around  
the Ancestral Tablet Which Has a Comic Inscription Instead of  
the Name of the Deceased

blade. More careful inspection shows it to be a Muramasa. Popular superstition fully confirms the thirst for blood shown by the swords forged by this noted smith. Rinzaemon seizes the weapon. The bystanders flee in terror, to call in the holy exorcisms of their pastor Nikkwai of the parish temple. Rinzaemon is found in a pool of blood. He has cut his own throat.

O'Sodé, beautiful and blameless, enters the household, soon to become the subsidiary wife of Rintaro. She is from Ikedamura, "to this day noted for its beautiful women"—one of those touches of local color for which the Japanese *Kodanshi*, or lecturer, is a prime source of information. And with jealousy, the sterile O'Fumi sets a spy on her rival and pays for the lies of the confidential servant Chosuke, who in turn lies as to the source of his new prosperity. Taxed by her brother with un-

faithfulness, O'Fumi flies to the festival held in the temple grounds. The Muramasa blade, once unmasked, has been intrusted to Nikkwai. O'Fumi secures the weapon, kills her slanderer, then kills herself.

In the altar lights of Nikkwai, reciting the scriptures for the dead, the excited villagers see the spectral visitations. The sword must be removed, or the temple will lose its patronage. Anyone, monk or farmer, may run amuck. Jutaro will take it to Edo, sell it and devote the money to the temple uses. But at Edo he falls into the net of a Yoshiwara beauty, O'Han. The sword is pawned, and he ransoms her. The lady and her worthless noble lover, Hidekichi, plot to waylay and kill Jutaro at Hakone on his return journey. To have a weapon, the fellow steals a sword at a pawnshop—the Muramasa. In the fight it comes again into the hands of Jutaro, and the faithless one and her paramour die. Again the blade drinks blood, that of a hapless blind shampooer encountered on the Satta pass. This needless slaughter of Sainen's brother completes the discomfiture of Jutaro's mind. He reaches the inn at Ejiri. To translate directly from Matsubayashi's story a scene between Jutaro and his host:

"Very late the honored arrival."

"To-day it is somewhat late."

"For some time the honored guests have had to wait."

"What? Guests await me—no one accompanies me."

"Nay; the honored lady guest, the

young man and worthy shampooer. These three have deigned to enter."

"What's that? A woman, a young man, and an amma? Don't talk like a fool."

"Eh! It is no foolish talk."

"Ye! I'll go somewhere else."

"Pray, good sir, do not jest. For some time they have been waiting. Condescend to enter."

He urges him, loosening his sandals, and washing his feet. Jutaro is conducted to an inner room. Who are these? In the darkened room he sees Masa no Ichi, the *Daimyo* Hidekichi; and facing him is O'Han, the false leman.

"I say! We have been waiting," remarks O'Han. At O'Han's voice, Hidekichi, at her side—up to now the fellow's head had been fastened on—was left only with the trunk. The head came rolling over, to stop just in front of Jutaro.

"Oi! You are very late, Jutaro San," Hidekichi's head announces, scowling at him. Masa no Ichi seats himself just between them.

"How it hurt a little while ago!" he sighs.

Jutaro has not a word to say.

The host suddenly reappears, announcing "The bath, honored sir, is ready."

Jutaro does not part with the Muramasa sword. He goes and returns from the bath, but the figures of the three have disappeared. Meanwhile a meal for four persons had been brought. A strange thing: the food has disappeared.

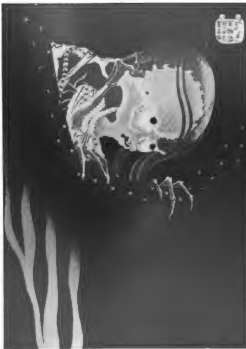
While Jutaro ponders a maid comes. "The honored guests insisted on setting out at once. The three have departed by themselves. Where have they gone?"

Jutaro evades the question. "Please bring the bed at once."

He tries to sleep amid the uproar of singing girls and guests all around him. Suddenly a huge animal enters. It takes the ghastly shape of Sainen. In righteous rage Jutaro leaps up with the Muramasa. The house is an uproar and he is expelled from the establishment. It is too much. He has killed the house tabby!

The robust skeptic is reaching the end. At home a summons to Rintaro's house awaits him. Weary, he sets forth, with the Muramasa. He is to explain its presence, and get rid of it. He has to cross the Mikatagahara (moor) in going from Nagamura to Komatsu. Sainen bars the way; and a hapless begging priest falls victim. Convinced that he is joining in the battle between the slain of Tokugawa and Takeda, the now frantic man sets upon a party of moon viewers. He reaches Komatsu, to learn that the madman has been recognized. Outwardly calm, he sits down to wine and fish; to discuss the necessary fatal issue to himself. But at once he turns on O'Sodé, to upbraid and insult her, to force her to accompany him to Meido (Hades). She escapes from him and they all flee from the brandished Muramasa. Jutaro ends his life at the shore of the Hamana bay. He is buried with pomp in the grounds of the Chofukuji. The sword is buried in the waters.

Jutaro, the strong, the skeptical, is convinced. There remains Rintaro, the weakling physically and mentally. O'Sodé at last consents to assume the formal relations of wife, and thus comes under the curse. She is carried off and torn to pieces by baboons from the mountains close by. Rintaro remains to be disposed of and the story continues



THE SKELETON GHOST OF KOHADA KOHEIJI  
Peering Through a Mosquito Net (Used As a Summer Bed Canopy  
in Japan) to Terrify the Soul of a Tranquil Sleeping Woman

into the posterity of these two victims. The weakling falls into the net of a strong and wicked woman. To secure her former lover, now succeeded to the heirship of Jutaro and the name, she poisons her husband, and also a retainer, who knows too much and is, besides, a blackmailer. Now she is on the highway to success. But Sainen will not let escape the woman about to give issue to the new Jutaro, to continue the line of the Houses of Ishikawa and Komatsu. In the full triumph and discussion of their now matured plot, the second Jutaro is seized with the strange insanity of the curse. He holds the Muramasa, "fished" out of the bay by his son; and O'Nami falls victim to his delusion. To kill one of the family is not a public issue. Jutaro turns priest and disappears. The line of the two houses is carried down by son and daughter, and is said regularly to have suffered in



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**LAUGHING HANYA—AN OGRESS EATING A BABY**  
 Hokusai Brought Out This Extraordinary Phantom Series in 1830  
 Under the Title, "The Hundred Tales." These Five Illustrations  
 Are the Only Ones of the Set That Ever Appeared

some dread form the effect of Sainen's curse.

This *Komatsu Onryō* of Matsubayashi Hakuchi is typical of the average Japanese ghost story. It contains all the machinery of appearance, method of action, physical and mental accompaniments of the supernatural. It is noticeable that the latter is never over accentuated. There is not an incident in the tale which cannot be attributed to strained nerves. As with so many Japanese ghost stories, the tale is true. The Muramasa blade is enshrined at the Suwa Jinja of Hamamatsu (Matsubayashi) and a votive picture, describing the attempted rescue of O'Sodé, is there posted.

To turn now to a great master, not only of the *Kwaidan*, but of the novel.

A fair landscape of undulating surface, cultivated to the very borders of its narrow highways, deliciously parked with clumps of trees, picturesque

with its straw-thatched farm houses, and prosperous withal; its fine old temple enclosures less prosperous, but retaining the stately beauty of lengthy avenues of pine and cedar, in forest shaded precincts within old mediaeval walls. Through this land wind broad silvery rivers, setting off the varied surface with beautiful reaches from curve to curve. Over all is thrown the slightest film of haze, to cover sharper outlines and the coarser blotches of man's needs. It is along the course of the Kinugawa, through such rural and sylvan beauty, that the country temple Hozoji of Hannyumura is reached—neighbor of the stately Gogyoji. It is a bare four miles from the district town of Midzukaide, and on days when mist cuts off Mount Tsukuba and the Nikko ranges, the scenery recalls southeastern Pennsylvania—except for the absence of certain defects of the newer land.

It was here that Takayanagi Seizaemon, *ronin* of Shimabara, in the Shogunate of Iyemitsu (1644) met and loved O'Rui, orphan of the Horikoshi house. Great the rage of the village and the determination of the young men to put to death the interloper. To save him, the bailiff (*nanushi*), Soemon, made the pair man and wife. Thus another Yoemon (Seizaemon) succeeded to the family headship and estate. Ill luck asserted itself. O'Rui was lamed by the bite of a viper. An eye was lost by a fall; and she became the *Kasané*—Puffed One—another reading of her name ideograph. Yoemon still protested love. O'Waka, one time dancing girl of Edo,

ransomed by her husband now dead, appeared. Yoemon renewed with her an old-time Edo liason. Terrible the neglect and ill treatment of the *Kasané*, culminating in her murder as she returned from work, her child in her bosom and her burden on her back. Yoemon concealed the deed from all but the *Kasané's* ghost, and after some time, urged by the bailiff, "reluctantly" married the widow O'Waka, to continue the line of the Horikoshi House. Years passed with prosperity and children. Then the curse fell. One Rokuzo, on the foot path along the Kinugawa, in the gloom of the evening, met—the *Kasané*! At the news Yoemon was startled and frightened. Nerves, perhaps! Hastening home to wife and daughters, he found everything dark. To his excited call responded the *Kasané*. Ready the sword—but grievous the mistake. He stumbled over the bloody corpse of O'Waka. The



village hushed the matter up, to keep it out of the Daikwan's court, and looked on in terror. One daughter died, clutching at empty air for breath, as had the Kasané. The other child, in a raging fever and perhaps mindful of talk between the wicked parents, in her delirium accused Yoemon before his neighbors, and in the role of the Kasané charged him with murder. Events and public pressure were too much. Through the urgent efforts of the great bishop, Yuten Sojo, Yoemon confessed his evil deed; and becoming a priest he prayed for his victims and the victims of the curse.

On this noted tradition Sanyutei Encho has based his fine novel of the *Shinkei Kasané ga Fuchi* ("True Story of the Pool of the Puff-Eyed"). An analysis of this work, so kaleidoscopic in nature, would be too lengthy. The crowd of characters pass in a rapid succession of vivid scenes through over four hundred pages of close printed text, with an interest which never flags in its portrayal of middle class and country life, from Edo to this plain country at the base of Mount Tsukuba. One scene may be given. The hero, Shinkichi, is returning from Edo, with his *kago* men struggling through night and storm on the north road. Despite their care they go astray. Shinkichi upbraids them; to fall anew into his own thoughts. Finally he is aroused by their quarreling. They assert roundly that they can go no further. Some influence continually draws them townward. Yonder are again the lights of the Yoshiwara! Shinkichi is in a rage, and finally dismisses them with joy at the relief. But when he would struggle on alone he is roughly halted by someone. The man is lame and armed, and of evil intent. He points to the token bearing Shinkichi's name; and Shinkichi notes the stranger's features, the mole under the eye, the bulging brows of his brother, as described by his retainer. Thus elder and younger brother meet, to learn that Shinkichi is hastening home to the arms of O'Rui, sister of Shingoro's deadly enemy, the man who has denounced him to the law for murder and theft, the cause of his untold suffering and crime. Shinkichi is too comfortable and indolent to obey his elder brother's call, and a quarrel follows this strange meeting and identification. In the ferocity of the struggle the weakling is worsted. Lame though he be, it is Shingoro, the elder brother, who bestrides his opponent prostrate in the mud of the rice field. Glaring hate, Shinkichi receives the deadly thrust through the throat—and wakes. The *kago*-men have indeed halted, cursing the unseemly weather; halted, as their patron sees, just under a cross from which hangs a recent victim of Tokugawa justice. Shinkichi is still under the vivid impression of his dream. He alights. Curiosity takes him to the placard describing the crime for which the ill-doer suffered. His hair

stands on end. It bears the name of his brother Shingoro.

The novel gives Encho's idea of the supernatural. A foreign interviewer, who impresses Encho by his stylish boots and arouses his curiosity by an elaborately wrapped something, would secure the opinion of an undeniable expert on the subject of ghosts. The "something" turns out to be a pair of slippers, to stride over Encho's *tatami*, and in which to sit cross-legged on his cushions. The hundred pictures of ghosts in the old man's collection are to be produced at once for inspection. Since the stranger is a foreigner, "of course" this is done—one by one—and Encho praises the good eye which picks out really expert work. But what about the existence or non-existence of ghosts? The old story-teller laments the lameness of the answer. The educated disbelieve; the ignorant are divided between belief and disbelief. What of the soul? No messenger has ever come from hell. Of paradise there is no photograph. But the fearful pictures of O'Emma Sama's hell frighten children. A childless woman falls into the pool of blood in hell, or with a lamp wick has to dig up the tough bamboo shoots, and a childless man has to beat out *mochi* dough with a lantern. Owing to such fearful tales people are deterred from wickedness.

Discussion of the Japanese ghost story can here be closed, with notice of two dominant characteristics. With all the varied detail and confusion of plot, the stories are all cast in the same rigid lines. In general terms—one read, all have been read. This can be attributed to the essential sameness found throughout Japanese social life.

The ghost itself is to be mentioned. It is an unworshipped spirit, or, owing to some atrocious injury in life, it stays to wander the earth and to secure vengeance on the living perpetrator. The mind concentrated in its hate and malice at the last moment of life secures to the spirit a continued and unhappy sojourn among the living until the vengeance be secured, the grudge satisfied and the spirit pacified. There are other unhappy conditions of this revisiting of life's scenes; as when the dead mother returns to nurse her infant, or the dead mistress to console a lover. Vengeance satisfies the grudge, time assuages grief; but the ghost can err by excess and find no easy pacification. The most strenuous efforts of any but the saintliest of men are without success in the redemption. The holy prior of Gugyoji fails to lay the ghost of the enraged Kasané. Only the prayers of the evangelist succeed. In the case of Sainen, the reprobate cleric, he yet stalks the earth in spite of the prayers of generations of sinners and sinless, offered at the Suwa shrine; an instance of malignant persistence rare even in the ghostly annals of Nippon.

# SOME RUSSIAN CARTOONS



"Ho—ho—!"

*"What curious folks these Russians are! How they quarrel and how they swear, and soon afterwards drown their turbulence in a deluge of melancholy. Fools! They are like children and puppets. I know what they lack—it is system. They bellow from sunrise to sunset 'Freedom—Freedom,' and as in a tale, they rock to and fro, lamenting the woes of all the world except their own. Even during the war they almost wept over their prisoners. And soon afterward released them, saying that they were as free as the swallows."*

"Idiots."

"Hee—!!!"

On a bright, mild day, a money-lender and a peasant were querulously engaged in the discussion as to who is the most respected in free Russia.

"Blurt, you greasy peasant," shouted the money-lender, pointing with his plump forefinger, which bore a heavy ring. "What do you know about respect? You haven't acquired the use of a handkerchief, and you come peering at my door, saying that you are free and will not pay the interest due me. Fie! What a mess Russia is coming to, when penniless beggars, as you, insult us gentlefolk! Ahh! . . ."

"Bourgeoisie," exclaimed the insulted Stephen, laying stress on the word which had become the new epithet of the masses.

"Bourgeoisie," he repeated with loathing, as if it were the only word to express his disgust.



"Weary and troubled is my soul. My heart is overwhelmed with agony, unknowing the outcome of this trying existence. At war, we were told to protect the glory of our Motherland, and uphold the faith of the Holy Orthodox Church. Both have fallen, and it is said that it is for the better. If so, how strange it is for the foreign papers to antagonize us and cut us off from the world. Why, why this attitude? Are we not Christian souls, and have we not the love of the human? 'Tis odd! Mystery always surrounds such simple folks as we. But all the same, I shall be weary and sad—sad until our love penetrates the darkness of misunderstanding. Then, my spirit shall be unburdened."



"Down! Down!"

"Away with the pig-heads who hinder my selling meat pasties at the doorway of the court-house. What right have they, these burly uniformed peasants, to molest me, who am as free as the air?"

"I want my freedom and riddance of them—"

"All, all,

"Everything!"

So shouted the offended Hulda, the half-witted, a relic of the old régime, who was asked by Vassili, the porter, to move in order that he might sweep the steps.

"Down! Down!" she animatedly denounced. "Down with all—"

"Except my pasties," she added after a moment's reflection.



Gavril, at all times, designated that he was of the "Intelligentsia." All his movements sang of the word—the elevation of his little finger and the gentle sweet voice, accordant with his small irregular step.

Shortly after the great revolution, Gavril, who was an army officer, credited with wound bars, was selling issues of a gazette printed under the first rays of Russia's freedom.

"Read, Comrades," he proclaimed in his piping voice, "of the great poem of liberty brought to the world by Russia's Intelligentsia. The moment is ours, and we have given you freedom of choice and action. Let there be no distinction between doctor and laborer, for we are all working men."

And so did Gavril propagate his brotherly instincts to the open-mouthed, shaggy peasants.



# EPIC WOMEN OF INDIA

By "SHAHINDA" (BEGUM FYZEE-RAHAMIN)

**I**N these so-called civilized and progressive days of extended knowledge and wide experience in the European world it is incomprehensible to me that any peoples can exist only in the actual present, regardless of all that has happened in previous ages, unconscious of the truth that the ancients have given more to humanity than peoples of succeeding times. The machinery of "modernism" has moved so rapidly that in the Occident life has become confused in a series of blurred sensations and chaotic hesitations. In the mad rush of the western world there has been no time for introspection, much less the leisure to look around and see what is going on in other spheres of life.

Yet the Orient has been the birthplace of all cultures, and India, to the Occidental a far-away land veiled in mystery, has been first and foremost to contribute to the unbounded opportunity of beautiful existence for all races to come. But to western eyes its world of women has appeared crippled by the overbearing traditions of a barbarous people. Little or nothing is known of the status of woman in the eastern countries, of her past great achievements and her present position. The women of the west little realize that when Europe was sunk in the depths of ignorance, when its illiterate nations were wearing skins and living in huts, India was the land of beauty. The pages of her history are ornamented with brilliant records of the statesmanship of women, of their queenly valor, with the work of poetesses of great learning and of mistresses of every art in the banners of knowledge. India wears a necklace strung with the exquisite pearls of her womanhood.

From the hour that the first man and first woman were created, some visible and tangible work was allotted to each sex, to be left recorded when death came. The following account of Shatrupa, the first woman created according to Hindu mythology, professes to show the even balance between the supposed disadvantages and advantages of woman's place on earth.

"From the right side of his own body Viraj or Brahma created Swayambhu, the first man, and from the left side, Shatrupa of matchless beauty, the first woman.

"Intending as he did to carry on the work of peopling the world, then still in its infancy, through the instrumentality of this couple, Brahma gave Shatrupa in marriage to Manu. Then a strange thing happened, for no sooner was the benediction pronounced over the head of the first wedded pair than the bride gave vent to unrestrained grief in the following words:

"To be one of the weaker sex is misery enough in all conscience, for we women are, as it is, destined to a state of life-long thralldom, whether as daughters, wives or mothers, so that from the cradle to the grave we are utter strangers to freedom, being ever dependent on a father, husband or son. But add to this the burdens of maternity, of bringing children forth into life at the peril of our own, of nursing and rearing them from day to day and attending to their personal welfare, of patient and perpetual endurance under a thousand and one nameless trials—truly our load of cares is overwhelming! How then in the midst of these ceaseless and distracting cares is woman to find a moment to bestow a thought on her soul and its salvation? When is she to think of the Creator and pour forth her prayers to Him? Life in this vale of tears is miserable enough to creatures all alike, but the added disadvantages of womanhood well nigh drive me to despair."

"Yielding thus to uncontrollable grief, she betook herself to the performance of a *tap*, a penance which lasted a thousand years of celestial time.

"Overcome by the austerity of her devotion and moved by remorse and pity into a sympathetic frame of mind, Brahma appeared to her, tried all his godly eloquence and promised countless boons in order to dissuade her and win her back from penance to join her affianced husband, but all in vain. Tempted with an offer of whatever she might



JEWELS, FLOWERS AND A SLIGHT DRAPERY FURNISHED THE COSTUME FOR INDIAN WOMEN IN 500 B. C.

wish for, she but prayed for immediate salvation and deliverance. This, of course, was out of the question, as it cut the root of Brahma's object of bringing woman into existence. He was therefore induced to endow her with substantial advantages as a compensation against her heavy burden of cares and promised ultimate salvation if she fulfilled her homely missions.

"Henceforth," said Brahma, 'the first duty of woman shall be to her husband, whom she shall cherish and faithfully serve in every thought, word and deed. The care she takes of her offspring and her devotion to the simple duties of her household shall count for salvation and secure her position in Heaven, as certainly as even the most costly sacrifices and laborious penances performed by man. As to her so-called state of perpetual dependence, that shall be only in name, for in reality she shall wield unbounded influence and power over the opposite sex. At a mere word from her, man shall fall prostrate before her. Even such as have abjured this world and are ripening for immortality, even the most ascetic, will respect her wishes. She shall be endowed with a thousand winning graces and bewitching charms of speech, looks and manners.

Her ready and nimble wit shall enslave the auditor and, though she may be the physically weaker in sex, practically she shall command more power and influence over the real control of affairs. Let man be the Lord of Creation and welcome to the name, for it is the woman that shall really rule him and hold him captive by the magic of her eye and voice and be the real sovereign. All the knowledge that the sages learned with so much toil and sacrifice and all the arts that the learned acquired after years of patient waiting shall be to woman her natural birthright.'

"Thus spoke Brahma and thus was Shatrupa, the mother of mankind, reconciled to her lot on earth."

So we find that to attain the true ideal of womanhood, Shatrupa,

the first woman created, was forced to establish her rights by fighting for them with great physical severity. But when she had obtained her object she was able to hand down this invaluable legacy to her sex forever after. Woman became the inspiration of man. By constancy, endurance, courtesy, modesty, grace and dignity, all these indications of sympathy and pure feelings, she imbued in him fresh vigor, and he went forth with new zeal to wrestle with life and its grave responsibilities.

Under the shadows of the sacred *peepul*, or *banyan* tree, the fitting symbol of the imaginative and the traditional Indian mind, the literary, moral and spiritual life of India has slowly flowered, and it is in the treasure-houses of Indian poetry, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* (500 B.C.), that one must look for its most profound expression. From the immense "flowering forest of Valmiki's story-land," when the exquisite verses are unveiled from their legendary and mythical portrayals and miraculous shroudings, a world full of the romantic beauty and high seriousness of life, based on sound common sense and natural laws, is unfolded.

"Rama, the illustrious son of Dasratha, was banished into exile by the treacherous machinations of his stepmother Kaikeyi. He wandered away from the fair town of Ayodhia in sweet companionship with his lovely young wife Sita, and noble, unselfish brother Lakshmana, into the dense jungles where he led a life of contentment and peace, banishing all thoughts of resentment against those who had injured him and his throne so bitterly. He avoided alarming or disturbing innocent denizens of the woods, and when the blameless anchorites implored protection against the evil *rakshasas*, devils (enemies of gods and men), he armed himself in their defense. Ravana, the King of the *rakshasas*, hearing of the peerless beauty of Sita,



A RAJPUTANI WEARS A MANY-FOLD SKIRT COVERED WITH FINE FILIGREE WORK, A BROCADED BODICE AND AN AITHY SCARF OR "DOPATIA"



THE "SAREE" OF A MARATHA WOMAN CONSISTS OF YARDS OF SOFT MATERIAL WOUND GRACEFULLY ABOUT THE BODY





PORTRAIT OF A MOGUL PRINCESS OF A. D. 1600. IN SPITE OF THEIR FEMININE GRACE AND CHARM SUCH WOMEN COULD BE BRAVE WARRIORS, LEADING THEIR OWN TROOPS TO BATTLE, WHEN OCCASION DEMANDED

artfully disguised himself as a hermit, entered the hut and spirited her away. Indignant at this monstrous outrage, the birds and beasts of the forest vowed their allegiance to Rama, who had ever shown the tenderest regard and sympathy for their safety. Overwhelmed by terrible grief for the loss of his beloved Sita, Rama was yet not indifferent to the wrongs of others. In his pursuit of Ravana he encounters the mournful ape Sugriva, who is pursued from place to place by Bali, and he espouses the cause of this innocent monkey. And when the unnatural Bali is about to murder his younger brother, Rama slays this unjust monarch of apes, and gives the empire into the hands of Sugriva. In this way he wins the devoted attachment of these agile lords of the forest. Hanuman, the prime minister of Sugriva, the daring son of the wind, traversing at one bound the seething and turbulent ocean, discovers Sita confined in the island of Lanka. Thus is Rama recompensed for

not having disdained the affection of inferior creatures."

In a scene between the venerable Anasuya, the illustrious woman saint, and Sita, we are given a clear picture of the highly developed Hindu ideals of womanly beauty and virtue.

"Anasuya looked long and fixedly at the gentle Vaidehi (Sita) and said: 'Thou art beautiful, child, (her voice was harsh as the mountain winds among the creaking firs) and that is not ill; thou art young and in good health, and that is better; thou art a dutiful and obedient wife, and that is the best of all. I have heard of thee how thou hast abandoned the luxuries of the court to follow thy husband's fortunes in the pathless woods. There are many would tell thee thou hast performed a heroic action; but I am too old to use flatteries. I say merely thou hast done thy duty. A dutiful wife is the reflection of her husband; her mind is the mirror that reflects his thoughts; her actions shape themselves on his; and she herself follows him, meekly and self-forgetfully, as the shadow that trails behind him in the dust.'

"Then Sita answered the stern old woman simply: 'I cannot tell whether I be a dutiful wife or no; I only know that I love Rama. When I stood by the sacred fire, and the flame glowed up into my hero's face as he vowed to love and cherish me, his eyes met mine and they held me, and I could not look away. Then my soul went out to him. I cannot tell if it was God did that or the flame, which lit up both our faces, or whether his dark, wistful eyes drew the heart out of me. I only know that when my gaze fell there was a heaviness in my breast, and a pain and yet a strange delight. And where there had been selfish pride before, was written Rama; and where there had been hope, or joy, or beauty, was written Rama; and where there had been dreams of unknown bliss, was written Rama; and where there had been God and Heaven, was written Rama! I know not if my mind reflects his own, but every dumb, vague thought of mine he clearly reveals to me, and tells it to me in living words. I cannot say whether I shape my actions after his pattern, but all I strive to do he consummates and perfects. Whether I follow him like his shadow, meekly and self-forgetfully, I know not, but where he goes—I, too, go all unwittingly, for I seem to nestle in his heart.' "

There are many beautiful tales of the undaunted courage and skilful military achievements of the far-famed Rajput women of warrior race, whose physical charms and personal valor caused many harassing persecutions by foreign invaders. How nobly have they led battles and held their own in spite of overwhelming odds! When the peerless Queen Padmini divined that her Lord the King and her sons had fallen victims to the unswerving

sword of the enemy, she, with thousands of her women, the fairest flowers of the land, performed the sacred rite of *jouhar*, throwing themselves on the funeral pyre rather than fall vanquished into the hands of the conquerors. Had her predecessors too numerous to mention not done the same?

How exhaustive are the records of those amazing specimens of womanhood! When the Muslims had just settled in India and the country was in agonized upheaval and turmoil, Sultan Altamsh chose his youngest child and only daughter, a frail beautiful girl of seventeen, to succeed him on the throne. Her position was extremely delicate and each step had to be taken with profound wisdom. When the rebellious Khans rose against her, the Queen, as usual, led her own army. She was on the point of overcoming her enemies when Altoo-niya, the Governor, unexpectedly captured her. Resorting to a romantic feminine political strategy, she married him and marched triumphantly to regain her throne. The virtuous Queen's short-lived career was a luminous spark lost in the darkness of those troublous ages. Her tomb in Delhi is an unostentatious tribute to her sweet memory. Sultana Razia proved the truth of the Holy Prophet Mohammed's saying—"The most precious ornament of the world is a virtuous woman."

Islam is practically the only religion which has given unparalleled rights in all phases of life to women. "Heaven is under the feet of the mother," says the Koran, and the essence of this conception is illustrated in the lives of the renowned women of Islam.

The 13th century shows a graceful record of feminine supremacy in three different quarters of the Muslim world. In the land of the Fars the Mongols had created a great deal of disturbance and acquired tremendous power. Abish, the last female descendant of the kingly house of Salghan, took the reins of government in her hands and for twenty-five long years ably conducted the affairs of State under turbulent stress. In Egypt Shajar al-durr, the clever young wife of the illustrious Saladin's grand-nephew, set aside her husband for his weak character, led a Holy War against the French King Louis IX, crushed the enemy and,

repeating the magnanimous trait of character of the noble fighters of Islam, released him and pronounced herself the Queen of the Egyptian Mameluke Kingdom in the year 1250.

Nur Jahan, Light of the World, in becoming Empress had free scope to establish her real and remarkable individuality as a great statesman, a brave warrior, a noble ruler, and a most charming poetess. Her combined attractions of person and high intellect have left many vivid records. Her creative faculties produced new developments in beautiful flowing costumes of delicate designs and artistic workmanship, and in the setting of jewels, the invention of perfumes and many other luxuries of living. Nur Jahan's name was associated on the coin with that of the Emperor Jahangir, in this graceful couplet:

"By order of the Emperor Jahangir, the value of this coin is increased a hundredfold by the name of the Empress Nur Jahan."

There are many instances of her clever and witty literary repartees. One day Nur Jahan and Jahangir saw a child playing with a ball of flowers. The Emperor tried in vain to catch the child's attention, and remarked to Nur Jahan, "The youthful sweetheart does not turn toward us."

To which she aptly replied, "While the flower is still a bud it does not shed its perfume."

On another occasion, Jahangir, seeing an old man with a bent back, remarked, "Why do the world experienced old men walk with bent backs?"

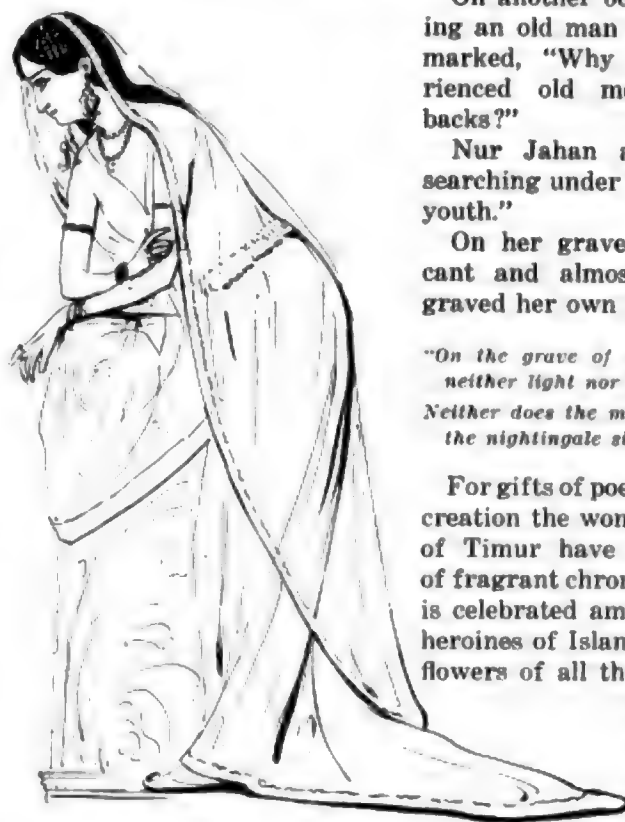
Nur Jahan answered, "They are searching under the dust for their lost youth."

On her grave in Lahore, insignificant and almost unknown, are engraved her own prophetic words:

*"On the grave of my humble self, there is neither light nor flowers;  
Neither does the moth flutter there, nor does the nightingale sing its song."*

For gifts of poetic genius and æsthetic creation the women of the royal house of Timur have bequeathed a wealth of fragrant chronicles. Mumtaz-Mahal is celebrated among the distinguished heroines of Islam as one of the fairest flowers of all the Timurid princesses.

Her maiden name was Arjumand Banu, Fortunate Lady, but when Shah Jahan, the noted builder of palaces, welcomed her into his harem as



TYPE OF COSTUME DESIGNED BY THE EMPRESS NUR JAHAN, FAMOUS IN MOGUL HISTORY FOR HER ARTISTIC CREATIVENESS AND LITERARY ACCOMPLISHMENT

its sole queen, she was designated under the well-merited title of Mumtaz-Mahal, Exalted of the Palace. Arjumand, born in the year 1590, was of Persian extraction. Her father, Mirza Abdul Hassan, was the famous Asaf Khan of history, who obtained the command of the imperial army under Jahangir, and was afterward Vizier under Shah Jahan. Of her early life little is known, but Arjumand was fourteen years old when the lucky star of her princely destiny shone in the heavens and she was espoused to the heir-apparent, Klusrao, afterward the great Emperor Shah Jahan. The pleasing duty of putting a betrothal ring on the dainty finger of his worthy daughter-in-law and enveloping her beautiful person with the bridal veil of pearls devolved upon Jahangir himself. The marriage was celebrated in the palatial residence of Asaf Khan on a gigantic and magnificent scale scarcely to be comprehended today. The joy of married life was enhanced by the birth of eight sons and six daughters, though it was saddened by the premature death of seven children, one after another. Each blow on her gentle womanly heart curtailed her life, for she died at the age of forty during the birth of her sixth daughter, Gouhar Ara, Adorning Jewel.

Mumtaz-Mahal, in her short married life, exercised the same influence over the court as did her aunt, Nur Jahan, Light of the World. In the extraordinary exploits of Shah Jahan she was invariably his companion. Her pleadings in favor of those who appealed to her for intercession, even the most guilty, never failed of success. Her many virtues—her goodness of heart, her piety, her devotion to her people—made of her a goddess whom they worshipped with blind faith and reverence. After her death the inconsolable Emperor passed the rest of his weary life in tender remembrance of the dead, patiently waiting to lie peacefully by the side of his well beloved Queen, in whose honor he built at Agra the "incomparable and peerless monument," the Taj Mahal. The Taj stands in mysterious, almost divine, beauty on the banks of the sacred Jumna, telling its own tale of the embodiment of virtue and beauty that lies under its protecting marble cupola.

A beautiful story, which is not generally known, of the creation of the Taj Mahal is hidden in the pages of the Persian manuscripts of the time. The Emperor wished to commemorate his undying devotion and esteem for his beloved consort, but nothing satisfied his ambition, until one day Arjumand told him that in a dream she had seen the noblest and most perfect of monuments, which, if actualized, would be unparalleled in the whole world for its matchless beauty. The Emperor sent for experts from all over the Empire and commanded them to design the architecture of the dream. They labored to no effect: they could not visualize the

dream. At last one day an old venerable Pir' ascetic presented himself, who said:

"I can help you to obtain what you seek."

He then presented a mysterious potion to one of the architects, before whose dazed eyes the lovely monument in all its glory was revealed. The magic of the potion lasted while he drew the plan in all its detail. Then he fell back exhausted. The Empress, seeing the design of her vision realized, was full of joy and the Emperor at once set to work to have this edifice constructed. The impossibility of laying a firm foundation next presented itself. The swampy character of the banks of the silvery Jumna made it impossible to erect any construction that would stand, until, in another dream, it was revealed that the basis must be of silver. To-day the Taj stands, like an ethereal drop of flawless pearl, on its foundation of solid silver—breathing forth the poetry of its conception:

*"Sweeter to rest together dead,*

*Far sweeter than to live asunder."*

Such is the tradition of Indian womanhood from prehistoric times until recent years, when the impact of western ideas on eastern broke the harmony of living with loveliness. An age of uncertainty and crudity crept in. The calm meditations of the maiden, her deep human love, her simple, sweet aspirations, were rudely shaken; the happy realms of inner peace were broken by fierce winds of hybridism, and she was thrust suddenly into the region of throbbing steam engines. Miserable indeed was the state of this new Indian womanhood, tottering, unstable, and its representatives, literary blanks, intellectual ciphers, moral weaklings, without impulse to aid outside humanity and incapable of exciting influence socially or politically. What is left of the beautiful spirit, of the tranquil mysticism, except mournful shade of memory, the note of lingering sadness, the longing after something nobler, soul-satisfying, which is not there?

In spite of upheavals, the Indian woman of to-day still reigns supreme in the sanctuary of her home, performing her simple duties to husband, children, friends and relations. Her education is still based on the profound teachings of the Vedas, Puranas, the Koran and the Sufi poets, which gives her extraordinary insight into the higher and deeper problems of life. With her philosophic and religious background, she has a far more accurate grasp of things than her western sister realizes.

Nevertheless, there have arisen momentous questions which every Indian woman asks with no hope of a satisfactory answer, at least in the present times. "What am I for? What am I to do with my life? How shall I begin and how shall I end?" Overweighted with the perplexities of modernism creeping into her life, she argues, "Is the world coming to an end? Has tranquility ceased to exist?"



# A SCHOOL FOR AMERICANS IN JAPAN

By WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL

AMERICAN schools are anchorages of Americanism. The resolve of Americans in Japan, therefore, to see that a representative American school is established in Tokyo, is an act of patriotism as fundamental to our national well being in the East and the promotion of our understanding of the Orient, as is the representation of our Government itself.

Great is the acclaim for foreign trade throughout our country today. There is an anxious, even feverish reaching out for knowledge about its ways. An immense amount of talking is going on, new foreign trading firms are multiplying like grasshoppers. And underneath the froth there is the solid conviction that the country is at the door of a new period in which its stupendous productive factory must limp along unless it has a market as broad as the world to sell in.

But—

America can't have a foreign trade unless it has Americans to run it. And see what is happening in Japan and China today. An American business man and his wife have spent fifteen years in the Orient. They have prospered. They speak Japanese, perhaps haltingly. Their girl of ten and boy of twelve speak fluently, not a shade of difference in tone and accent from the native. They are ready for preparatory or high school. But as there is nothing in Japan worthy of the name of an American preparatory school, the two children are packed off one fine day on a Pacific liner. Perhaps their mother accompanies them to stay with them a year or two until they are settled at school in America, both of them in the high schools of her parents' home town, or the boy at the Hill or Andover or Exeter, the girl at some finishing school. When the mother returns to Japan, the family is broken up forever, at least four to eight years before the separation occurs in America, where children go off to college, but continue even then to be a part of the home until they have completed their education.

That, one may argue, is, however, only a personal disadvantage. It is much more. If the United States is to fulfill its destiny as a world power in trade and politics and culture, this early break-up of American homes in Japan strikes a blow at the very root of our national interest.

Again, see what happens. The boy is naturally enamored of American life with boys of his own kind. He is an exceptionally fine type of boy, with keen mind and broad background. He can take care of himself well in class room and in sports—

for the tradition for outdoor life started by the British in the East has had its effect. The rivalry, the competition with boys of his own sort—and many of them—is new and exhilarating. And by the time he reaches his sophomore year in college, his Japanese has become a faint memory of childhood and the former charm of life in the East has lost its vividness for him. He has formed social ties in America which lead to promising business connections. The speed and vitality of American life attract him. He doesn't want to go back. And very often he doesn't go back. The girl goes through a similar experience. And if she does return from a finishing school without the additional rich experience of college, there is danger that she may not have seen enough of American life to enable her to carry back to Japan its best inspiration. At the same time, she may have lost her oriental contact and dulled her appreciation of the really fine things that life in the Orient can offer. In this way the best seed of a continuing and strengthening Americanism, informed and skilled in its relationship with the East, is often lost. Can foreign trade—lasting foreign trade, depending so much on personal relationship—be founded on such a shifting basis? Can our political and cultural understanding of the East which must be based on sympathetic human relationships and the valuable insight acquired by a prolonged first hand experience in the oriental environment be thus denied the very best development?

But what of the boy and girl whose parents cannot afford the heavy expenses of travel, two establishments and the early schooling far from home? Are they to be left to haphazard methods of picking up an education under improvised arrangements in Japan or China, endangering the heritage of dignity, confidence and independence that is the unconscious possession of every child in the United States whose parents have not elected to blaze new trails abroad?

The children of all Americans in Japan, China and other parts of the Far East are denied the inalienable right possessed by every child in the United States to have a free education. The school, often equipped with the most modern scientific laboratories, manual training, playgrounds, gymnasium and splendid faculty, is the first gift of the American community to the next generation who must carry on the torch of the highest American ideals. The sons and daughters of the men and women at the farthest outposts of our culture—in

lands where America must represent the ideal in democracy and education—are thoughtlessly and unjustly neglected by their country. Outside of their parents' necessarily inadequate efforts, these American children in Japan are deprived of the boon of a good education, which is accepted as a matter of course by all American parents and children at home.

There is grave danger to American interest, prestige and stamina in the East unless this situation is remedied. Boys and girls coming from our most intelligent class are denied at the formative and most impressionable age—from ten to sixteen or seventeen—the privilege of training in a well-organized, well-equipped school with its development of personal and national confidence and poise; they are denied the blessing of robust, healthy competition with many others of their own kind, the rough and tumble of rivalry of wit and physique that unconsciously sets the highest standard of achievement. Handicapped by the lack of these customary American privileges, and at the same time surrounded in their early years by oriental nurses whose tradition it is to serve, to encourage whim and dominance of the child's will, as well as to impart a subtle and prococious knowledge of life, too often unhealthful, they are in danger of blunting their keenest sense of democracy, as well as that development of a mental and physical fibre that makes men masters of the moment from actual encounter with their fellows.

A splendid endowed American school in Japan would effectively counteract these serious threats to the strongest American position in the East. With a constant flow of new teaching blood from America, with an equipment that would focus American ideas and progress in Japan in one recognized centre, such a school would surround our youngsters in Japan with a vigorous and vital Americanism, perhaps even stronger, because of the perspective, than they would get at home. Furthermore, gripping these boys and girls at the formative age, giving them a skill in the language of Japan that could not be shaken off in four years at college in America, training them to consider Japan the natural field for their future careers, with an introduction to a specific post in business or professional life before they leave for the four years of college in the United States, the American School in Tokyo would be the most potent magnet to draw them back to Japan. It would have given them an all-round asset, too valuable to discard for life in the United States.

Here is the problem in Japan and the way Americans there and their friends here, backed by the American Asiatic Association, are trying to solve it, as told by Professor J. T. Swift, President of the American Association of Tokyo:

"At a semi-official banquet in Tokyo a leading Japanese publicist said in effect: 'We understand America, but America does not understand us. We have thousands of young men who have been educated in American schools and colleges, while you Americans have scarcely a half-dozen men who know enough of the Japanese language to understand Japanese thought at first hand.'

"This is our greatest weakness as we face the vast opportunity before us in the Orient. America has capital and skilled talent, but she has no men who can put her in real and intelligent contact with every-day Japan.

"Our Consular Service was lately in pressing need of eight men; but no Americans could be found who knew enough Japanese to fill the positions. Should our Government have need of men as confidential agents in any capacity, either here or at home, the same lack would seriously cripple us.

"Our weakness is felt and confessed by every American business house in Japan. Almost every day American heads of firms are called upon to sign Powers of Attorney made out in the Japanese ideographs, which they and their American staffs cannot read. The use of the native languages was an important factor in Germany's 'peaceful penetration' of the East. It was because German merchants dealt directly with the Chinese, that at the outbreak of the war they had already undermined British trade in China. They were doing the same in Japan. It is not wholly by accident that interned Germans in Japan studied Japanese. It is rather in line with the school for German children that the German Government maintained in Yokohama up to the outbreak of the war.

"The lack of Americans who understand and can use the Japanese language will be not simply a negative handicap to American business and to the permanence of all kinds of American influence in and with and through Japan. It will surely double the effectiveness of our great competitor by making it easier and more natural for Japan to deal with him than with us. With the great moral as well as business interests at stake, it is not right that such a situation should be allowed to exist. The key to the situation is manifestly the acquisition of the Japanese language. Could American children in Japan be kept here for their high-school education, a course in the Japanese language would clinch and make permanent their unique childhood's grasp of the Japanese manner of thought.

"This leads us to what Ambassador Morris calls 'America's greatest immediate need in the Far East'—an American school in Tokyo.

"One hundred and fifty American children are living in Tokyo and its vicinity. In other parts of Japan are fully one hundred more who would like

to find education here. Inquiries received from other less healthful parts of the Far East show that thirty others would probably attend such a school. These children come from families of educated Americans and are much above the average in mental ability. They constitute an asset hitherto neglected, which if cared for would to a considerable degree meet America's need. Schools for American children have been privately established in Tokyo and Yokohama, but they have led a precarious existence. The one in Tokyo, opened in 1902, had last year seventy-five American pupils. Its only income from America is a combined grant towards its running expenses of \$3,500 (yearly) from several missionary societies. The dwelling houses it had been renting were shut to it last year and it was homeless. When it is considered that America has invested more than three million gold dollars in ten large mission schools exclusively for Japanese, and maintains them by gifts of over \$400,000 annually, the plight of America's own children in Japan is pitiable indeed, and reflects disagreeably on American honor in the eyes of the Japanese.

"During the past year Americans in Japan have come to realize the value of their position and the importance of strengthening it. A conference of American business men was held at the Embassy in Tokyo on July 24, 1918, and drafted the following plan for an American school.

"Lots on high ground are available. If purchased now the rapid growth of the city will enhance their value and so provide good security for the investment. At least five acres are needed, and will cost \$75,000. Buildings will, together with dormitories and teachers' homes, cost \$125,000. The endowment should be \$200,000, making a total of \$400,000 needed.

"The Board of Trustees of the present Tokyo School for Foreign Children is composed of men

and women of wide experience in education and in business. The staff is underpaid and therefore transient, and the school equipment is practically nil. The knowledge of the school situation, however, possessed by the Board of Trustees as a result of sixteen years' experience is exact and complete. It makes it possible to submit this plan with entire confidence as to its practical accuracy.

"The favorable reaction of such an American school upon Japanese public opinion would be great. They know that in Hawaii they themselves maintain 137 Japanese schools for 14,000 of their children. They know that in Shanghai they have erected a four-story concrete school building completely equipped and probably superior to any Japanese school building in Japan. They know that Germany—their model in education as well as in some other things—maintained a school for German children in Yokohama. They know that America had systematically neglected her own children in their midst. Therefore, they say unhesitatingly that America's real interest in education in Japan is for purposes of propaganda, religious or—political.

"American needs a good American school in Tokyo for her own national honor. She needs it for her consular and business offices, to which the school's graduates would naturally look after their college course in the Home Land. She needs it for her Mission Boards, who would get some of their most effective workers from such a school. She needs it that she and her ideals of education may no longer be misunderstood by Japan, and that she herself (we ourselves of the future) may be in position to understand Japan quickly and accurately."

The fund that is now being raised is in charge of Albert G. Milbank, of New York City. Is this fundamental corner-stone of American influence and prestige in the East to be longer neglected?



## THE BELLS

By ALICE ROGERS HAGER

*Their voices are the magic of the past,  
Speaking to us with tears;  
When we would don the robe of mirth, they toll  
Sonorous, slow, vibrant with ancient fears,  
And shadowy hands of grief reach down  
To still the laughter of the town.*

# HAWAII HELPS PAY FOR WAR



*From Honolulu Star-Bulletin*

**GOVERNOR C. J. MCCARTHY GIVING A WAR BOND TALK FROM THE BALCONY OF THE EXECUTIVE BUILDING, HONOLULU**

**The People of Hawaii Gave Enthusiastic Support to All War Measures, Hawaiians, Americans, Chinese, Japanese and Other Races Uniting in Patriotic Effort**



*From Hawaii Star*

**CHINESE RED CROSS WORKERS IN RED CROSS PARADE**

**While Chinese Women in Hawaii Gave Their Services in Red Cross Work, Their Men Were Active and Generous in the Loan Campaign**



*Feeling in Honolulu Shows End*  
**HAWAIIAN SCHOOL CADETS, JAPANESE SCHOOL CADETS AND GIRLS OF ALL RACES IN THRIFT  
 STAMP PARADE, HONOLULU**  
 The Outdoor Life and Colorful Costuming of Honolulu Made Display Parades an Attractive Feature of the  
 War Campaign



*Feeling in Honolulu Shows End*  
**MAYOR LANE, OF HONOLULU, DAILY LED A LIBERTY BOND PARADE OF BOYS OF ALL RACES**  
 Mayor Joseph Lane, Who is a Full Hawaiian, Was an Example of the Patriotic Feeling of the Hawaiian  
 People During the War

# AMERICA FEEDS THE NEAR EAST



*International Film Service*

ERNEST C. PARTRIDGE (LEFT), PRESIDENT OF SIVAS COLLEGE, AND DR. JAMES L. BARTON  
They Are About to Start at the Head of Two Relief Trains. Dr. Barton As Chairman of the Com-  
mittee for Relief of the Near East, Now Has Under Him Over 400 American Workers



*International Film Service*

FIRST AMERICAN RELIEF TRAIN STARTING OVER THE BAGDAD RAILWAY.  
The Supplies Carried to Those Left Destitute at the Hands of the Turks and Germans Came to Turkey in a  
German Ship. Were Stored in German Warehouses, and Sent Into the Interior in German Cars



# SHOOTING WHALES IN THE FAR EAST

By ROY CHAPMAN ANDREWS

Author of "Whale Hunting with Gun and Camera"

WHEN I was in Japan some years ago I learned from officials of the largest and most progressive whaling company of the country, the Toyo Hogeï Kabushiki Kaisha, that a peculiar species of whale, known as the *koku kujira*, was to be found off the Korean coast, and that the whaling company depended chiefly on this species for its winter catch. The description of the *koku kujira* interested me greatly because it fitted exactly the so-called California gray whale or devilfish, which formerly flourished off our Pacific coast, but had been lost to science for three decades and was believed to be extinct.

I therefore determined to visit the Korean whaling station of the Japanese company at the earliest opportunity and to study the species and secure skeletons of it for the American Museum of Natural History. I returned to the Orient the winter of 1911-12 and went forthwith to the whaling station which is situated on the picturesque bay of Ulsan, forty miles north of Fusan on the west coast of Korea. The day after my arrival at Ulsan I started across the bay in a sampan with Mr. Mat-

sumoto, paymaster of the whaling company, to inspect the whaling station. We had hardly left shore when the siren of a whaler sounded from far down the bay and soon the ship swept around a rocky point into full view. At the port of the vessel hung the dark flukes of a whale, the sight of which made me breathe hard with excitement. I knew at once that I was either on the point of discovering an entirely new species or I was about to rediscover one which had been lost to science for thirty years. Either prospect was alluring enough. As the whaling vessel swung in towards the wharf and a pair of the largest flukes I had ever seen waved in front of me I realized that here at last was what I had come half around the world to see. When the winch began slowly to lift the huge black body out of the water I found that the *koku kujira* was not a new species, but that it was in fact the long-lost California gray whale.

This particular whale had been killed by Captain H. G. Melsom, an old friend, whom I had known in Japan years before. He at once invited me to go whaling with him the next day, and I was aboard his ship, the *Main*, at ten o'clock that evening. The cabin of the *Main* was the largest and most comfortable I had ever seen on any whale ship and was as neat and clean as a stateroom on an ocean liner. I did not hear the chains cast off in the morning and only woke when the cabin boy came to call the captain. We were already far outside the bay and were steaming northward about three miles off the coast. The surf was breaking in a ragged white line on the dangerous cliffs. When I had dressed and climbed the bridge where the captain was standing, we were edging a bit closer to shore.

The devilfish, unlike other whales, migrate southward every winter as regularly as birds. They steal along the shore, sometimes maneuver-



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## THE DREADED KILLER WHALE. THE PIRATE OF THE SEA

He Preys on Whales, Sharks, Seals and Walrus, But His Favorite Victim Is the Gray Whale, Which He Attacks by Forcing Open Its Mouth and Eating Its Tongue



ing their huge bodies behind rocks; sometimes wallowing half submerged in the surf. In this way they effectively baffled hunters for many years. As soon as they saw a ship they would head straight for shore and lie in the breakers where no vessel the size of a whaler dared go.

It was six o'clock when I came on deck, and the sun was just rising out of the sea, a great red ball of fire. I was glad to see the sun, for the wind cut like a knife and the spray froze when it was flung across the rigging. There was a heavy swell, the aftermath of a storm, and the *Main* bobbed like a cork on the great waves. I huddled up in a corner of the bridge, partly under a canvas screen, watching Captain Melsom guide the ship toward shore. The man in the "barrel" at the mast head was swinging about watching the water ahead. Suddenly he clapped the glasses to his eyes, gazed toward the open sea, and shouted excitedly: "*Kujira!*" (whale). I jumped as though a bomb had been exploded on the bridge and whirled around just in time to see a silvery fountain of spray shoot up almost in the eye of the sun. It hung a moment in the air, then drifted away on the wind just as two other white jets spouted out of the water near the first. A moment later I saw three black bodies which revolved slowly and then disappeared in the hollow of a great swell. Instantly the ship was all a-stir. The captain shouted an order to the man at the wheel who jammed the telegraph handle far over and back into the "full speed" notch, and the mate took the bridge. The crew were rushing back and forth along the deck. The little vessel leaped forward, describing a long swing, and headed for the whales. Captain Melsom and I ran forward toward the gun platform, where the captain loosened the screw which held the huge weapon fast and swung the gun from side to side to make sure that it was working easily. The hundred-pound harpoon with its explosive point projected from the heavy, black muzzle of the gun looked like a medieval catapult instead of the modern engine of destruction that it was. I stationed myself just behind the gun platform with one arm about a rope and my camera in my hands, open and ready for instant use. In five minutes the ship had reached the mirror-like patches of water where the whales had gone down, and with her engines at "dead slow" was swinging in a wide circle waiting for the animals to come up and blow. Suddenly three snow white jets shot up about a quarter of a mile

away. The engine-room bell clanged impatiently and the vessel leaped through the water at full speed. The whales came up astern next time and we swung about to intercept them, but they spouted only once, and slipped under water and headed towards the beach. "I've got to keep them away from shore," Melsom shouted, "for I can't go inside in this sea. We'll try to run across their bows and head them off." The wind had risen with the sun, and I was deathly seasick, for even the best of sailors lose their sea legs aboard one of these little eggshell boats after a long period ashore.

The *Main* was now twisting and writhing about as though possessed of a demon. Every time she climbed a huge wave, rocked uncertainly a moment, then plunged headlong down the green slope of a swell, I was certain she would never rise again. We circled about, each time coming closer and closer to the shore and presumably closer to the whales, but the animals were still heading for the rocks not more than half a mile away. Captain Melsom saw that he had not succeeded in turning them away, so he steered his vessel straight toward shore. It seemed ticklish business to me. We were



THE LAST RITES AND OBSEQUIES OF A HUMPBACK WHALE  
Its Tongue Has Been Forced Out of Its Mouth by the Air Pumped  
Into the Body to Keep It Afloat Before Bringing It Ashore



© 1900 by the Associated Press

#### CUTTING INTO A FINBACK WHALE OFF KOREAN COAST

Before the invention of the Harpoon Gun, the Fin Whales Were Seldom Captured Because of Their Great Speed. With Modern Methods of Whaling, They Form the Basis of an Industry Yielding \$70,000,000 Annually

so close to the coast that the terrific battering of the surf sounded in a continuous roar, drowning completely the voice of the wind. Around us the green water was tinged with white foam swept out from the weed-hung ledges of rocks. It seemed hopeless to me to try to kill a whale in all that roar and rush, and I fervently hoped that Captain Melsom would give up the chase.

Then something happened which made me forget my seasickness and the cold and the wind. The man in the "barrel" with both hands to his mouth was bellowing "*Takamatsu! Takamatsu!*" and pointed wildly out to sea. Melsom wheeled around, his face red with excitement and shouted: "Killers! Now we'll get 'em. The killers are coming. Stand by and you'll see some fun."

I jumped to the gun platform by the side of the captain and when the ship rose to the crest of a huge billow we saw half a dozen scythe-like black fins cutting the water in streaks of white foam.

On they came, six abreast, their high dorsals aloft like the standards over a charging cavalry troop. They were the dreaded killer whales, the savage sea-wolves, which hunt in packs and are the terror of everything that swims. Just then the gray whales spouted two hundred fathoms away. The killers darted forward after the gray whales like bloodhounds. They seemed literally to fly through the water toward their victims, who were now blowing lazily. Suddenly one of the gray whales spied the killers, and, hurling his gigantic body half out of the water, he turned head-down in a long dive. The others followed, but by this time the racing killers had nearly reached them and all went down together. The ship was running at full speed in the wake of the whales, but lay to with engines stopped at the spot where the animals had gone down. Melsom shouted in my ear: "The killers will bring them up in a minute and there'll be a great fight. Get your camera ready, for I am going to shoot the first one I see."

The camera was open in my hand and I tried to protect it with the flap of my coat, but it had twice been soaked when the ship dug her nose into the heavy sea. The case was covered with ice like my boots and sou'wester. Putting in a slide I tried the release. There was no result and push as I would the shutter did not fall. Squatting on the gun platform, I removed the magazine holder and found the curtain frozen solid. The camera was utterly useless. It was a bitter disappointment, for I might never again see killers in a battle, but there was nothing to be done.

We hovered for fifteen minutes over the spot where the killers went down, the *Main* rolling drunkenly on the swell. I was watching the man in the "barrel," who seemed to hang halfway out of his precarious little nest, gazing at the water below. Melsom stood silently at the gun alert and tense, ready to shoot at a moment's notice. There was not a sound on the ship, except for the retching and groaning of a pump and the swish of half-frozen water in the scuppers. It seemed hours before I saw the sailor in the "barrel" point to the starboard bow, and heard him shout: "They are coming! Look out! Look out!"

About fifty fathoms off the water was beginning to smooth itself into a glassy green patch within two circles described by the animals swimming just beneath the surface. A devilish shot to the surface

followed by two killers. The huge black whale thrust itself half clear of the water, falling back in a shower of spray as the killers dashed for its head. The devilfish twisted about, thrashed the water with its ponderous flukes, tried to dive and escape, but the killers closed on it. Instantly it rolled to the surface, this time almost under the bows of the ship. I saw the captain bend over the gun, the tip of the harpoon drop a little, and the next instant a blinding cloud of vapor shot into our faces. The blast of the gun was deafening. Through the clearing cloud of smoke I saw black flukes hurtling out of the sea, and the devilfish fell back with a tremendous, smashing blow upon the water. Then the gigantic figure quivered, straightened out and slowly sank. For the flash of a second there was not the slightest movement or any sound on the ship save the measured "flop, flop, flop" of the line on the deck as the deadweight of forty tons dragged it from the winch. The killers had disappeared at the flash of the gun, but before the winch brought the carcass of the devilfish to the surface we saw all six of them in full pursuit of the other two gray whales which were racing for the shore. I tried to follow them with my glasses, but they were lost in the surf.

The killers seem to persecute the gray whales more than any other species, unless perhaps the bowhead of the polar regions. In almost every book relating to arctic whaling there are accounts of the manner in which killers attack a bowhead, force open its mouth and eat its tongue. I confess that I always thought these tales exaggerated, but after my personal experience at Ulsan I no longer have the slightest doubt of their accuracy. Out of thirty-five gray whales which were brought to the whaling station while I was there, seven had their tongues more or less mutilated and one had several large semi-circular bites on the left lower lip. This was the work of killers, as all the gunners testified. Captain Hurum brought in one day three whales, one of which had the larger part of the tongue torn away and teeth marks plainly visible in the remaining portion. Hurum said he was hunting a school of seven gray whales when fifteen killers suddenly



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#### MAKING A SEI WHALE FAST TO THE BOW OF THE SHIP

In the Last Twenty Years the Japanese Have Adopted the Best Norwegian Whaling Equipment and Methods. Today the Teiya Hogen Kabushiki Kaisha is the Largest and Most Progressive Whaling Company in the World

appeared. The devilfish became so terrified that they made no attempt to escape, but lay on the water, belly up with fins outspread, paralyzed with fear. A killer dashed up to one of the whales, forced its nose between the closed jaws and tried to put its own head inside. It had torn great chunks out of the soft tongue and was half within the whale's mouth when Captain Hurum shot the devilfish and drove the killer off.

A short time after my hunt with Captain Melsom of the *Main*, he brought in a gray whale whose tongue was almost gone. He said that after he had killed the whale he observed a school of killers coming full speed toward his ship. They circled the vessel and one of them made a rush at the dead whale, snapping at its head. When Captain Melsom fired at the killer with his Krag, the animal lashed out with its tail, smashed the rail of the ship, then disappeared. Gray whales do not always submit tamely to the attack of killers. Sometimes instead of being paralyzed with fear they make straight for shore and slide in so close to the rocks that the sea wolves will not follow them.

One of the most interesting things in the life of the gray whales is the annual migration. In no other large cetacean is there anything like the migrating instinct which takes the gray whales from the icy waters of the north, a distance of



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**A JAPANESE TRANSPORT STEAMER WAITING FOR THE MEAT OF THE GRAY WHALE THAT IS BEING HOISTED OUT OF THE WATER**

The "Koku Kujira", the Chief Winter Catch of the Oriental Whaling Company, Has Been Discovered to Be the California Gray Whale, Which Formerly Flourished Off the Pacific Coast But Had Been Lost to Science for Three Decades

three thousand miles or more, to seek the warm lagoons along the coasts of California and Korea in which to raise their young. On both sides of the Pacific the migration takes place at almost the same time. Single females appear along the Korean coast towards the end of November, traveling steadily northward. A little later both males and females are seen and finally males alone bring up the rear, all having passed by January twenty-fifth. On the return trip northward the devilfish again pass Ulsan about the middle of March and by May fifteenth they have disappeared altogether. Because of their annual migration, the period of gestation of the gray whales can be determined pretty accurately. It is about one year. No one has been able to discover what the gray whales feed upon. I examined the stomachs of a great many while I was at Ulsan, but except for quantities of green water they were always empty. My belief is that the animals do not eat at all while on their annual migrations, but draw their nourishment from the fat stored up on their bodies.

The killer is the largest member of the dolphin family and reaches a length of thirty feet. He is a sea terror, for all things that swim are his prey,

and his capacity for eating is almost beyond belief. I have heard of thirteen porpoises and fourteen seals being taken from the stomach of a specimen twenty-one feet long. While almost every book of the sea deals with stories of the terrible killer, I think the most remarkable authentic tale is that told by the late Captain Scott. His ship was moored at the edge of an ice-floe and to the stern line not far from the water's edge were tethered two Eskimo dogs. Captain Scott observed a half-dozen killers diving excitedly back and forth along the edge of the ice. He called the photographer of the expedition to snap the killers. The man ran forward with his camera and the next moment the ice under him heaved up and split into fragments. The killers had risen under the ice and by team work had smashed it with their backs. The photographer reached shore, leaping from cake to cake, and by chance the ice had been split around the dogs so that neither of them fell into the water. Captain Scott saw the killers rear themselves several feet out of the water to find out what had become of the dogs. He said it was a great revelation to him and his companions that the killers would act in unison and with such cunning.

# AMERICAN BEER IN CHINA

By SILAS BENT

A BLARING brass band makes its way through the crooked, narrow streets in the walled city of Kiukiang. In its wake marches a group of men, Americans and Chinese, bearing huge placards. Shopkeepers, school children, coolies and *amahs* stop to listen to the strange music and to stare at the signs, whereon beer is advertised in Chinese as a "sure cure for opium."

That is not an unusual sight in any Chinese treaty port, even an interior port. It is not unusual wherever Americans and Canadians and Japanese are known, although no Americans at home would invite the law's displeasure by advertising a "sure cure" for anything. The most elaborate publicity campaign in China to-day is the propaganda financed by brewers. Even before their business became *verboden* in this country they set about educating the oriental palate to *lager* beer and training the coolie tongue to *gesundheit*. It is a new development in China, and a development which is likely to be observed from America with mixed emotions, corresponding to the kind of emotions inspired by national prohibition. Shall America undertake to interfere with American brewers who seek to reestablish their business in China?

There arises a question as to what Chinese think of beer. If you ask members of the race in the United States, they will tell you they care nothing for it, and that they do not believe the beverage can obtain a foothold in China. Chinese are seldom if ever seen in our bars. It is an abstemious race, as regards intoxicants. But a glance at the import figures for Chinese ports will show that wines and beers and *saké* are being taken into the country in quantities even now large enough to indicate more than a "foreign" consumption. The net imports of beer and porter into China amounted to more in 1917 than half a million dollars, aside from wines, brandies and other beverages. During 1918 more than ten thousand quarts of beer in bottles were imported through the port of Antung; nearly a thousand through Kiaochau, and about two hundred and fifty thousand quarts through Shanghai (to name but a few widely divergent ports of entry). This was aside from brandy, cognac, whisky, wines and other drinks in bottles, and huge quantities of *saké*. Sometimes the Japanese drink, *saké*, is called "rice-beer," sometimes "rice-brandy." It is made from fermented rice and contains from eleven to fourteen per cent of alcohol. As an industry, its distillation now is being rivaled in Japan by the breweries, of which there were in 1916

nearly fourteen hundred. It is safe to say that at present most of the beer sold in China is of Japanese production. The Dai Nippon Brewery has also established a branch in Tsingtao which produces ninety thousand cases annually, largely for Chinese consumption. All this is an indication that American brewers will not find a clear field in the Orient. Some of them, indeed, are ready to undertake other activities here, such as the dehydrating of food, the manufacture of soft beverages, ice-cream or dyes, or the conversion of their plants into cold storage plants. But others have prepared for the reestablishment of their business in the Far East—at least one in Cincinnati, another in Seattle and others in San Francisco. Only the distance has deterred them so far from the transfer of their equipment or their capital, or both to this vast new field. The climatic conditions in China are about as favorable as in America to the manufacture of beer. There are, moreover, the added advantages of cheap labor, a soil well suited to the cultivation of barley, a government young and notoriously lax and an almost virgin field embracing nearly one-fourth of the world's population.

American brewers were not the first on this continent to sense the possibilities of the new opportunity. In Canada the trade was alert to the situation and dispatched its pathfinders to the Far East so speedily as to be among the first on the ground. The extent of the campaign there was described at a conference on world-wide prohibition in Columbus, Ohio. One of the speakers was Miss Jennie V. Hughes, who has been engaged for thirteen years in religious and educational work in China. She has her headquarters in Kiukiang, on the Yangtse. Miss Hughes told how the brewers, chiefly American, were spreading through bankrupt China the propaganda of profitable revenues from the liquor traffic. She said that during the first ten years of her work she had not seen so many as half a dozen intoxicated natives, but that the Chinese during recent years, and particularly during 1918, had been using alcohol in increasing quantities. It had become common in Shanghai and other cities, even in towns where formerly it was unknown, to see men reeling drunk. Educated Chinese who perceived the danger met in Peking to offer formal complaint against this invasion by the brewers.

But the difficulties of American interference, either by attempting to tax the export of brewing equipment or by withdrawing protection in foreign countries from business prohibited here, are yet to

be solved. Article XIX of the League of Nations Covenant provides that certain peoples, "especially those of Central Africa," are at such a stage of development that the League's mandatory must be responsible, among other things, for "the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave traffic, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic . . ."; but this provision for backward nations subject to international control does not shift the responsibility for China, if the United States concludes that any responsibility rests on her in this regard. Some may argue that, since beer is much less injurious than opium-smoking, it may prove a beneficial substitute.

That is the expression of one opinion prevailing in this country. The opposite opinion is held by that considerable class which favored prohibition. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing thirty denominations and eighteen million communicants, has pledged its financial support to an effort to close the door of China to the American brewer, and the Anti-Saloon League of America is pledged to help with money and campaigners. It said that there was need for immediate action without distinction of creed, party or race, and called for the coöperation of an array of organizations, including the International Sunday School Association, the United Society of Christian Endeavor, the Y. M. C. A., the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Independent Order of Good Templars, the Inter-Collegiate Prohibition Association, labor organizations and other societies, for a concerted drive against the brewers.

Expressions of Chinese opinion in this country have been strongly unfavorable to the brewery movement. Officials visiting or resident here have declared that the Chinese had taken a more serious view of intoxicants since America had decided to ban them than ever before; and that they considered it unwise to open up their country to the saloon business. Similar expressions have come from Chinese cities; but at the same time the Director-General of the Tobacco and Wine Administration, Chang Shou-lin, has given out an interview in Peking saying that he hoped to triple the annual Chinese revenues of \$20,000,000 silver. This bureau was established in 1915 to prepare for a national monopoly of the tobacco and wine business. The Director-General hopes to reform the tax system in the provinces and to increase the levy on imports, and to abolish "squeeze" so as to derive a revenue of \$60,000,000 silver annually.

China is thus beginning to learn the advantage of a license system for the social vices, or for equipment or by withdrawing protection in foreign "luxuries," such as wine and tobacco. But China has already learned the cost of one national vice in

its experience with opium-smoking. It was estimated that the actual cost to the country annually of that national vice was more than half a billion dollars. The story of the fight against it is too well known to be set forth here at length, but it may be summarized briefly. The monopoly of opium cultivation in India passed into the hands of the East India Company in 1757 through Clive's victory at Plassey; but the trade with China continued in the hands of the Portuguese until 1776, when the British corporation took it over. Thereafter it increased amazingly, until the decade which ended in 1830 it amounted to 16,877 chests (of 149 1/3 pounds each) annually. In 1839 the Emperor Tao-Kwang sent Liu Tsz-sü as a commissioner to Canton to suppress the movement of the drug from British depot ships in the harbor there; and when the traders refused to obey, he destroyed chests valued at \$10,000,000. Then followed the celebrated "opium war" which was terminated by the treaty of Nanking in 1842, and from that time the importation of opium assumed even more flourishing proportions.

The American administration in the Philippines in 1906 suggested an international effort to stop the trade, which had been legalized for almost fifty years; and the Shanghai conference was held, at which eleven nations, including Great Britain, pledged themselves to forbid the export of opium to countries opposed to it. In 1907, Great Britain, whose part in the traffic had been discreditable alike to her merchants and the Government, agreed to reduce the export from India gradually, provided China would give evidence of good faith by reducing her own production of poppies; and in 1910 the industry was practically scotched.

Recently the charge has been made that the Japanese Government was secretly fostering the movement into China of opium and morphine, so that tens of millions of yen were transferred annually from the Chinese to the Japanese manufacturers. Morphia, much more destructive than opium, is reported to predominate in these transactions, and specific statements have been made to the methods of smuggling the drugs into China by the ton through the Japanese post-offices, over which the Chinese exercise no powers of inspection. In South China, Shantung and throughout the Yangtze Valley the trade is said to have flourished. Great Britain's unsavory record in regard to opium, and the present grave charges against Japan in the matter both of opium and of morphine, have created serious prejudice in China against both Governments. It is a question whether the United States wishes to lay itself open to prejudice on the ground that it has permitted its brewers, whom it would not tolerate on its own soil, to invade Chinese territory.







## Contributors and Contributions

H. M. HYNDMAN stands at the extreme opposite end not only of the generally accepted point of view of the beneficial influence of British rule in India, but of the beneficial effect of the general influence of the white races upon the Asiatic. His attitude on the British in India is only one element of his statement that from an early belief in this view he has been forced as the result of serious studies "to the conviction that European interference, European trade interests, European religious propaganda, European administration and European domination have been almost wholly harmful—still a most unpopular idea of what the white man has achieved in the vast continent from which in days gone by Europe has learnt so much." Mr. Hyndman's attitude is, therefore, one of sweeping condemnation with which ASIA is not in accord. ASIA presents Mr. Hyndman's writings in the belief that under the new world order an intelligent public opinion will recognize the value of sincere statements of opposing views of international causes in appraising them for arriving at its own judgment.

JACKSON FLEMING, who has gone to the Near East as the special staff correspondent of ASIA to study international and domestic problems of the oriental countries that are so closely involved with the destinies of Europe and of the world, contributes in this issue his first article on the present state of affairs in Egypt. Mr. Fleming, in his six weeks in Egypt, met British officials and Egyptian nationalists, studied the cooperative movement and had an excellent opportunity to learn the opinions of all factions. He will contribute from time to time other articles on the Near East.

AMEEN RIHANI, the Syrian poet, is the author of several books, among others, *The Book of Khaled*, and a translation of the *Luzumiyat of Abu'l-ala*.

PATRICK GALLAGHER has been in Paris during the Peace Conference as special correspondent for the *New York Herald*.

W. G. TINCKOM-FERNANDEZ, journalist and writer, was born in India.

FREDERICK O'BRIEN is the publisher of the *Manila Times*. He lived in the South Sea Islands and spent more than a year in the Marquesas collecting notes on the primitive customs which are fast disappearing.

ROSE WILDER LANE is a well-known California writer. Her novel, *Diverging Roads*, has just been published. She has collaborated with Mr. O'Brien in *White Shadows in the South Seas*, which will appear in part in ASIA.

LILIAN MILLER is the daughter of Ransford Stevens Miller, Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs.

TING FU-TSIANG, a graduate of Oberlin is Y. M. C. A. secretary in a camp of 2,000 Chinese laborers at Creusot.

GENEVIEVE COWLES went to Palestine to study types for religious paintings.

ELIZABETH J. COATSWORTH is already known to readers of ASIA through her poems on oriental themes.

WILLIAM L. HALL contributes more of his unusual interpretations of Chinese life.

ABBY BEATRICE PRATHER made a special inquiry into the teak industry in Siam.

TYLER DENNETT, who contributed a series of articles to ASIA which appeared in book form as *The Democratic Movement in Asia*, is editorial secretary of the Interchurch World Movement.

J. V. BUBNOFF is the manager of the London office of the Moscow Narodny Bank.

# ASIA

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# THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

THE PURPOSE of The American Asiatic Association is—

"To contribute to a satisfactory adjustment of the relations between Asiatic countries and the rest of the world by the removal of sources of misunderstanding and the dissipation of ignorant prejudices; and to co-operate with all other agencies, religious, educational and philanthropic, designed to remove existing obstacles to the peaceful progress and well being of the peoples of these countries."—*Section 5, Article II, of the Constitution.*

In publishing ASIA it will be the policy of the editors to regard with sympathy the attitude and activities of all Eastern countries. Nevertheless, the independent privilege of criticism will be steadfastly retained. No hampering restrictions will be placed on contributions on important subjects, regardless of the source from which they may come, Asiatic or American; and articles considered able and having value, whether they tend to inspire controversy or not, will be considered as beneficial to the promotion of knowledge and the removal of misunderstandings, and will be published in spite of the fact that the editors may not agree entirely with the opinions expressed.

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COLONEL LAWRENCE (LEFT) AND MR. LOWELL THOMAS IN FRONT OF THE FORMER'S TENT IN ARABIA

## MR. LOWELL THOMAS

ASIA takes pleasure in announcing that Mr. Lowell Thomas, traveler, explorer, journalist, has become a member of its staff as an associate editor. Probably the combination of good fortune, forevisioned discernment and observing power, with a news sense that not only takes one to the scene of great events but puts one into the very heart of them, yielded to no other American so romantic an opportunity during the war as to Mr. Thomas in his attachment to the British armies of General Allenby and the Arabian army of Prince Faisal in the Near East.

With the exception of two Englishmen, Mr. Thomas was the only observer so closely associated with the great British leaders in these campaigns.

One of the chief rewards of this participation in the Near Eastern campaigns was the rare opportunity Mr. Thomas had of close association with Colonel Lawrence, the young Britisher not yet out of his twenties, whose phenomenal performance for the cause of his country and the Allies in winning the alliance of a great division of the Arab race under the King of the Hedjaz, for active fighting against their fellow Mohammedans, was one of those ferments of the war which brought about tremendous results at which all the world marveled.

A young British archaeologist, exceedingly scholarly, exceedingly reticent, without the slightest previous experience in public life and no desire for it or for anything else, in fact, except the



Ameyl Thoma

#### COLONEL LAWRENCE

quiet pursuit of his study of the remains of an ancient culture in the Arabian deserts, instantly felt the call of the war for service. He spoke Arabic with greatest ease. He understood the people and their customs, as have few strangers within the gate, because he lived exactly as they did. Suddenly, those who were familiar with the affairs of the Near East were astounded to hear that the Shereff of Mecca, guardian of the sacred Mohammedan cities of Mecca and Medina (next to the Sultan of Turkey himself as the head of Islam, the greatest figure in Mohammedanism) was fighting the Turks, his brother Mohammedans, with an organized army, side by side with the British. Few knew why or how. Few now know.

But out on the hot deserts of Arabia, living as nomad a tent life as the most romantic Arab, burning over miles of space in speeding motor cars, on horses or slow moving camels as the case required, or flying through the air in Britain's swiftest aeroplanes, was Lawrence, the absolutely trusted adviser of the King of the Hedjaz, who would not act without this young Englishman.



GENERAL ALLENBY AND MR. LOWELL THOMAS

The influence of Lawrence over this Arab leader and his people was almost supernatural. How and why he gained it, how he held it and with what glorious results to British arms and to the world, he exercised it for splendidly righteous ends, would be a sealed book if left to Lawrence. His modesty is so excessive that he once flew from Cairo to Jerusalem to avoid receiving a decoration from the British Government.

Mr. Thomas will tell this story in ASIA. It is probably the most romantic and dramatic narrative of the war. He will tell it in a series of articles to start in a shortly forthcoming issue which will give for the first time an intimate unfolding of the working of this great influence of Lawrence for the defeat of the Turks in General Allenby's wonderfully executed campaign that brought about the recapture of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the Turks and the annihilation of the Turk army—the first decisive signal of the end of the war. It is one of the most glorious pages in the annals of British achievements—exemplifying the greatest qualities in the spirit of the race.



*(C. Anderson & Co. Ltd. London)*

THOMAS W. LAMONT, OF J. P. MORGAN & COMPANY, AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE IN THE NEW CONSORTIUM FOR CHINESE LOANS

The consortium arrangement of American, British, French and Japanese financial interests for joint loans to China is regarded as the one practical means of saving China from disintegration and foreign rapacity. It has in theory a two-fold protection to China. Supervision of expenditure of the loan will provide some insurance against its squandering for private ends and civil war by the corrupt ring of officials who control China, and at the same time insure the expenditure for the development of the country. The pooling of participation in loans among the interested nations is intended to secure the prevention of further fastening of special claims to special spheres of influence. It is hoped that some of the special claims of the past, including the concessions secured by Japan during the war, and special spheres of influence claimed by Great Britain and France may also be pooled. If the consortium arrangement manifests a sincere desire to bring about China's development for the good of China as well as of the rest of the world, further encroachment by Japan and the European nations upon China economically and politically should be effectively prevented. There is an earnest of spirit among the American bankers representing the thirty-seven American banks participating, of strong enthusiasm for the development of the loan operations for China's greatest good.



By Associated Press

HON. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO, CHINESE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES AND LEADER OF CHINESE DELEGATION AT PARIS

The Shantung decision at the Peace Conference has shaken the faith of the Chinese in the sincerity of the Allied governments in protecting the rights and interests of weaker nations. The growing attitude of leading Chinese of progressive outlook before this decision—that international coöperation of the powers for securing some form of direct guidance for China in its reorganization was desirable—has, as a result of the Shantung decision, reacted so that much of the distrust of pre-war days of outside governmental interference in Chinese affairs is revived. But if China is to secure release not only from the Japanese special claims and aggressions, but from the long standing claims to spheres of influence by European nations, the fight is just begun. Despite the bad start, a new avenue for the presentation of China's case has been opened up as a result of the Peace Conference. It is in the League. It is incumbent upon the representatives of China to present her case in such a way that the League will keep it constantly before the public opinion of free peoples, which must ultimately see that fair dealing and justice are meted out. In his presentation of China's case at the Conference, Dr. Wellington Koo has won the admiration of the statesmen of Europe for his remarkably clear thinking and intellectual power.



*H. H. P. for Albert of England*

#### A SILHOUETTE AGAINST THE EGYPTIAN SKY

The Romance of the Camel and the Beauty of the Arabian Horse Have Yielded to the Power and Speed of the Armored Motor Car and Aeroplane As Masters of the Desert. But the Debt of the World to the Assistance Rendered by the Camel and the Horse in the British Campaign in the East Will Remain a Lasting Tribute



# THE NOBLEST ASPIRATION OF MAN

THE evolution of human society began when the individual no longer insisted on shaping his conduct toward his fellows according to his own choice. When, in his relations with others, each man ceased to be a law unto himself, the amenities of life must have begun to appear, and progress became possible. The history of all civilization is a record of the surrender of personal caprice to the welfare of the community; of the subordination of the will of the individual to that of the society of which he was a member; of the substitution of the reign of collective law and order for that of unbridled personal license. The emergence of tribes ignorant of any common interest into well-ordered States began in those parts of the earth where nature was most genial and the means of sustaining life were most easily acquired. These became centers of enlightenment, whence radiated the influence of arts and letters. For centuries the process of human education went on, though developing at times aberrations so monstrous that primeval savagery appeared noble by contrast. But these antique civilizations were condemned to a sterile round of conquest, organization and dissolution, because one and all of them failed to recognize that no lasting progress was possible till the individual State stood ready to forego the exercise of the untrammelled sovereignty of its own will that there might be a law binding on all nations alike.

Through all the ages of recorded history the greatest and best of men have yearned for the coming of an age of universal justice and concord. Twenty-six hundred years ago Hebrew seers predicted its coming and denounced those who would hold it back. Isaiah and Micah, apparently quoting a still older oracle, use almost identical language in declaring that Yahweh would be the world's arbiter—"He will judge between many peoples and will arbitrate for strong nations; and they will hammer their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. They will not lift up the sword, nation against nation. Nor will they any longer learn war." The aspiration at least survives, even if the query of Seneca has stood unanswered for 1900 years: "We punish murder and massacres committed among private persons. What do we respecting wars, and the glorious crime of murdering whole nations?" It suddenly became manifest to a heedless world that the question could be shirked no longer when the prophets of Pan-Germanism were proclaiming from the house-tops sentiments like these: "War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity. . . . Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel."

Thus, in the fulness of time, the issue was joined between the peoples who had for a generation been laboriously preparing for a war that was to secure for them the mastery of the world and the peoples whose ideal was that of a world at peace. It was the counsel of desperation that prompted Germany to throw down a challenge to all mankind in her unrestricted submarine warfare, and so to render no longer possible the neutrality of the United States, "armed" or otherwise. The reasons why we accepted the gage of battle, and the objects which we hoped to accomplish by playing our part in the fight "for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples," have been set forth in State papers whose cogent impressiveness, closeness of reasoning and convincing eloquence are universally recognized, at home and abroad. But now, after having put our hands to the plough, we are being shrilly adjured to look back by men who, actuated by the pettiest motives, are endangering the attainment of that supreme end for which "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now."

It is strange that there should be any expectation of partisan advantage in the defeat of the "great design" to whose furtherance both candidates for the presidency stood pledged. Mr. Wilson's requirement that the nations unite in joint guarantees to insure the peace of the world against wilful disturbance was not more emphatic than the demand of Mr. Hughes that there must be the coöperation of the nations to prevent resort to hostilities before the appropriate agencies of peaceful settlement have been utilized. In the national platforms of the two great parties in 1916, no less than in the speeches of acceptance of the candidates, it seemed as if mercy and truth were met together, and that righteousness and peace had kissed each other. There appeared to be every reason to assume that when the project was fairly launched for whose fruition the heart of humanity awaits with agonized longing it would be received with the harmonious acclaim of the Congress and people of the United States, without distinction of party. The sequel has been perhaps the sorriest exhibition of "peanut politics" that the records of the United States Senate can show, and the most maladroit effort in all the annals of American partisanship to snatch from the President the fair fame he has earned by addressing himself to the greatest enterprise of our time in the spirit and temper best calculated to assure its success. Meanwhile, time presses, and the penalty of halting between two opinions is likely to be found no less costly than humiliating.

JOHN FOORD.

# THE HOLY MAN AND HIS DISCIPLE

## An Oriental Tale

By AMEEN RIHANI

THERE once lived in Stamboul a man named Al-Beidawi, who ate of the fruits of piety from the hand of Allah and received the gift of wisdom from the hand of Time. He was verily one of the wisest men in the land, the Chronicles assert, and of a spirituality withal that was rare and wonder-working. His names and his deeds were blazoned throughout the Empire and far beyond the fastnesses of Bokhara and Samarkand. His ascetic habits, his ingenious mind, his pleasing wit and his loyalty to his Master, the Sultan Abdul-Hamid, were the steps in the ladder on which he rose from the mud of porterdom to the chief stewardship in Yildiz.

In spite of the load of years he carried on his back, the sap of youth was still in his heart. He was an example in the Palace of physical energy and strength. And of all his virtues, the pious interest he took in the inmates of the Seraglio of Abdul-Hamid was the most sublime. For the Dervish Al-Beidawi, the mercy of Allah ensue and enfold him, was the keeper, not only of the conscience of the Sultan, but also of his cast-off wives and concubines. When the royal favor was withheld from one of them, who was not good enough to be presented to a *vizir* or bad enough to be bowstrung and cast into the Bosphorus, she was placed under the protecting and bounteous shadow of this holy man, who had in Prinkipo his own private palace, which was one of the dazzling jewels of the Princes' Islands in the Sea of Marmora.

To speak in the speech of that age, the palace of Al-Beidawi was a rest-billet, as it were, and a redistributing station for the harem of Abdul-Hamid. There the outcasts found a refuge for a while and the wounded of heart found a healing balm. In sooth, the wilted flowers were gathered and preserved and doled out at times to the poor and deserving. And sometimes Al-Beidawi, who accepted humbly and piously his lot, would blink at an elopement even with a Greek pirate or a Bulgarian buccaneer. He accepted and cherished all the precious gifts of his Master and praised Allah—when they were lost.

And it came to pass that one day, as he was going by the Seraglio, on his way to the royal Mosque in the Palace, the lattice window of one of the apartments was suddenly opened, perchance by Eblis himself, who had a fierce undying grudge against the holy man. And on beholding the unveiled beauty of Zahia, whom the Sultan proposed

to add to his legal wives, his tongue was tied even in the praise of the Most High. Verily, a choice rose, Al-Beidawi perceived. But he curbed immediately his wilful eye and went his way, seeking refuge in Allah.

It was not a safe refuge that day, alas! For during his devotion, he had a disturbing, a terrible vision. Straightway from the Mosque, therefore, he went to the Sultan, who was then preoccupied with the recent reports of his trusted spies. And without circumlocution, he spoke thus:

"O Majesty, your life is in danger. The girl who came into the Palace recently is an evil instrument in the hands of your enemies. Her brother is one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Party; and she was brought here to consummate a most fiendish and criminal purpose. The plot was revealed to me in a vision I had this day, this very hour. Beware of Zahia, my august Lord, withhold from her the royal favor. Allah shield the Padishah!"

"Your solicitude is praiseworthy, O Beidawi," vouchsafed Abdul-Hamid.

And Al-Beidawi understood the silence that ensued and shuffled backwards from the royal presence, repeating, "Allah shield the Padishah!"

The Sultan then rummaged through the documents before him and took one out, in which he read:

"The brother of Zahia served three years in the army of his Majesty and died in Yemen fighting against the infidel Arabs. Zahia has no relatives living, except a mother, who is a charwoman in Trebizond."

And verily, the gloomy countenance of Abdul-Hamid was lighted with a smile while reading the report. But soon again the clouds of care and perplexity were heavy upon his brow. For when he first saw Zahia and heard her speak, he was sadly disenchanted. From her ruby lips, instead of pearls of music, fell the scabrous stones of cacophony. Moreover, the fair and blue-eyed Circassian had a thick, a very thick ankle. And Abdul-Hamid, maugre his much advertised vices, was a man of refined and æsthetic taste. The marriage ceremony, therefore, was indefinitely postponed.

Whereupon a multitude of tongues in the harem wagged with gossip and slander, which robbed Zahia of her appetite and her sleep and of a goodly portion, too, of her *avoirdupuis*. And Abdul-Hamid, who has something of pity in his heart, according to a statement of his German biographer, Profes-



Drawn by W. E. Hill, 2001

LIKE THE JINN OF OLD, HE CARRIED HIS  
PRECIOUS BUNDLE TO THE CARRIAGE AND IN  
A THRICE THEY WERE ON THE QUAI OF  
GALATA, WHERE THE SHIP WAS WAITING

sor Glozenhoff, was very sorry indeed that the girl should be so fatally burdened with an ankle and a voice. But what was to be done with her? What was to be done for her? She had not yet committed aught to deserve poison or bowstringing, and she was too young and fresh to be presented to a *vizir* or a *vali* loyal. Nor would he deliberately cast her out of the harem, where the teeth of slander were nibbling at her heart. Innocence must be protected. An unshapely ankle and a lacerating voice, these were not of her choosing. We must bow to the decree of Allah.

While the Sultan was rolling these matters in his mind a few days after, Allah, the all-merciful, revealed to him the way. He called one of his body-guards.

"Bid Al-Beidawi come to us at once."

The body-guard soon returned accompanied by the holy man, to whom the Sultan spoke thus:

"Your vision has troubled our head. But nothing has yet been discovered of the murderous intent of Zahia. It is our wish, nevertheless, that she be removed to Prinkipo. She must not be sent there by our order; she must be taken there in the usual way."

And Al-Beidawi, his hands respectfully joined over his stomach, replied: "To hear is to obey. Allah shield the Padishah!"

And he went back to his quarters on the wings of desire accomplished. Allah, he mused, will reward soon or late all human virtues. Allah has been kind to him in his declining years. One fresh-blown rose at least once in the course of life for every honest and pious man.

And straightway he called his Scribe, Rajab Effendi, who was his trusted assistant in the execution of the wishes of the Sovereign. Now, Rajab Effendi was a comely youth of a scholarly bent and a pious disposition withal. He was, in the judgment of mortals, a seeker of truth and wisdom. And Al-Beidawi often said of him: Rajab Effendi will be my successor one day.

And this is the conversation that took place between the holy man and his Scribe, as recorded in the Chronicles of that time:

"The life of our august Sovereign is in danger," quoth Al-Beidawi.

"Allah forbend," exclaimed Rajab.

"He suspects Zahia of treachery—that is why the marriage ceremony was postponed."

"Of a truth," quoth Rajab, "I have heard that her brother is a leader of the Revolutionary Party."

"Even so," quoth the Master, smiling in his bosom at the success of his invention. "But the Padishah does not wish to treat her severely. It is his pleasure that she be removed to Prinkipo."

Rajab held his breath and bowed.

"But it must be done secretly, without her knowing wherefore her going and whence. You have accomplished such feats before, O Rajab, and you will do so again for our august Sovereign. Allah shield the Padishah!"

"Allah shield the Padishah," repeated Rajab.

"With the assistance of your sister, who will take Zahia out for a walk in the garden. . . ."

"To hear is to obey," quoth Rajab, nodding profusely his understanding.

The comely young Scribe, whose sister was an odalisque in the harem, had already heard, in sooth, much that pertained to the beauty and charm of Zahia as well as to her headaches and heart-aches and such like. Moreover, Rajab was an adept in divination—a worthy disciple of his Master.

Hence the agility with which he set forth to accomplish his task. Early the following day he sent a missive to his sister with one of the eunuchs of the Palace and went down to Galata, where anchored the ships from many seas and climes, on a mission of importance.

And it came to pass that on the evening of that day, when Al-Beidawi was waiting in his palace in Prinkipo, Rajab was standing at the appointed hour near the gate in Yieldiz Park. The carriage was waiting outside. The guard was counting his *bakshish* and dozing. Soon the fall of footsteps was heard among the trees and two veiled figures were seen approaching down the jasmine lane. But on hearing a voice from the Palace, one of the women, verily none other than the sister of Rajab, hied her back, leaving her companion alone.

And before Zahia could turn to see what had chanced, she was seized by one of wondrous strength, who never, under like circumstances and in the light of the moon, would be suspected of being a man of piety or a seeker of truth and wisdom. Like the jinn of old, he carried his precious bundle to the closed carriage and in a trice they were on the quai of Galata, where the steamer was waiting.

And the holy man Al-Beidawi, who was also waiting in his palace in Prinkipo, continued to nurse his patience till the break of dawn, when lo, a boatman arrived with this message:

"My most reverend Master:

"I kiss your hand and bring you the truth, which I have discovered. The brother of Zahia is of a certainty one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Party. But the criminal purpose of Zahia is directed, not only against the life of the Sultan, but also against your own life. I am therefore taking her out of the country for your sake. Allah prolong your days, my most reverend Master. And Allah shield the Padishah.

"The Humble Slave of your Virtue,

"RAJAB."

# CHINA'S DEFEAT AT PARIS

By PATRICK GALLAGHER

WOODROW WILSON shook hands very cordially with Dr. C. T. Wang, beamed upon Mr. Lu Cheng-hsiang and then glanced about him with frankly inquiring eyes.

"Where is Dr. Koo?" the President asked. "He will be here, will he not?"

Dr. Wang assured Mr. Wilson that Dr. Koo would be present at future sessions. Since China was restricted to two seats, her delegates could not all attend the opening of the Paris Conference, but under the panel system, Dr. Koo, Mr. Sze and Mr. Wei would alternate with Mr. Lu, Dr. Wu and Dr. Wang.

"Good, very good," said Woodrow Wilson.

This conversation occurred in the Hall of the Clock at the Quai d'Orsay, late on the afternoon of January 18, while the President of the United States was making the rounds of the peacemakers after the conclusion of the first plenary meeting. Mr. Wilson made no secret of his deep personal interest in the Chinese delegation and in Dr. Wellington Koo of Columbia University.

Ten days later, in the same Paris palace, Woodrow Wilson, sitting as one of the leaders of the Council of Ten, complimented Koo upon his presentation of China's claim for the direct restoration of Kiaochow from Germany. The President of the United States was understood to be firmly convinced that China's case was just and sound. Now, between that cold, damp, dark afternoon of January 28 and the radiant spring morning of April 28, not a fact or circumstance had changed in the issue concerning Kiaochow before the Paris Conference. Only two things had changed—the weather and the President's mind. The weather improved from the very morning that the President returned to Paris to finish the task he had undertaken in the teeth of influential opposition at home. I saw him arrive at the Gare des Invalides and drive through crowds of cheering Parisians—the people's idol. Woodrow Wilson's word was law to the great mass of liberal-minded humanity when he came that second time to Paris. It was "Wilson or Lenin," democracy or Bolshevism, as the leading, uncontrolled, European newspapers admitted.

It was soon apparent that the terrible strain under which the President was working was telling against him. Even those who were wont to think and speak of him as superman complained to me that he was exceedingly irritable. I saw him quite frequently and spoke to him more than once, and I must say he still appeared to me persistent

patience personified. That he was tired—done up—was obvious, at times. Yet, his wit flashed keen as a rapier even at the end of a day's work that would have caused others to collapse in despair.

It was almost one o'clock in the morning when he completed the Covenant of the League of Nations. He had been working continuously since sunrise. As he was getting into his overcoat on the third floor of the Crillon, I suggested that it would be a good thing to apply labor union hours to statesmanship.

"I'm strong for a Presidents' Union," said Mr. Wilson, cheerful as a schoolboy hurrying away from school.

Nobody else in Paris was driven at the ceaseless and relentless pace which the President forced upon himself. The other Conference leaders rested every now and then. For Wilson there was no rest, no let-up. All the time he was opposing two relentless competitors—Bolshevism and the Elder Statesmen of the Old Diplomacy—both determined to trip him and throw him. They did it.

The morning that Paris learned that Karolyi had fallen and that the Bolsheviki had crossed the mountain wall of the Carpathians and gripped Hungary by the throat, there was an almost general feeling that the authority of the Peace Conference was steadily crumbling into dust. The tactics of the Italian delegation, presenting the alternative of Fiume or secession, precipitated a crisis. Mr. Wilson, alone, proved equal to the world's need. His Adriatic statement saved the authority of the Conference, disarmed his opponents and roused new hopes of a peace of justice. In Far Eastern circles, the Adriatic pronouncement was accepted as notice that the President would take a similar stand in deciding the issue of Kiaochow. It was argued that the Chinese position was far stronger than that of the infant state created out of the ashes of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Japanese officials frankly admitted to me their concern. They were polite and dignified about it, but very firm.

"It is unfortunate," said an important member of the Japanese mission, "that America seems to be getting into a similar position, *vis-a-vis* Japan, that Russia assumed regarding Manchuria, just before the Russo-Japanese War."

A few days later, Japanese drew my attention to reports published in Paris newspapers asserting that United States warships and troops were being mobilized in the Pacific against Japan. A



Tientsin brawl and a trivial Allied army incident in Siberia were magnified by sensation-seeking newspapers into events of grave international importance. The atmosphere was heavily charged with danger when the Tory section of the British delegation engineered a situation that was destined to bring about the defeat of Wilson and the sacrifice of China. It had absolutely no relation to the Kiaochow question. Nevertheless it dictated the Kiaochow decision.

Baron Makino has been the commanding figure of the Japanese mission. The Baron is one of the ablest living statesmen. He has told me that he does not like politics. Be that as it may, he has earned his high place in Japanese politics as the champion of racial and national equality. He came to Paris as the avowed spokesman of Japanese determination to wrest from the unwilling West recognition of oriental equality. With extreme folly (for which Colonel Edward M. House is primarily responsible) the American delegation permitted itself to be manoeuvred into the position of opposition to this natural and proper Japanese demand. Baron Makino and his able colleagues conducted their campaign like Japanese gentlemen. Of course, they understood all the ins and outs of their technical as well as sensitively sentimental race question. Colonel House, on the contrary, proved himself lacking in acquaintance with the fundamentals of the issue. Even after he had been repeatedly corrected by experts, he spoke again and again of "immigration"—deliberately and distinctly disavowed by the thoroughly informal and scrupulously correct Japanese. Colonel House is well liked by American writers in Paris. He is personally pleasant. He has not proved himself to be well posted upon many matters into which he entered with honest intentions. He offended the British by his agitation of England's Irish difficulties, and the British Tories used the ignorance of Edward House to trip and throw the President of the United States.

There was every reason why the American delegation should support, and not a solitary reason why it should obstruct Makino. There were, and are, grave difficulties in the way of securing British assent. First of all, there was the irrepressible Mr. Hughes of Australia, physically, politically and intellectually stone deaf.

The President once remarked in exasperation: "What can you do with a man who won't read and can't hear?"

It is said he meant Hughes. Hughes threatened to bolt the Conference if even the most innocent concession were made to the Japanese.

Despite the liberal sympathies of Sir Robert Borden—one of the fine figures of the Conference—Canadian opposition to proposed Japanese amend-

ment concerning racial equality was adamant.

British and Boer African opposition was even stronger. Why? The answer was given while I was in London by Mr. Montague, Secretary for India, in a remarkable speech presenting the Indian budget to the House of Commons. Trembling with scarcely suppressed indignation, Mr. Montague said:

"It must have been a satisfaction to the House of Commons to learn that India is to be an original member of the League of Nations. These things, together with the place occupied by Lord Sinha in the House of Lords, are only justifiable if you raise India to the position of a sister nation in the British Empire, and are wholly inconsistent with the position of the subordination of India. I say to our colleagues representing the great Dominions that the position of equality which they have given to the representatives of India is wholly inconsistent with the treatment of the citizens of India in British Dominions, which puts them lower than the citizens of any other part of the Empire."

Despite his fine war record, the British Indian is regarded as an undesirable throughout the British overseas dominions. In the course of my investigation of this matter, which deeply interested me, partly because of its bearing upon Far Eastern questions, but chiefly because a cleavage of humanity along sharp lines of race and color has for many years appeared to me to be the most dangerous sign of the times, I found the British whites in the new settlements of East Africa the most extreme in their opposition to Indian competition, already a very serious problem to them.

"Through their low standards of living," British white colonists told me, "these Hindus absorb for themselves the most money-making pursuits. They take the bread out of our mouths. Also, the employment of white girl clerks alongside these Indians has evil consequences. This cannot go on without trouble. We won't stand for it. That's all."

The imperial war conferences of 1917 and 1918 took up the question and a reciprocal passport system was evolved, but so far as I have been able to learn, nobody seems completely satisfied with the arrangement. It appears to be a half-hearted subterfuge, however undoubtedly well-intended; it dodges the real issue.

If Colonel House had been a statesman, he would have sensed the rare opportunity that was presented to him when Baron Makino wooed the attention of the Conference away from Kiaochow and concentrated his diplomatic artillery fire upon racial and national equality. Like a good general, the Japanese statesman took his stand upon the high ground of moral right and drew off the threatened assault upon the manifestly weak Japanese

position in Shantung. The Baron knew full well that the more hotly his British colleagues opposed his equality propositions within the Commission of the League of Nations, the more it would be incumbent upon the British delegation to support Japan on the practical matter of Kiaochow. Wellington Koo recognized both the danger and the opportunity in the situation. As he had delivered the best speech in advocacy of a special recognition of the Monroe Doctrine that would avoid giving the color of legality to "bad as well as good international compacts," he supported the Japanese plea for racial and national justice as a matter of principle, and in a way that avoided unduly embarrassing the American delegation.

Japan is, and has been since 1902, England's ally. To every impartial British and American mind in Paris since the commencement of the peace-making in December, it had been obvious that an American peace could be secured only in one of two ways. Either we continue to conserve our splendid isolation and remain armed to defend our own rights and interests, wherever menaced, or we pool our strength and interests with those of the British Empire. The best minds have favored the second choice. Woodrow Wilson, apparently instigated by Colonel House, rejected both obvious choices and kept on soaring in the misty atmosphere of the nebulous League of Nations. All along the line, Wilson listened to House alone, and conceded point after point in order that the peace might be written around some sort of League of Nations. The British took his measure and dictated the Covenant to suit themselves. Every now and then the Americans were thoroughly frightened through skilfully stimulated fears that the League was in danger. The proposed Japanese amendment furnishes the crowning illustration of how very skilful old-school conservatives of the British group played the President as a good angler might play a nervous salmon new to the hook.

I had numerous talks with Baron Makino and his colleagues while the issue was being fought out. The active Japanese leader unreeled the line for Lord Robert Cecil and Cecil saw to it that Wilson swallowed the hook. Makino trimmed his amendment down until there was absolutely no excuse for rejecting it. He was willing to accept a mere general recognition that races and nations are essentially equal. For two reasons, the British did not want this: (1) the British imperial race issue was involved, (2) the British Tory element was determined to sustain Japan on the imperialist Kiaochow issue, and consequently desired the defeat of Japan, *at Wilson's hands*, on some other issue. The race question proved convenient.

Colonel House and Mr. Wilson were warned in time. They were told that an element among the British—an element as anti-British in tendencies and consequences as it is anti-American by deep-rooted convictions—desired an open rupture between Japan and America, and the destruction of American prestige in China. Despite the fact that the gifted Dr. C. C. Wu, one of the Chinese plenipotentiaries, is a British collegian and the firm friend of England, these Carlton Club Tories succeeded in convincing Mr. Balfour and Premier Lloyd George that British prestige in Asia could never sustain the blow of a Chinese diplomatic victory over Japan won by American-trained and American-backed Chinese, C. T. Wang and Wellington Koo. It is a matter of record that an element of British statecraft in Paris used Mr. Wilson to smash his own Far Eastern policy and ideals, and at the same time induced him to employ them as his official spokesmen to try and explain away the act of betrayal to the Chinese. In their conversations with leading Chinese they were careful to paint the betrayal in the worst light. It was one of these who went out of his way to tell a Chinese friend of mine how America promised China much and performed nothing. Very different was the conduct and language of Borden, the great Canadian.

"Our country, like yours," said Sir Robert to me, when the Kiaochow issue was raised in January; "fronts not only on the Atlantic, which hitherto has been the main theatre of world activities, but also upon the Pacific, which in the future will become more and more a predominant centre of those activities. We are therefore directly and even vitally interested in the Pacific. The creation of a great world highway connecting the two oceans has lent a new importance to our interest which will become more and more intense as the population of our western provinces, and especially the Province of British Columbia, increases. Our point of view on both the Atlantic and the Pacific is much the same as that of the United States, with whom we hope to act in cordial coöperation in regard to all matters affecting the common interest of the North American continent."

I have referred to the fact that the President did not give his clear mind a chance to rest up and retain its grip. Lloyd George—"Our Davy" of the British—followed a different and better plan. Trust a Welshman to be wise.

"How does Lloyd George manage to keep fit?" I asked one of his intimates one day at the Hotel Majestic.

"Oh," said the Englishman. "He hops off to that rural villa of his, puts his hands in his pants' pockets, lies on his back and looks up at the sun. He gets new ideas that way."

Lloyd George made his full share of the Paris blunders, but when he found himself losing his balance he would hop off and leave Balfour and the other wise ones to run England's end of the show. When he came back, he was always there with the punch—and always with England's interest and his own political fortunes right before his eye. He gave himself a sporting chance. Wilson did not.

America's dismal Far Eastern failure was due to Wilson's wilful reliance upon his unposted "listening post," House, and his neglect to consult the American official Far Eastern experts. He did talk with Mr. Edward T. Williams, whose knowledge of the Chinese situation is hardly equaled by any other American, for three-quarters of an hour. He ignored the others. No man in our time, in my opinion, has so closely approached the ideal in American leadership. House, prompted by Cecil, was one reason why he did not succeed. House confused him on the race issue and trapped him into compromises and playing party politics, among other things to soothe the Irish hyphenates, disgusting even the most liberal British element. It was neither necessary nor proper to be rude to the Japanese, but we were rude to them—almost as rude as some of the British Tories.

On the afternoon of April 28, at the Quai d'Orsay, the League of Nations was born, with the Italians absent. The League was born with a weak heart and a very bad taste in its mouth. And something else was born that Paris afternoon in the palace of M. Pichon. President Wilson, presenting the Covenant for approval, further amended the rule under which the Japanese had to obtain unanimous agreement of all the member nations in order to carry through the program to which their nation is committed—essential equality. Then, Baron Makino arose in his place close to the foot of one of the two long parallel tables and, in simple, dignified English told the story of how the League makers had spurned the Japanese amendment, although it was supported by an overwhelming majority within the Commission. His concluding words should be memorized by all who take a serious interest in international well-being.

"I feel it my duty," he said, "to declare clearly on this occasion that the Japanese Government and people feel poignant regret at the failure of the Commission to approve of their just demand

for laying down a principle aiming at the adjustment of this long-standing grievance, a demand that is based upon a deep-rooted national conviction. They will continue in their insistence for the adoption of this principle by the League in future."

Colonel House's blunder and the President's folly in taking his cue from the Colonel has made Makino the standard-bearer of all the so-called colored races of the world.

"A tall, dark gentleman," to apply the language of the fortune-tellers, breezed into the Hotel Maurice and sent up his card to Baron Makino. Mr. Ishoda, the Baron's capable private secretary, ushered the African delegate into the Baron's sitting-room.

"Baron," said the tall person, "we are with you to the bitter end. Africa is with you. We are proud to be associated with Japan in this paramount matter."

After the President committed himself to the British Tory policy of defeating Japan on the race issue, and consented—as he undoubtedly did—to take the responsibility for this defeat upon his own shoulders—an integral part of the British Tory plan—he lost the leadership of the Paris Conference and his one chance of keeping his word with the Chinese. From that moment, the real leadership in Paris passed into the hands of David Lloyd George.

Colonel House now proceeded to alarm him with fears as to what Japan would do if the President dared to apply his fourteen points to Shantung. Japan would pack up and go, Japan would decline to enter the League of Nations or the allied consortium for loans to China. Japan would prepare to make war upon America at precisely the right moment for Japan. The head of the Colonel was filled with grim Japanese ghosts. He said as much. And Lord Robert was figuratively, if not actually, ever and anon at the telephone keeping the Colonel up to the proper pitch of excitement. The Colonel collapsed. The President threw up the sponge. Baron Makino, after a brief talk with Balfour and Cecil, sent for that expert draftsman, Mr. Harukazu Nagaoka, and might well have said:

"Nagaoka, I want you to strengthen our text of the Kiaochow decision. President Wilson thinks we had better write it to suit ourselves."

And that is precisely what they did.







W. P. Jones

## FROM A TEMPLE COURTYARD

By LILIAN M. MILLER

*As I walk through the temple grounds at cool of night  
And hear rich, resonant tones of bronze strike out the hour,  
Through carved pillars I see altar candles flower  
To flickering blossoms, incense-fringed, of orange light;  
The temple drum for prayers rolls full, then dies away,  
And peace descending comes to brood with close of day.*

*Beneath dark ancient lacquered eaves the doves wing home,  
Pale shaven priests in flowing silks drone deep in prayer;  
Through velvet dusk intangible the evening air  
Steals music from the temple fountain's purling foam;  
Gold lanterns flower dimly through the dreaming trees. . . .  
Ah, never, surely, will the western tides change these.*



Drawn by E. B. Mader

FROM THE SHADOWS WHERE THE WOMEN CROUCHED,  
THE FACE OF TEATA ROSE. THE HANDSOME FLOWERS  
GLOWED ABOUT HER BODILESS HEAD LIKE GIANT FIRE-  
FLIES, CONGRUOUS JEWELS FOR SUCH A TEMPTRESS  
ON SUCH A FROLIC.

# THE FLOWING KAVA BOWL

By FREDERICK O'BRIEN

*Edited by Rose Wilder Lane*

A TUONA VALLEY was dozing, as is its wont in the afternoons, and I lay alone on the ancient black stones of my own *paepae*, surrounded by the breathless silence of the hot jungle. Far above the low roof of my cabin Temetiu lifted his giant head wreathed with black storm-clouds, and a gray slant of rain hid the blue distances of the upper valley. But the leaves of my breadfruit trees hung limp in the hot sun, and the green banners of the coconuts on the slope below were stirred by no breeze.

"*Kaoha!*" said a voice through the thicket that hid the trail.

"*Kaoha!*" I replied, and a blue face appeared amid the wilting leaves. It was The Vagabond, Kivi, who lived near the High Place. His severe and dignified features were a dark blue; his eyes alone were free from the imbedded indigo ink. The white gleam was startling, but their glance was mild and kindly. Sixty years of age, Kivi still carried his scrolled and naked body with upright grace; only the slightly softened contours of the tattooed face betrayed that he was well in his manhood when this island of Hive-Oe was still given over to tribal warfares, orgies and cannibalism.

He had come to bid me to a feast given to the men of Motopu, who had been marvelously favored by the god of the sea. Months of storms, said Kivi, had felled many a stately palm of Taka-Uka and washed thousands of ripe coconuts into the bay, whence the swift current had swept the fruitage of the winds straight to the inlet of Motopu, on the island of Tahuata. The men of that village, with little effort to themselves, had reaped richly.

Now they were come, bringing back the copra dried and sacked. Seven hundred francs they had received for a ton of it, from Kriech, the German trader, from whose own groves it had been stolen by the storms. On the morrow, their canoes laden with his goods, they would sail homeward, but before they went Kivi would make merry for them. There would be much to eat, and there would be *kava* in plenty. He prayed that I would join them in this feast, which would bring back the good days of the *kava*-drinking, now almost forgotten.

I rose gladly from the palm-shaded mat on which I had lain, vainly hoping for a breath of coolness in the close heat of the day, and girded the red *pareu* more neatly about my loins. Often I had heard of the *kava*-drinking days before the missionaries had outlawed that drink beloved by the

Marquesan. Traders had added their power to the virtuous protests of the priests, for *kava* cost the brown men of the islands nothing, while rum, absinthe and opium could be sold them for profit. So *kava*-drinking had long been suppressed, and after decades of knowing more powerful stimulants and narcotics the natives had lost their taste for the gentler beverage of their forefathers.

Broken Plate, garbed in a brilliant yellow *pareu*, waited for us in the road below, and together the three of us went in search of the *kava* bush. While we followed the narrow trail up the mountainside, peering through masses of tangled vines and shrubs for the large, heart-shaped leaves and jointed stalks we sought, Kivi spoke with passion of the degenerate days in which he lived. The months I had lived with the simple, friendly cannibals on this far isle in the South Seas had made me his friend, and he spoke as to a name-brother.

Let others secretly make incisions in the flower of the coconut and hang calabashes to catch the juice, said he. Or let them crook the hinges of the knee that rum might follow fawning on the whites. Not he! The drink of his fathers, the drink of his youth, was good enough for him! Agilely he caught aside a leafy branch overhanging the trail, and in the flecks of sunshine and shade his strong brown limbs were like the sturdy boughs of an aged manzanita tree. He had not the scaly skin nor the bloodshot eyes of the *kava* debauchee, whose excesses paint upon their victim their own vivid signs. I remembered the old *tahuna*, that wizard whose whole face and body had turned a dull green, and at the memory of that grisly phantom I shuddered. But Broken Plate called from the slope above that he had found a goodly bush, and without more words we clambered to it.

The *kava*, a variety of the pepper plant, grows to more than six feet in height, and the specimen we had found spread above our heads its many jointed branches rustling with large, flat leaves. The decoction, Kivi explained, came from the root, and we set to work to dig it. It was huge, like a gigantic yam, and after we had torn it from the stubborn soil it taxed the strength and agility of two of us to carry it to the *paepae* of Broken Plate, where the feast was to be. A dozen older women, skilled in grating the breadfruit for *popoi*-making, awaited us there, squatting in a ring on the stone platform. The root, well washed in the river, was laid on the stones, and the women attacked it with




cowrie shells, scraping it into particles like slaw. It was of the hardness of ginger, and filled a large *tanon*, or wooden trough of iron-wood.

The scraping had hardly well begun, while Broken Plate and I rested from our labors, smoking pandanus-leaf cigarettes in the shade, when up the road came half a dozen of the most beautiful young girls of the valley, clothed in all their finery. Teata, with all the arrogance of the acclaimed beauty, walked in front, tall, lithe and graceful, her heavy black hair piled high and dressed with flowers. She wore as her only garment a tight-fitting gown with insertions of fish-net, obviously copied from some stray fashion-plate. Through the wide meshes of the novel lace appeared her smooth skin, of the tint of the fresh-cooked breadfruit. She passed us with a coquettish toss of her head and took her place among her envious companions. They sat on mats around the iron-wood trough and chewed the grated root, which, after thorough mastication, they spat out into banana-leaf cups. This chewing of the kava root is the very being of kava as a

beverage, for it is a ferment in the saliva that separates alkaloid and sugar and liberates the narcotic principle. Only the healthiest and loveliest of the girls are chosen to munch

the root, that honored privilege being refused to those whose teeth are not perfect and upon whose cheeks the roses do not bloom.

Nevertheless, as I smoked at ease in my *parau* upon the *paepae* of my simple hosts I felt some misgivings rise in me. Yet why cavil at the vehicle by which one arrives at Nirvana? Had I not tasted the *chico* beer of the Andes and found it good? Vague analogies and surmises floated before me in the curls of smoke that rose in the clear evening light. What hidden clue to the remotest beginnings of human customs lies in the fact that two peoples, so far apart as the Marquesans and the South American Indians, use the same method of making their native beverage? In the Andes corn takes the place of kava root, and young girls, descendants of the ancient Incas, chew the grains, sitting in a circle, and with a certain ceremoniousness, as among these Marquesans. The Marquesas Islands are on the same parallel of latitude as Peru. Were these two people once one race, living perhaps on that long-sunken continent in which Darwin believed? Darwin's theory is that these islands are the mountain-tops of a submerged continent which stretches its crippled body along the floor of the Pacific for thousands of leagues. A lost land, whose epic awaits the



singer; a mystery perhaps never to be solved. Over this land bridge, perhaps, ventured the Caucasian people, the dominant blood in Polynesia today, and when the continent fell from the sight of sun and stars save in those spots now mountainous islands like the Marquesas, the survivors were isolated for untold centuries. Here the brothers of our long-forgotten ancestors have lived and bred since the Stone Age, cut off from the main stream of mankind's development. Here they have kept the childhood customs of our white race, savage and wild amid their primitive and savage life. Perhaps Teata, chewing the kava-root beside the ironwood tanoa, proved by that act that she was cousin to the children of the Incas and to me.

Dusk fell slowly while I pondered on the mysteries in which our life is rooted, and on the unknown beginnings and forgotten significances of all human customs. The tanoa was filled with the masticated root, and in groups or in couples the girls slipped away to bathe in the river. There they were met by arriving guests, and the sound of laughter and splashing came up to us as darkness closed upon the paepae and the candlenut torches were lit.

Lights were coming out like stars up the dark valley as each household made its



vesper fire to roast breadfruit or broil fish, and lanterns were hung upon the bamboo palisades that marked the limits of property or confined favorite pigs. A cool breeze rose and rustled the fronds of coconut and bamboo, bringing from forest depths a clean, earthy odor. The last bather came from the brook refreshed by the cooling waters and adorned with flowers. All were in a merry mood for food and fun. Half a dozen flaring torches illuminated their happy tattooed faces and dusky bodies, and caught color from the blossoms in their hair. The ring of light made blacker the rustling coconut grove, the lofty trees of which closed in upon us on every side.

Under the gaze of many sparkling eyes Kivi pierced green coconuts brought fresh from the climbing, and poured the cool wine of them over the masticated kava. He mixed it thoroughly, and with his hands formed balls of the oozy mass, from which he squeezed the juice into another tanoa glazed a deep, rich blue by its frequent saturation in kava. When this tanoa was quite full of a muddy liquid he deftly clarified it by sweeping through it a net of coconut fiber. All the while he chanted in a deep, resonant voice the ancient song of the ceremony.

*"U kaaohu ia te kai, u tapapa ia te kai?"*



he called with solemnity when the last rite was performed. "Come to supper; all is ready."

"Menike," he said to me, "You know that to drink kava you must be of empty stomach. After eating, kava will make you sick. If you do not eat as soon as you have drunk it, you will not enjoy it. Take it, now, and then eat, quickly."

He dipped a shell in the tanoa, tossed a few drops over his shoulder to propitiate the god of the kava-

of Broken Plate, while I ate quickly at the mandate of my host, and soon I felt the need of this support. The feast finished, the guests relaxed upon the mats. The women and children were devouring the remnants left upon the leaf platters. The torches had been extinguished, all but one. Its flickering gleam fell upon the aged face of Kivi, and the whites of his eyes caught and reflected the light. The tattooing that framed them appeared a black hole from

which the sparks glinted uncannily, and the kava, mounting to his brain or to mine gave those sparks a ghastliness that fascinated me in my keen, somnolent state.

From the shadows where the women crouched the face of Teata rose like an eerie flower. She had adorned her hair with the brilliant phosphorescence of Ear of the Ghost Woman, the strange fungus found on old trees, a favorite ornament of the island belles. The handsome flowers glowed about her bodiless head like giant fireflies, congruous jewels for such a temptress on such a frolic. The mysterious light added a gleam to her velvet cheek and neck that made her seem like the ghost woman of old legend, created to lead the unwary to intoxicated death.

The palaver came to me out of the darkness, like voices from a phonograph horn, thin and far away. One told the tale of Tahiapepae, the Girl Who Lost Her Strength.

Famine had come upon Atuona valley. Children wailed with hunger on the paepaes, and the breasts of mothers shrunk so that they gave no milk. Therefore, the warriors set forth in the great canoes for Motopu. Meat was the cry, and there was no other meat than *puaa oa*, the "long pig that speaks." In the darkness the hungry fighting men of Atuona soundlessly beached their canoes and crept upon the sleeping people of Motopu. Seven were killed before they could fly to the hills, and one was captured alive, a slender, beautiful girl of ten years, whom they tied hands and feet and threw into the canoe with the slain ones.

Back they came from their triumph, and landed on the shore here, within a spear's-throw from the paepae of Broken Plate. Their people met them with drum-beating and with chanting, bringing rosewood poles for carrying the meat. The living girl was slung over the shoulder of the leader, still bound and weeping, and in single file heroes and their people marched up the trail past the Catholic Mission. Tohoaa, Great Sea Slug, chief of Atuona,



"GIVE TO ME THAT SMALL PIECE OF LIVING MEAT," SAID PERE ORENS

drinking and placed the shell in my hands. Ugh! The liquor tasted like earth and water, sweetish for a moment and then acrid and pungent. It was hard to get down, but all the men took theirs at a gulp, and when Kivi gave me another shellful I patterned by them.

"Kai! Kai! Eat! Eat!" Kivi shouted then. The women hurried forward with the food and we fell to with a will. Pig and popoi, shark sweetbreads, roasted breadfruit and sweet potatoes, fruits and coconut milk leaped from the broad leaf dishes to wide-open mouths. Hardly a word was spoken. The business of eating proceeded rapidly, in silence, save for the night-rustling of the palms and the soft sound of the women's hastening bare feet.

Only, as he saw any slackening, Kivi repeated vigorously, "Kai! Kai!"

I sat with my back against the wall of the house



was foremost, and over his massive shoulder hung The Girl Who Lost Her Strength.

Then from the mission came Père Orens, crucifix in hand. Tall he stood in garment of black, facing Great Sea Slug, and lifted on high his hand with the crucifix in it. Père Orens was *tapu*, not to be touched under pain of death, for he had been adopted by Great Sea Slug, to whom he had explained the wonders of the world and given many presents. Powerful was the god of Père Orens, and could work wonders. In his pocket he carried always a small god, that day and night said "*Mika! Mika!*" and moved tiny arms around and around a plate of white metal. Great Sea Slug heard now the voice of this little god in the stillness, and he paused before the uplifted arm of Père Orens, while the hungry people came closer that they might hear what befell.

"Where are you going?" said Père Orens.

"To Pekia, the High Place, to cook and eat," said Great Sea Slug. Then for a space Père Orens remained silent, holding on high the crucifix, and in the stillness the voice of the small god spoke without ceasing.

"Give to me that small piece of living meat," said Père Orens then.

"*Me mamai oe*, if it is your pleasure, take it," said Great Sea Slug. "It is a trifle. We have enough, and there is more in Motopu."

With these words he placed his burden upon the shoulder of the priest, and, heading his hand, again led them past the Mission, over the river and to the High Place, where all night long the people feasted

in the deep roaring booming of the twelve-foot drums. But The Girl Who Lost Her Strength remained in the house of Père Orens, who cut her bonds, fed her and nursed her to strength again. Baptized and instructed in the religion of her savior, she was secretly returned to her surviving relatives. There she lived to a good age, and died four years ago, grateful always to the god that had preserved her from the oven.

He who spoke was her son, and here at the *kava tauoa* together were the men of Atuona and the men of Motopu, enemies no longer.

The voice of the Motopu man died away. A ringing came in my ears as when one puts a sea-shell to them and hears the drowsy murmur of the tides. A sirocco blew upon me, hot, stifling. Kivi laughed, and vaguely I heard his query:

"*Uavea?* Is it hot?"

"*E, mahanahana.* I am very warm." I struggled to reply. My voice sounded as that of another.

"He goes fast," said Broken Plate gladly.

I was perfectly conscious of being lifted to within the house and laid on mats that were as soft to my body as the waters of a quiet sea. It was as if angels bore me on a cloud.

I was then a giant, prone in an endless ease, who stretched from the waterfall at the topmost point of the valley to the shore of the sea, and about me ran in many futile excitements the natives of Atuona, small creatures whose concerns were naught to



me. Life was a slumbrous calm; not dull inertia, but a separated activity, as if the spirit roamed in a garden of beauty, and the body, all suffering, all feeling past, resigned itself to quietude. All toil, all effort was over; I should never return to care or duty.

That vision melted after eons, and I was in the Oti dance in the Paumotos, where those old women who pose and move by the music of the drums, in the light of the burning coconut husks, leap into the air and stay so long that the white man thinks he sees the law of gravitation overcome, remaining fixed in space three or four feet from the ground while one's heart beats madly and one's brain throbs in bewilderment. I was among those aged women; I surpassed them all, and leaped at will upon the ether, in an eternal witches' dance of more than human delight.

I heard faintly the voices of the men as they began improvising the after-feasting entertainment. The orchestra of nature began a symphony of celestial chords. The sandy-sounding rustle of the palms, the laughter of the brook and the song of the *komoko*, nightingale of the Marquesas, mingled in music sweeter to my kava-ravished ears than ever the harp of Apollo upon Mount Olympus. The chants of the natives were a harmony past human imaginings. Life was good to its innermost core; there was no struggle, no pain, only an eternal harmony of being.

I slept eight hours, and when I awoke I saw, in the bright oblong of sunshine outside the open door, Kivi squeezing some of the root of evil again for a hair of the hound that had bitten him.

## SUNDAY—1918

By W. G. TINCKOM-FERNANDEZ

*Here I sit while Allenby goes riding through the East,  
All his thirsty squadrons, sweating man and beast;  
They've left me in the coach-house, rheumatic and alone,  
I who charged at Omdurman on the skittish roan.*

*Here I watch the pigeons coo through the cloudy days;  
There the lads are riding down steep and rocky ways,  
Riding fetlock-deep in sand, wheeling on the plain,  
Sabres, lances in the sun. Here it's naught but rain.*

*I'm harnessing the Shetland to take the kids to church;  
I polish up the hunting gear; they've left us in the lurch.  
A dog-fox haunts the spinney; we always drew it blank.  
And now the lads are chivvying Turks, dusty file and rank.*

*They never think of Moses or Solomon, those blokes;  
They're riding through the Holy Land on mangy, sore-backed mokes  
By starlight and sunlight, with Johnny Turk before,  
Limbering up his guns in haste along the Jordan shore.*

*While Padre's telling us about some place in Holy Writ  
The lads are camping in the same and swearing most unfit;  
Bethlehem, Jerusalem. . . Off-saddling, will they heed  
Of Him who rode in there alone, and mentioned in the Creed?*

*The kids are nearly all asleep, and Missis she does stare  
Steady at the altar, and don't seem quite aware.  
And I, among the women-folk, must fidget in a pew  
While saddles are being emptied, and they were lads I knew.*

*Ah, there's the Offertory hymn! Hark at that Shetland stamp,  
Snatching at his bridle in this bloody English damp!  
While brown men and white men are riding knee to knee,  
With sword and lance and pistol for to liberate Judee!*



# CHINESE PHILOSOPHY IN FRANCE

By TING FU-TSIANG

NEWSPAPER reporters have described, with a fair degree of exactness, the physical characteristics of the Chinese laborers in France. They do smile most of the time; they are either big and robust or small and wiry. The reporters have also exercised a fair degree of justice in regard to their habits and reactions in the West. They do always like rice, even in France; they are bewildered by the western physician's operations. But the picture as a whole is unsatisfactory. It has left out the really significant features. Perhaps to get the significant instead of the picturesque is not the function of the newspaper reporter. In any case, Chinese character is hardly susceptible to newspaper treatment; how can a glance, an interview, or even an hour's association penetrate the reserve, the stoicism, which characterizes the Chinese as much as his yellow skin and black hair?

In the first place, the Chinese laborers in France are representative of the Chinese people, that is, of the millions and millions of toiling people in China. This is what makes it important for the world to know something about them. The world is now endeavoring to reorganize its life according to new principles of justice, but this readjustment cannot be accomplished wisely unless there is mutual understanding among all the units that will enter this court of nations. For the future, China is as important, at least, as Russia. Since the Bolshevik Revolution, the world has come to believe that it knows the Chinese better than the Russians. Of this, I am not sure. The world has heard of our revolutions and our reform movements, but it must be borne in mind that in China most of these radical attempts at change are organized by the small group of men who have had a foreign education. The world has heard, perhaps too much already, of our civil wars and factional strifes, but again it must be remembered that none of these movements has had what we can call popular support.



CHINESE VIEWS DEVASTATION IN FRANCE

He Stops to Read the German Notice: "Soldiers: Money Lies in the Streets, on the Ground and in the Trenches! Pick It Up!"

Our grave questions from the point of view of the immediate international reorganization are: What has the vast population of China thought or contributed towards the development of the new life that China is forced more and more to accept? What capacities do the people of China possess for playing a successful role in the modern world? Factual data on these questions are altogether too rare. The Chinese laborers in France are a

splendid index to the Chinese people. There are among them farmers who have known from bitter experience the meaning of intensive use of land, of fertilizing material and of time; craftsmen and artisans who rose to professional independence after long, tortuous apprenticeships; soldiers of the old army; orderlies in the yamens; actors, and even some literati. There are also a few Christians and Mohammedans, and many who have no definite religion. These Chinese laborers working in France can tell us, more than any other group, the actual condition of the proletariat class in China.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ma is a stalwart fellow from Tientsin. He has been helping in our Y. M. C. A. hut for more than a year. When he first came to us he could not read or write a single word of Chinese. During the year he became ashamed of his ignorance of the mother tongue. Now you can see him poring over a magazine in leisure moments, struggling hard to get the characters into his brain. He seems to cherish a secret desire to be able some day to tell the world that he, too, is a full-fledged citizen of China. The hut where he works has been very cosmopolitan, admitting to its privileges Chinese, Frenchmen, Greeks, Portuguese, Italians, all workers in the same factory. The question came up whether we should admit women also.

To find out what the men laborers felt, we asked Ma to give us his opinion. "It is all the same to me," he said, with an absolute lack of emotion on



British Official Photo

**THE CHINESE IN FRANCE BELIEVE ALL WORK AND NO PLAY MAKES JACK A DULL BOY**

After the Day's Work is Over, They Organize Masquerades and Amateur Theatricals, Which Display Much Genuine Talent. The More Serious Minded Spend Their Evenings in Y. M. C. A. Huia Learning to Read and Write Chinese and Discussing Western Progress

his face. "I serve whomever you allow here. Men or women, when they give me the money, I'll give them the chocolate."

"We are not asking you to decide," we explained. "We simply want to know what you think abstractly is the right thing to do."

"Men and women are all human; you may exclude a person because he is bad, you should not exclude a person because she is a woman."

One day we asked Ma what he intended to do after his return to China. He gave us his answer without hesitation and with the same air of imperturbability: "I am a Chinese; I ought to do something for China. Perhaps I will be a soldier. I am strong, I can be a good soldier."

\* \* \* \* \*

Although ignorant of the French language and customs, the laborers have adapted themselves wonderfully to their new environment. Not infrequently do we find them enjoying a chat with a housekeeper in one of the village homes of France and they are continually performing kind little services for the people in the towns where they have been billeted. In the cafés and in the barber shops, they easily win the comradeship of French and other laborers. Employing partly French, partly Chinese and partly gestures, they argue eagerly with their fellows. Every time I have been present

at such scenes of international proletarian comradeship, I have been surprised to find how keen and accurate they are both in criticism and in appreciation of France. Their attitude on the whole is that of wishing to learn, for they realize that their country is weak and that in France they have an excellent opportunity to see something of the ultimate source of the power of the West. In the evening, when the classes are over, I often sit down with them to discuss the characteristics that make for the strength of the West. One evening, one of the men made this observation: "In France," he said, "even small children read newspapers. In China, not more than ten men in one hundred can read, and the women are all illiterate. How can we expect to be as strong as France?"

Shih, a mechanic from Shanghai, gave me this: "Last year, when the flood was high around the camp here, I saw a French captain going through the cantonment in mud and water to inspect the buildings. In spite of his rank, he was not above such disagreeable duties. He was not in a sedan chair or on a horse, but walked. In our factory the chief engineer is always on time. I have seen a colonel dressed in working clothes, doing something to a piece of machinery, all morning. When I was working in a factory in Shanghai, I saw the director, a *tao-tai*, only twice in two years. He came and went in a sedan chair carried by four



British Official Photo

# BRITISH SOLDIERS WATCHING THE AMUSING FEATS OF PLAY-BOYS OF THE EASTERN WORLD

The Chinese in France Have Won the Friendship of the European Soldiers and Laid a Foundation for Mutual International Understanding. They Themselves Will Take Back to China New Ideals and Enthusiasm for the Future of Their Country

men; he never had any regular office hours; he had many guards around his office and his residence. I don't think he knows anything at all about his business. It is true the foreigners have not treated us well, but our own officials have treated us worse."

\* \* \* \* \*

Yuan comes into our office for money. He hands me his deposit book and asks for five hundred francs. I am struck by the sadness on his face and by the bigness of the sum he asks. I inquire what he intends to do with the money. "My brother lost one thousand francs in gambling last night. The winners are pressing him for money. The five hundred francs will prevent a fight." "Why don't you and your brother remain separate in your money matters?" I asked. "But he is my brother, of the same father and mother."

\* \* \* \* \*

Young is a native of Shantung. He is a Christian. His camp is about two miles from the hut and he can come here only on Sundays. The first time I saw him, I had a very unfavorable impression of him; a tall, fat man, about forty, with blunt features, thick cheeks, head closely shaven and wearing a white canvas coat, ill fitting and unpressed. One would say at once that he was an honest man and a kind fellow, and at the same time that he was

entirely devoid of any aesthetic sense and not gifted with much intelligence. He tried to tell us of his difficulties in getting a teacher for a group in his camp who wanted to study French. He expressed himself badly, with many petty explanations and useless repetitions. Not to disappoint him, I promised, if he would be responsible for the attendance of the men, that I would go to his camp three times a week.

I can never forget my first class at this camp. I arrived a little before the hour, but the class had already assembled. First came the salutations, strange attempts at blending two civilizations. The teaching lasted an hour and a half. The thirty men in the class were all attention, afraid to miss a single word. The sight of men trying to work their way through college in America is inspiring enough; the picture of these middle-aged laborers trying to get an elementary education after their heavy day of labor is something which makes me at once humble and proud and drives me to rebel against the social injustice which denied these men an opportunity for education. The class was held under the auspices of a society which Young had organized among his fellow laborers. Every member was pledged to remain in the dining hall of the camp to study evenings. I saw the constitution these men had drawn up for their society, with a solemn, sermon-like preamble and a copious code of

by-laws, a document as Puritan in spirit as anything the Pilgrim Fathers in Anglo-Saxon history ever produced.

One Sunday when Young was in the hut, I asked him about his family and his plans for the future. In an unemotional tone, Young told me the things for which he was striving: "Before I came to France I was a workman in Shantung, earning enough to support my family and a brother in school. When my brother finished his high school education, I urged him to enter the Methodist University in Peking, which my pastor had told me was a good university. As the expenses increased, I had to work harder and harder, but in spite of all my efforts, I could not earn enough. Day and night I thought of my family and my brother. In 1915, I saw a notice in the city, offering Chinese laborers good wages for work in France. That solved my problem." He paused a moment, and then he said, "You see, I am too old to get an education myself. Without an education I cannot do much for my country. So, I want to help my relatives to prepare themselves for the service of China."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Come, write a letter for me." I am surprised by the commanding tone of the laborer. I know he is angry with somebody. I invite him to the office. We sit down to write the letter. "I have just got back from Nankai factory." "Where is Nankai?" I interrupt him. "Why, Nankai is a factory, like this one. You don't know where Nankai is?" I showed him our bearings on the map and asked him where Nankai was. Nankai is the transliteration for Dunkerque. "I have just got back from Nankai. I had a quarrel with the Captain. I was hurt in an accident while working. I lost my left eye and injured my right leg. The doctor of the factory told me that I was entitled to damage. My contract states also that I ought to have compensation in such a case. The Captain has refused to pay me. My three-year term will soon be over. After I am sent back to China, how can I reach the captain? Write to Li Tchuin to demand the money for me." I wrote the letter to Mr. Li, the labor attaché in the Chinese Legation at Paris. Before I had quite finished, Liu interrupted me, "Write another for me, to a 'camarade' in Nankai." I said nothing; when I had finished I asked him, "To whom do you want me to write the second letter?" "To a 'camarade,' a brother." "Your own brother?"

"No, no, we came over on the same boat. I just saw him in Nankai. He is very anxious about my safety. Tell him I had no trouble at all from Nankai to Creusot." "Anything else?" "Nothing else." When I was about to end the letter, he added, "Tell him to be a good workman, save his money and never quarrel with others. You see, he is young, he does not know enough." I forgot the offense of the commanding tone of this man ignorant and hot-tempered; I was admiring his tenderness for his friend.

\* \* \* \* \*

A laborer introduced me to his friend, a young, keen, well-dressed fellow of about twenty. He is working in France's greatest factory as a semi-skilled laborer. Through his friend he had heard of our hut and its educational work. He came to see it for himself. I took the opportunity to tell him to utilize his leisure hours to prepare himself to be a skilled workman. He responded: "At Creusot, there were, so my foreman tells me, three hundred Japanese students working there to learn the arts. That is why Japan has had such a marvelous industrial development. Our government is not wide-awake enough to encourage the same thing. We must do it ourselves. We laborers ought to go back to China, not only with some money, but with new knowledge and new skill."

This sentiment, voiced by the laborer, is prevalent among the younger and the most ambitious of the Chinese laborers in France. They have seen the efficiency of western industry, and they desire intensely to carry back to China some part of it. Many of them have spent their leisure hours in studying and have saved a large part of their wages with the hope of entering French industrial schools after their contracts are fulfilled. They do not know all the difficulties in their way. They need help. The natural agency to give this help is the Y. M. C. A., because of the sympathy that this organization has shown for the Chinese laborers and because of the confidence that the laborers on their side have in the organization.

Such are the Chinese laborers in France. To me with my western education and my inclination to regard them as a national liability, they have taught simple unvaried devotion; they have inspired in me a confidence in the future of my country. With enlightenment they will form the backbone of the nation and will give it an industry surpassing that of any country in the world.



# YOUNG ROMANCE IN ANCIENT GALILEE

By GENEVIEVE COWLES

I WAS awakened by music, the clapping of hands and the sound of footsteps. I ran to the balcony and looked down; below in the dim street in the tremulous path of light from waving lanterns I could see a girlish form shrouded in veils. By her side was a figure, dark and tall, the Hebrew lover. He was going home with his bride and the bridal party.

Then I remembered it was a month of weddings in Tiberias and I was alone in my small room on the housetop in the Jewish quarter. I hardly slept those first nights. A crimson glow in the darkness over the country of the Gergesenes foretold clear sunrise over Galilee. The crimson faded. I hastened to dress. In the faint light I could not see clearly, but I heard voices—children's voices—singing out of doors. Far below there were two figures standing on a flat roof—lower down in a shadowy court others were faintly distinguishable—slim, boyish bodies draped in long prayer shawls. They looked ghostly save for the small red fez caps. These were Hebrew children singing the morning hymn of praise to the Lord God of Hosts—"Adonai!" "Adonai!"—the glorious name was repeated over and over. What a prelude to sunrise and labor!

I had come to the Holy Land to make studies for a religious painting and I wished to paint the Orthodox Jews. They would not come to my studio in the Scottish Mission Compound for fear the neighbors would think they were going to be converted. After many futile and despairing attempts to induce some of the fine old types of Jews I saw in the streets and market places to pose for me, it was a fortunate day for me when I met Monsieur Joseph Moses Abbo, a young Galilean sculptor, who had offered to be my assistant in order to persuade his brethren to stand for my pictures. Monsieur Abbo, an attractive youth of twenty-one, had been a promising student at the Alliance School of Sculpture in Jerusalem and had carved some of the figures for the Auguste Victoria Church, which the German Kaiser had erected on the Mount of Olives as a memorial to the Empress Victoria. Joseph Moses himself was a striking theme for a painting, with his olive countenance and the wide black mark of the eyebrows which came together in a single dignified line.

It was finally decided that I would have more success in procuring models if I went to live in the Jewish quarter of Tiberias near Monsieur Abbo. An old Ashkenazic woman had led me on a tour of

inspection among Hebrew households. She was overjoyed when "a noble family" consented to receive me under their roof. The father of this noble family, Rabbi Mamam, was a Sephardic Jew who spoke French. His wife was the daughter of a Grand Rabbi. The children were gentle and refined. The eldest girl, Esther, who had attended the school of the Alliance Israelite, also spoke French. Elias, the dispenser at the Mission Hospital, had been appointed to arrange the financial transaction. When the family of the rabbi offered to rent a tiny chamber on the housetop and a large room for the studio opening on the comparatively large main street of Tiberias, this rare opportunity was eagerly grasped. "What is the rent?" I inquired of the astute Hebrew who was coaching the father of the house. "Forty dollars," was the reply, meaning in native parlance forty dollars for the year's rent. This was exorbitant; at "moving season" you could rent a whole house in Tiberias for eight dollars a year. But "moving season" was over. The premises were occupied and the present occupants must be paid to depart. "I want it for seven months," I said unsuspectingly—"I agree."

When Elias was told of the transaction he was shocked at my extravagance and indignant with the Jewish landlord. "Why did you cheat the lady so dreadfully?" he asked. The Jew replied, with his mild, deprecating air, "Ah, it was such a beautiful opportunity."

My studio was a typical Galilean interior. The stone walls were whitewashed, the rude rafters overhead, the window sashes and doors were painted a fine old blue and an array of mysterious little doors in the walls discovered curious recesses and shelves. There was not one straight line anywhere; even the floor sloped gently off to one side to carry off the water. When the floor needed washing, a woman poured out a vessel filled with water and splashed it around a little. The water then ran off or was absorbed between the stones of the pavement. Three steps led from the street into the room. Just inside the entrance was a pit about five feet by eight and a foot deep. This pit, intended for kitchen purposes, is the characteristic feature of rooms on the ground floor in Tiberias. Here were placed the small earthen stove, a few cooking utensils and possibly the food supplies, piles of wheat in the grain and dried peas. It was explained that if I had a donkey he might sleep in this pit. Or if a friend arrived with a beast, I should invite the beast to sleep in the pit. What

would happen to the food supply I forgot to inquire. At one end of the room the entire pavement was raised about fifteen inches. On this elevated portion of the floor the members of the family are accustomed to sleep on quilts laid on the bare stones. The height of the platform varies in Galilean interiors and is sometimes even nine feet high. A gaily tinted divan, frequently of solid masonry, surrounds two or three sides of an apartment.

One window of my studio opened into a court resembling a deep well. The Sultan had forbidden the citizens of Tiberias to build houses outside the walls; hence as the population increased, they dug themselves dwellings deeper and deeper under-

ing expedition we found that the workmen had already arrived to commence operations. For two days showers of earth fell in the studio while workmen pounded the earth to make it compact above the rafters. Then they poured over the earth a composition containing quick lime. Before it was set there was more pounding. When the work was completed the surface of the roof and its surrounding ramparts resembled a white-enameled bath tub, very inviting for a promenade.

The humblest details of oriental life were fascinating to me in their strange reversal of western ways. Even the keyhole was upside down with the hole at the bottom, and the huge key turned back-



THE LITTLE GIRLS OF PALESTINE HAVE A SHORT PLAYTIME  
A Suitable Bridegroom Is Early Selected by Careful Parents for the  
Palestine Maiden. Who Is Betrothed with Solomon Ceremony Inter-  
mingled with Gay Festivities

ground. To reach my bedroom from the studio, I had to climb the narrow outdoor staircase, cross a portico and ascend a ladder to my private balcony. The way from a lower to an upper story is often by outside stairs entirely exposed to the weather, but this is not a hardship in the semi-tropical climate of Tiberias. Before my arrival the roof of my studio had been used as a chicken-yard. When the fowls were removed it was discovered that my mud roof was cracked in various places and impending autumn rains would deluge the interior. The landlord made serious objections to mending the roof. Finally Joseph Moses threatened to take me to find another house. On returning from our house-hunt-

wards. On the door post was a tiny box, the *mezuzah*, which held a parchment scroll inscribed with the words of Moses, sacred to every Jew who clings to his ancestral faith, no matter to what far corners of the earth his wanderings have carried him—*Sh'ma Yisroael Adonai Elo-henn Adonai Echod* (Hear, O Israel, the Lord, our God, the Lord is One). On the threshold the entering guest paused and said: "*Shalom*" (Peace be with you). A voice within replied "*Shalom*." The plaintive cadences of the spoken Hebrew, whether it was the prattle of children at play or the more dignified speech of their elders, was pleasant to my ear. It always gave me a little thrill to use the simplest native household articles. When I wanted a broom, Joseph Moses procured two native varieties—one, a gigantic brush-broom made of twigs with no handle; the other, a feathery plume of pampas grasses. Some discoveries were not so pleasant as the broom that resembled an ostrich plume. It was shocking to find in your balcony floor a suspicious round hole leading

into a pipe, and then to see your neighbors pouring their waste into similar pipes which drained into the court below to be dried by the sun. But what cared I for germs when I could see from my window majestic Mt. Hermon and the exquisite blue of the Sea of Tiberias—when I lived in a house that Saint Peter's wife might have kept, and looked out over the same hills and valleys that had inspired King David when he poured forth his soul in the Psalms.

The "noble family" retired early. One evening I came home late, unlocked the outer door of the portico and passed as usual by the room of Rabbi Mamam. The door and the windows were wide



AN OLD SAMARITAN HIGH PRIEST  
This Ancient People Which Has Preserved Its Blood  
Unmixed for More Than 2000 Years, Is Fast Dying  
Out. Only a Handful Still Dwell in Nabulus

open; the night lamp was burning. One swift glance revealed the entire family asleep on the floor of the room. One or two huge quilts had been thrown over the bare stones; on these covers they had laid themselves down, apparently without changing their clothes. I made out the sleeping forms, each more or less swathed in his private coverlet, like a cocoon. The pink ankles and a bit of the yellow robe of the Rabbi gleamed under the night lamp. Although the Mamam family slept on the floor, their living rooms boasted one huge four-poster bed. It is said that in the Jewish families of Palestine this bed of state is the privileged possession of the father, but when an heir is expected the mother is permitted to occupy this bed for one week. However, according to my personal observation, neither the proud owner nor any other member of the family ever slept in that bed. Undoubtedly the Rabbi slept more comfortably on the floor.

One day I was surprised to hear music proceeding from their room. A crowd had assembled and I was urged to enter. Behold the city band, the



A JEW OF THE OLD SETTLEMENT, JERUSALEM  
The Orthodox Jews of Palestine, Sephardic or Ashkenazic, Are Biblically Picturesque, with Their Distinguished Long Beards and Flowing Robes

musicians of Tiberias, seated cross-legged on the four-poster bed. One played a zither, swung from his neck, another clashed large metal disks like cymbals; a third played a sort of viola. A favorite instrument was the native drum resembling a truncated earthen vase. The music, in a minor key, had a weird, penetrating quality; the notes awakened strange responses in the subconscious being. As soon as I appeared, the musicians set up a lively tune. Someone said, "*Bishlik, Madame, Bishlik!*" The musicians were playing in honor of the foreign lady. When she had acknowledged the courtesy by the bestowal of a *bishlik*, a copper coin varying in value from eleven cents upward, the musicians played again and smiled to receive another *bishlik*. From that hour "*Madame*" was the favored guest in the household of Mamam.

Life itself became a romance in this land, dignified by the most sacred pages of history, mellowed by immortal stories of love and faith and sacrifice that have preserved a noble youth through the ages. One day when I was drawing in the studio with

Joseph Moses, there was a burst of music—a clashing of cymbals and clapping of hands—and then footsteps and singing on my stairs. Moses and I joined the procession which surged forward into the rooms of the Rabbi and halted solemnly before Esther. The festivities were all in her honor. The musicians were singing for her. Behind them marched a servant with a tray on his head. There was a tall white cone of sugar tied with a wide blue ribbon, and encircling the sugar the most delicate tokens intended to make Esther more lovely—henna and perfumed soap for the hands, bracelets for the arms, jewelled combs for the hair and bead necklaces. He had sent them, the Destined One, whom her eyes had never beheld. The tray was placed on a stool; the neighbors fluttered around, examined everything and smiled. Esther looked happy and tranquil.

About ten days later there was another procession. From the window I saw them approaching—the musicians playing on instruments, the women clapping their hands. Two servants marched with them, bearing trays on their heads. This time the token was a huge round cake covered with white icing like a birthday cake. On the other tray was a host of small silvery cakes. As before, the procession mounted the stairs, entered and presented the offering to Esther. Joseph Moses and I looked on, but nothing happened except the usual flutter of hands and twitter of voices. I waited quite a long while—there was no visible sign of cutting that big cake nor of distributing the small cakes on that day or any other day. The cakes reposed untouched in a position of honor in the room of the women. By this time, as Esther and I were quite well acquainted, I ventured a delicate question regarding that magnificent affair, *le gâteau*. Esther expressed mild surprise and informed me that *le gâteau* was not to be eaten here! That cake was intended for *le fiancé*. I felt somewhat awed and abashed even to have made the inquiry. But it was with the satisfaction of comprehension that I watched the musicians and servants when they returned and bore away the great white cake and the multitude of little cakes untouched on their sacred trays.

By degrees Esther and I became more intimate and an exchange of courtesies commenced between the "portico" and the "balcony." Often when I dressed for a dinner at the Mission, I would lean over the balcony and call "*Esther, Esther, voulez-vous accrocher ma robe?*" And in the long Sabbath nights sometimes I would hear a plaintive voice crying, "*Mademoiselle, Mademoiselle, venez, s'il vous plaît—abaisser la lampe.*" According to the Torah, it was forbidden to turn down the lamp or to turn it up during the Sabbath. I was enchanted to perform this small act for my friend.

Many days elapsed. Time is the uncounted treasure of the Orient. An indescribable sense of approaching solemnity pervaded the dwelling. Esther was pensive; she moved softly and with an air of sadness. "Esther," I asked, "are you not happy?" Esther replied, "I would rather be as I am." She was so young, not yet fifteen; there was only the imperceptible shadow of a change to womanhood.

One day from below they called "*Descendez, Mademoiselle, descendez.*" Guests were already assembling. Men and boys gathered in the large room of the Rabbi; women and girls, in the small room. The guests left their shoes at the door and entered softly. I liked to watch the young Jewish women as they came into the room to meet the company. The Hebrew salutation was gracious and reserved. A girl would pause gently and make a little reverence. Then she lightly kissed the tips of her fingers, and extended the palm of the hand to give the softest touch first to one guest and then to another and another. Great deference was paid to the old women. As an honored foreign guest I was assigned to a seat of distinction with the revered grandmothers and I was invited to share in the pleasures of the *narghile*, the Turkish pipe. Three or four pipes sufficed for the company, for it was easy to multiply mouthpieces and as many as five people could smoke at the same time from one *narghile*. Esther's small brother came with a live coal between the tongs. The coal was laid on the mouth of the vase to kindle the fire. The parchment-like, delicate faces of the old ladies beamed contentedly above their loose flowery mother-hubbard gowns as they clustered in little heaps around the fiery *narghile*. A serpentine length was politely offered for my edification. I shook my head and confessed that I had never learned how to smoke. A golden silence prevailed for long intervals.

The benevolent clear-cut features of the Ashkenazic matrons under their creamy white and yellow head shawls recalled the old pictures of St. Anne. The young Sephardic mothers wore embroidered kerchiefs into which their back hair was gathered. The dresses gave a general effect of subdued colors, but here and there a gown of baby blue or bright pale pink added a vivid touch. Unlike society gatherings in America, it was not the women, but the men who wore the most gorgeous costumes. From my cushion I caught a glimpse through the door into the large room of Rabbi Mamam, where the men were assembled. There were both Sephardic Jews, descendants of the Spanish Jews who had settled in Palestine in 1492, and Ashkenazim, the descendants of Jews who had settled in Germany and Poland and Russia after the Dispersion. The Ashkenazim wore black velvet caps with wide borders above dressing-gown effects of old gold, royal





**TIBERIAS ON THE SEA OF GALILEE WAS AN ANCIENT CENTER OF RABBINICAL LEARNING**  
 Today More Than Half of the Population of 4000 Are Orthodox Jews, Who Cling to Their Ancient Traditions. Even the Narrow Crowded Streets of Tiberias, Flanked by Stone Houses with Flat Roofs and Primitive Interiors, Have Not Changed Much Since Bible Times

purple, crimson and deep blue plush. The Sephardim were richly picturesque in their red fez caps and garments of more delicate texture and refined tints, pale yellow robes and long flowing cloaks, wine-colored, plum and lavender. The Sephardic Grand Rabbi was distinguished by a black veil tied around his red fez. The men, some of whom wore beards, were very handsome. The bridegroom was pointed out to me. He looked small and thin, the result, I suppose, of spending all his youth from dawn till sundown in the rabbinical school.

The golden silence melted into sonorous Hebrew spoken or half chanted with rising and falling inflections, flowing and ceasing and continuing on and on and on—till at last like a rest in music came the solemn pause and the great moment. Before the future bridegroom stood a tall Rabbi holding by one end a kerchief of which the boy held the other end, according to the form of the civil contract. He promised to be a faithful husband to the girl he had never seen. In the next room, parted from him by the stone wall, stood Esther, his future bride, bashfully waiting, her face covered with a long veil. She stood with downcast eyes, but she was not impassive: rather, tremulously shy. Her stillness was like the silence of overflowing waters, a speechless self-surrender not without sorrow, not without dignity. Is it the Messianic Prophecy which lends the air of indescribable reserve and purity to Hebrew virgins? Or is this air of gran-

deur like a delicate perfume, a gift to Hebrew women, as mothers of the Chosen Race?

The Rabbi entered the room of the women and gave the kerchief to Esther. She, as the boy had done, now held one end while the Rabbi held the other. By her act of accepting the kerchief she silently gave her consent to the civil contract which bound her to the man whom she had never seen. For any contract to be legal according to Jewish law, there must be some token given and received by the hand. Here the boy held the kerchief, which the Rabbi then gave to the girl. Her speechless acceptance of the token in the presence of the witness made the contract binding even without the written betrothal contract signed by both parties and the witness. The engagement of marriage thus undertaken cannot be broken lightly. To annul the Jewish betrothal it is necessary to obtain the consent of a tribunal of rabbis.

The figure of Esther was very pathetic and appealing. Had she dreamed of her future lover? The act of stepping across the threshold into womanhood was sharp and abrupt for her, as it is for the girls of all Oriental races. There was no sign of love between the two betrothed as between lovers in the West. The betrothal seemed to be an act of self-surrender in order that the life current of their race should pass through the body and soul of this girl and boy, that the divine promise made to Abraham should be fulfilled through them.

# EGYPT AND EMPIRE

By JACKSON FLEMING

WITH the Peace Conference pressing upon America the trusteeship of certain portions of the Near East, the adjacent land of Egypt, under British protection, has a new interest for us, and perhaps some valuable lessons.

I have been in Egypt six weeks. My coming at this particular time was made possible only through marked courtesy of the British Government. This whole region of the Orient is still under martial law, and the general political condition is such as to make publicity most questionable. Moreover, sailing accommodations were in very great demand when I left England, the steamship offices saying that with the signing of the armistice all available space was "booked" for months ahead by officials and others especially privileged to return to India, Australia and elsewhere in the East. I was the only passenger on the ship bound for Australia via the Suez Canal to land in the Near East; a lonely passenger, especially when dumped off in the "wickedest city on earth"—Port Said. After spending an hour or two there I boarded my train, which in five hours was to carry me to the heart of Egypt—Cairo and the Nile.

It was nearing midnight, when, after a most imaginative journey across the desert, the train drew into Cairo. Even at the late hour our train, which had brought only a few travelers, mostly British officers, had a bustling and tumultuous reception porters and dragemen by the score, of varied hues and raucous voices dashing about wildly and obsequiously. These I shook off as best I could without Arabic lingo, and choosing one to care for my baggage, I made my way through the depot to the street and a long row of carriages.

Before going to bed I threw open the large French window and leaned out to look and listen in such a night as I had long read about. Yes, those stars were the same stars of the ancient astronomers, and the moon was the full desert moon and the air in mid-January left no quality to be desired. Palm trees were in the garden, modern buildings rising beyond, and the stillness was almost the stillness of the desert. I awoke to look out upon a bright Egyptian morning. The garden was luxuriant. The air seemed to have a lifting quality, so satisfying it was. I wondered how people could be other than fine when so blessed of Providence. Surely there were big reasons if this land of the Nile was not mothering a great people.

During my six weeks in Egypt I have been looking over all manner of things from scarabs to Na-

tionalists. Surely Egypt is waking. She has long been a most entrancing resort to tourists, historians, Egyptologists and others delving in her wonderful past. Now there is a forward look in the face of the Sphinx; commerce is showing her marked respect; old Father Nile, tyrannical but worshipped, is working in modern harness; racial pride is fast reviving—verily, self-determination is swelling the mummified soul of Egypt.

Written history does not record the settling of the Nile valley. This marvelously rich deposit of soil winding through the desert of northern Africa has been brought from the mountains of Abyssinia by the Blue Nile branch and from the still more distant mountains of central Africa by the White Nile branch; these two, joining together at Khartoum and rising in high flood in September of each year, go meandering northward through the desert to the Mediterranean Sea, depositing treasure all along the way. At Cairo, about one hundred miles from the sea, the river begins to open its fan, or delta, which at the Mediterranean attains a width of about a hundred and twenty miles. There is a greater cultivated acreage and there are more people in the delta than in all the rest of the Egyptian valley. The present population of Egypt is about thirteen millions. A century ago it was scarcely three millions. Fifty centuries ago it probably was thirteen millions, at least.

By far the greater part of these millions are tillers of the soil. And ever since the Pharaohs were their taskmasters they have continued to till away with the same crude implements, the same patient devotion to the soil, ignorant yet industrious and disciplined, knowing little of the world beyond their valley bounded by desert and sky. Physically and mentally the modern *fellah* is apparently the counterpart of his remote ancestor who was the basis of that great ancient civilization. His own rulers were long ago vanquished by foreigners, so that as a people it may be said he has no eyes to see. Still he has preserved his type through many centuries of foreign rule, first of the Persians, then the Macedonians, Romans, Arabs, Mamelukes and Turks, each in turn being absorbed by their patiently toiling subjects.

Napoleon's coming in the midst of a period of Turkish misrule and bloody struggle had the effect of convincing the Egyptian upper classes of the great superiority of western methods and power. So that when the French army left in 1801, an Albanian chief named Mehemet Ali, who had come



ANNUAL CAIRO PROCESSION CARRYING THE KISWA, OR NEW COVERING FOR THE SHRINE AT MECCA, FROM THE CITADEL TO THE MOSQUE OF THE SULTAN HASAN TO BE COMPLETED

A Large Proportion of the Inhabitants of Egypt Are Moslems, and Consequently There Are Many Interesting and Picturesque Public Festivities Connected with Observances Sacred to Mohammedans in All Parts of the Oriental World

to Egypt as an officer in the Turkish army, gradually gained the upper hand of the other masters of Egypt and began a long reign of internal peace and progress, aiming sincerely and enthusiastically at western standards. It was he who began the construction of railways, who undertook the building of the great modern dam across the Nile below Cairo which cost \$20,000,000, who introduced cotton and sugar cane—for both of which Egypt is supremely suited—and who made a substantial beginning with education. There are numerous other advances to his credit. He and his son, Ibrahim, were warring successfully with the Turks, and not improbably would have taken Constantinople itself, had not the Powers of Europe intervened. Ismael, who succeeded Mehemet Ali, although even more progressive than his father, was not well balanced. In his hurry to make Egypt "a part of Europe" he ran up a frightful public debt. By this time the Suez Canal was completed and European diplomacy was beginning to take a very marked interest in Egypt—but that is another story.

Through it all the fellah has toiled cheerfully on, passively welcoming progress, and yet without profiting to the extent of having his standards of

living appreciably changed. His land has risen enormously in value, and at the same time with the increasing population the size of the family plots have decreased. More than a million families are now getting their living from plots of less than one acre. The average for all Egypt is about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  acres. But the weather of Egypt is "growing" weather: the year round and the soil is equal to the strain of three crops a year. Would the American farmer believe that bare land in old Egypt is worth as much as \$1,200 an acre? That would strain the credulity of even the orange growers of southern California. Egypt has some large cities, the largest and most modern and cosmopolitan being Cairo with a population of over 700,000. But although there are other cities of considerable size, the great bulk of the people live in the villages, honeycombs of mud brick scattered thickly along the valley. These sun-dried brick dwellings were not made for all sorts of weather, as the weather of Egypt is almost changeless. In going through the villages I have become impressed with the fellah as an industrious, good-natured and likeable fellow, but his villages have seemed to me about the last abomination of human habitation. In one earth-floor cham-



ON THE BANKS OF OLD FATHER NILE

The Villages of the Fellahs Along the Shores Are Still Honeycombs of Sun-Dried Mud Bricks, as They Have Been Since the Time of the Ancient Egyptian Dynasties

ber with perhaps not a scrap of furniture will live (I should say sleep, for they live out of doors) a whole family together with the live stock. The latter may consist only of a goat or a donkey, but there may also be a camel and a cow and a buffalo. Yet the family sleep soundly, you may be sure. Only the other day I was told of some thieves who cut a great hole in the wall of a house and took away the buffalo without waking the rest of the household. Another story which was told to illustrate the servile forbearance of this folk interested me especially because it includes Lord Kitchener. The Duke of Devonshire (or was it the Duke of Cambridge?) had come to Egypt, and Kitchener was entertaining him with a large dinner party. During the dinner there was a slight interruption in the service, scarcely enough to cause any uneasiness. The guests did not learn until some time afterwards that the chief cook had died suddenly

of cholera. The other servants had just put him under the kitchen table and had gone on serving the dinner. There is a grave weakness in the above story. As I said, it was told me to illustrate the servility of the Egyptian masses, whereas it really does not concern the Egyptian masses. The domestic servant class of Egypt are the Berberines, a very dark race of a certain section of upper Egypt, practically distinct from the fellahs and lacking certain of their better qualities. Very few of the Berberines own land. But they do make excellent servants.

The standard of living of the Egyptian peasant is distressingly low. Ages of oppression have taught him submission. Ages of ignorance and isolation from the changing world beyond his bordering desert have dried up his mental horizon and left him socially and spiritually stagnant, rendering impotent the creative human in him. Are his higher faculties only asleep? Or deadened? Need his regeneration be painfully slow? Leading a very primitive existence, there still is something in his bearing, in the echo of his laughter, in his hollow chanting of the Koran and especially in his response to education which seem to mark him as by no means among the most backward of the human family. Some of Egypt's leading men whom I have met are said to have had "bare-footed fathers." I believe in the Egyptian fellah and am convinced that his economic and political regeneration need not be helplessly slow.

But why has he suffered such prolonged oppression and such spiritual stagnation? What of his courage that he should bend his back so silently and so long? The answer perhaps involves the old, old discussion as to the kindness of Providence and the responsibility of man. Nature's bounty has often been man's undoing. The Nile valley was an Eden. The original settlers were quick to worship the old river, and perhaps almost as quick to forget Providence, or at least to debase themselves. The fruits of the rich soil and the perennial kindness of the sky made existence sweet—and reckless. Devotion to the valley was intensified by the desert vastness on either side and time came when devotion turned to slavery. When bad rulers rose to power over the people of the Nile the oppression was endured because the people were so deeply rooted to the soil of the valley. Rebellion meant perhaps the hardships of the desert. Better the comforts of the

valley under the lash of tyranny than the hardships of the desert with freedom. So that people clung to the river, enduring moral degradation. When at last the foreign conquerors came they found the Egyptians submissive, easy to rule. But Egypt is easy to rule not only because of the character of its people. Its economic and geographical simplicity make it perhaps the easiest country in the world to police. Likely the fellah long ago forgot to be oppressed, so kind was the climate, so unkind the desert. He retains his thankfulness for the blessings of the Nile and a fair measure of cheerfulness. He sings often at his work and he works especially well in a gang, coaxing the task in rollicking chorus. He has a fair measure of honesty, I believe, but there can be no doubt of his having gained a reputation for cruelty to women and animals. This also might be the echo of his slave-driven past.

The British have been in actual occupation of Egypt for 37 years (although Egypt was nominally a province of Turkey up to the war) and most certainly have effected substantial improvements for the general welfare of the country. They have given the Egyptians some invaluable political schooling, and of course the Egyptians feel that they have learned far more than the British consider they have taught them. A measure of self-government for towns and cities has been realized, which is really constructive. Town awakening is contagious. When in some hoary, blinking, bleached and odoriferous old town a few individuals, aroused more or less, succeed in shaking each other up sufficiently to start a town council, and impose a tax of perhaps \$20,000 a year, spending it at first on street cleaning and a few lamps, then on some *ghaffirs* (policemen) and perhaps a water-tower, the adjacent towns begin casting envious eyes in the direction of the ambitious one.

Irrigation has been a special concern of the British and they have constructed the great dam at Assuan costing over \$21,000,000. Railways also have been considerably extended. Manufacturing has made small headway, but the country is essentially agricultural in character. Cotton industries may some day develop on the foundation of the excellent quality of the Egyptian cotton, but against this there is the cry for Egypt's raw material from the Lancaster mills of England and also the dryness of the climate, which is not well suited to cotton industries. Lesser industries, at least, should show more growth than in the past, such as sugar-refining, paper-making, boot-making, stone work, ceramic manufacture, glass-making and chemical fertilizers. With the increasing prosperity of the country at large the towns and cities must expand and be largely rebuilt. This will lead to a development of the artisan class, as well as of the commer-

cial and professional classes, so that the consequent demand for labor must enlist the fellaheen for city pursuits. This means the higher cost of agricultural labor and a consequent raising of the standards of the fellah, both as to his methods of work and his living standards. Before the war farm labor commanded about 15 cents a day, but during the war it rose somewhat, due largely to the formation of the Egyptian Labor Corps for military service in Sinai and Palestine. The Labor Corps has been kept at a strength of about 120,000 men. Altogether something like 1,500,000 men have been relayed to this service, which is still operating most effectively.

The primitive farm methods still practised by the fellah are not so much out of place when the cheapness of labor, the nature of the soil and the smallness of the plots are taken into consideration. The soil of Egypt does not require deep plowing. The thin layer of rich silt deposited annually by the Nile flood needs only to be turned under a few inches, and the scratching process of their primitive plow suffices reasonably well. Transportation is still primitive except for the railway. Wagon roads are poor, so that few carts or wagons are used. The camel is the greatest "feeder" of the railway and of the Nile boats. The donkey, too, is much in evidence, but he bears a much smaller load, is not suitable for a sandy or muddy trail and so commands a relatively small price. If the roads were good the donkey carts would be used far more. The country road in Egypt is a procession of absorbing interest. The ubiquitous camel is the sober lord of the road. With his lethargic inscrutability and his burden of all sizes and shapes he makes a droll picture as he goes bobbing, singly or in caravan, along the way. Oranges are a common camel burden at this season, or a great heap of green clover, or perhaps a bulging, sprawling, mountainous bundle of brushwood going to supply the innumerable bake-shops of Cairo. Often with the camel is the roguish-faced donkey, hardly knee high, mincing his steps under his burden, which more likely than not is a long-legged fellah whose feet may easily touch the ground. The dress of the fellah, usually colorless rags, is a reminder of the not-long-abolished *corvée* and *corbash*, an indication of a slave past, when the fellaheen were herded with the peculiarly brutal lash to their work on the irrigation canals. I have found myself wishing that the fellah might dress better, even comparing him, to his disadvantage in this respect, with the plentiful blue-gowned coolies of Chinese fields. This matter of dress one feels especially in the case of the fellah woman, so wretchedly clad, yet carrying her varied burdens so gracefully along the roads of Nileland. The fellah sheikh is the exception. At his best he is most attractively gowned.

One evidence of progress among the fellahen is the development of agricultural cooperative societies. Fourteen of these societies had been started through Egyptian private initiative before the war, with activities covering the purchase of seeds, fertilizers, implements and live stock; facilitating the marketing of crops, establishing general stores, encouraging modern methods and even lending money to society members. The most able Egyptian lawyers are interested in the organization and operation of these societies and are endeavoring to get suitable legislation passed that will facilitate the operation of the cooperative groups and at the same time be acceptable to the British authorities. I was invited to visit a village which boasts a flourishing cooperative society. On the appointed day a deputation of a half dozen Egyptian gentlemen, including the prominent Cairo lawyer, Loutfy Bey, escorted me to the village, which is about eighty miles north of Cairo. Most of the way we traveled by train, taking carriages for the last few miles. As our carriages approached the village one building stood out in palatial proportions against the low, mud-colored honeycomb of the rest of the village. This house was the headquarters of the cooperative society as well as the home of our host-to-be, a man of many acres "who had interested himself in the cooperative idea largely for the benefit of his community." As we entered the gate many sheikhs were standing about dressed in their hand-

some best. They had come from the surrounding villages to attend the important meeting which was about to take place in a huge, square tent. The poorer fellahen were also well represented. The procedure was all very businesslike. The directness and eloquence of the sheikhs surprised me especially. After the meeting a dozen of us repaired to the house of our host, the president, for lunch. That lunch was nothing less than a sumptuous feast. Wine and champagne were served (not more than half of the Moslems partaking) and at least six meat courses. Although it was a most interesting party there was something poignantly lacking at the gathering. Not since we had entered the gate had I seen a woman. And after lunch when we went to have coffee with the huge, jovial sheikh of the village one again felt the absence of women.

The problem of educating Egyptian women could hardly be overlooked by the student of Egyptian affairs. The British Adviser to the Ministry of Education, Mr. Dunlop, an able man with sadly restricted activities, declared to me that the British protectorate over Egypt is justified on the single point of the education of woman. And yet so much have his activities been restricted that although the British have been in Egypt since 1882, the girls' primary schools under the control of the government (including private schools) are attended by only 3,437 pupils out of a population of 13,000,000. I am told that

the tram cars of Cairo have done more toward the awakening of Egyptian women than have the schools. The street car encourages them to go shopping and to mingle in the crowds. There is a separate second-class compartment in the cars for women, but European men, when accompanying their wives often ride in this compartment, and sometimes men alone, when no other space is available. An acquaintance of mine boarded a car on which the only vacant space was in the woman's compartment. He was hesitating on the step when a voice inside the compartment greeted him in the third person: "If the people who desire to come in this compartment are nice, they will find that those inside are nice, too."

The literacy showing of



THE PICTURESQUE, IF PRIMITIVE, WATER SYSTEM OF EGYPT

Some Few Egyptian Towns Have Awakened Out of the Lethargy of the Centuries And Are Adopting Modern Water Supplies, Street Cleaning, Sanitary Engineering and Other Necessities of Western Municipalities



MEETING OF THE EGYPTIAN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY AT VILLAGE OF SHOUBRA-EL-NAMLEH

The Development of These Coöperative Societies Is One of the Most Promising Evidences of Progress among the Fellaheen. Fourteen Such Societies Have Been Started through Egyptian Private Initiative, All of Which Encourage the Best Modern Agricultural Methods

Egypt is very low—said to be not more than 8 per cent—and while the annual expenditure on education is less than 2 per cent of the budget, the expenditure in certain Balkan States is as high as 10 per cent; also while the per capita outlay in Egypt is about 20 cents, the per capita outlay in Norway is about \$2.25. Yet Egypt's financial status is considered very sound.

The government of the country is headed by the Sultan, who has practically no powers. The actual government is the British High Commissioner assisted by the British Adviser to the various Egyptian cabinet ministers, who are practically selected by the British. There is a legislative assembly, partially elective, the powers of which are largely advisory. The fourteen provinces of Egypt have Egyptian *mudirs* (governors) appointed by the British.

The British justify their policy in Egypt on the ground of the unfitness of the people for self-government; of the vital relation of Egypt and the Suez Canal to the Empire; of the security of foreign interests in Egypt under British protection, together with the general prosperity of the country. It is with the second of these reasons that the British admit they are most concerned. Egypt's relation to the Empire involves the control of this most strategic territory by some other great Power; it involves also the problem of Islam in which Britain is interested to the extent of a hundred million Moslems now under her protection; it involves the stupendous problem of the

government of India, whose eyes are watching the government of Egypt; it involves the navy, the merchant marine and raw materials for the industries of England; it involves the present colossal plan of Empire extending continuously from the Cape to Cairo, to Jerusalem and Aleppo-Alexandretta, to Bagdad, to Calcutta; it involves also the League of Nations, in the sense of Britain's contribution to its strength or to its defeat.

To the Egyptian Nationalist, of course, the whole aspect is different. He holds that the above problems for the most part do not concern him and that his interests should not be made to suffer in consequence. All in all, the Egyptian Nationalist takes the position that Britain, instead of wishing to see his country enjoying self-government, desires to keep Egypt as a producer of raw material and as a strategic link in a military empire.

The British Colonial Empire is now largely embraced by the great triangle the bases of which are South Africa and India and the apex, Syria. It is not unlikely that the program for the immediate future would weld together this vast chain of territories and peoples by a continuous railway running from Cape Colony to Calcutta. The greater portion of it is already in running order. The importance of the Egyptian link is all too apparent—the Suez Canal, Cairo, harbors on the Mediterranean and Red Seas, industrious people and wonderful productiveness. Moreover, in this dawning age of aerial navigation it has been repeatedly reported from London that Cairo is to be



International Film Service

#### LEADERS IN THE RECENT ANTI-BRITISH DEMONSTRATION IN CAIRO, EGYPT

The Egyptian Agitation Which Followed the Transportation of Four of the Leading Nationalists to Malta Culminated in Much Disorder. The Nationalists Feel That British Interests Are Less Concerned with the National Welfare of Egypt Than with the Possession of the Country As a Link in the Empire

the aerial hub of the Empire. It may require a mechanical imagination to conjure up the magnificence of Cairo's future as dreamed by these imperialists of the air. Recent rumors class Lord Northcliffe among the most enthusiastic of this group, and say that he is now on his way to Cairo to start a cosmopolitan newspaper which will radiate by aeroplane throughout the whole Near East with all its heterogeneous population. And also along with the awakening of peoples is to come the development of rich resources so long hidden by palsy of enterprise resulting from unregenerate governments.

South of Egypt proper the British are developing large interests. There is the Soudan Region, comprising 834,220 square miles, considered one with Egypt geographically, historically and economically, and concerning which the British have big agricultural plans. The Egyptians say that the Soudan must ever remain a part of Egypt, that if the Nile were controlled by, and used to exploit a separate Soudan, then Egypt would be at its mercy. The Nile is literally "the water of life" to Egypt. The British have planned two dams for the Soudan, one on the Blue Nile and one on the White Nile, and a great tract of fertile land lying between the two rivers will be the first to be brought under irrigation. This region has been described by experts as the finest cotton growing section of the Empire. The Soudan was conquered by the British in 1898, but sixteen years elapsed

before a start was made in its development. The answer is practical politics. Capital had to be convinced of the economic, financial and political stability of the Soudan. The 3,000,000 people of the Soudan are Egyptian in the north and negroid in the south and at present their chief concern is the raising of cattle, goats, sheep and camels. But potentially the country is agricultural and is likely to have a great future in cotton growing. A railway has already been constructed from the main line northeastward to the Red Sea.

Then there is Abyssinia extending to the coast east of the Soudan. In time to come it is likely to be the outlet for a large share of the Soudanese commerce. Abyssinia has been much unsettled of late years since the death of King Menelik, and the British are now active there; no doubt lamenting the fact, however, that the one good port, Djibouti of French Somaliland, is in the hands of the French. A railway already runs from the capital of Abyssinia down to this port, and now it is expected the British will extend the railway from the capital back into the Soudan.

So runs the growth of empire. Meanwhile some of its links—and particularly Egypt—are boldly sniffing the breeze of self-determination, not entirely confident, perhaps, that they sense clearly the meaning of Prometheus. Many of the empire builders, on the other hand, are certain that neither sniffer nor Prometheus understand the breeze which has been let loose over the world.



# SHADOWS IN PRINT LAND:

Poems by Elizabeth J. Coatsworth



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## A PAIR OF LOVERS

*After a print by Moronobu*

Like two butterflies  
That alight on the swinging stem of a flower  
Are lovers.  
They have no eyes for the rain clouds in the north.



*Courtesy of W. B. and J. T. Rylands*

## COURTESAN ARRANGING HER COIFFURE

*After a print by Kwaigetsudo*

Her face is like a moon  
 Above swirls of clouds.  
 Her arms are lifted over her head.  
 She is crowning herself with the black lacquer of her hair.



*Courtesy of Charles N. Clendinning*

## NOBLEMAN PLAYING THE DRUM

*After a print by Masanobu*

My robe is covered with the colored death-leaves.  
 All alone I sit overlooking the gardens.  
 Beating upon the painted leather of the drum face.  
 Alas! only a bird now sings accompaniment.



*Copying of Yoshida Kōshin.*

## YOUNG GIRL IN WIND

*After a print by Haranobu*

She is a willow  
 Curved by the wind.  
 Her kimono are caught back from her hurrying knees  
 Like fluttering leaves.  
 Can it be that she will sit beside the shoji  
 Pouring out tea?



*Courtesy of Howard Mansfield*

## IN A SNOWSTORM

*After a print by Buncho*

She is stately and brilliant as the phoenix on her obi.  
She moves slowly, sheltered by the great painted umbrella held  
high above her head.  
But she is not thinking of the white falling snow  
Nor of her loveliness.



Courtesy of Arthur Thomson, Tokyo

## SHIZUKA IN THE PEONY GARDEN

*After a print by Kiyonaga*

Shizuka, wearing the three combs  
 And dressed like an iris  
 Stands under the wind-bells of the verandah  
 Looking at the great dragon-faced peonies.



*Courtesy of Arnold Genthe*

## TEARS IN THE NIGHT

*After a print by Utamaro*

It is dark.  
 Her lover is raising the great paper umbrellas  
 Against the coming rain.  
 Her mouth is like a scarlet maple-leaf  
 On snow.  
 Her hair is a cascade of black silk.  
 Why then should she weep with face turned away?



# LADY WITH TOBACCO PIPE

*After a print by Yelaki*

The long pins in her loosened hair  
 Are like the rays of the sun.  
 Her outer coat is covered with clouds and dragons.  
 Indeed I do not think her father was human.



# UNREST IN INDIA AND A REMEDY

By H. M. HYNDMAN

**T**HE remarkable fact in relation to the unrest in India is that it has taken most formidable shape during the past few years in precisely those two provinces which have always been regarded, since the mutiny, as most secure for British rule. These are Bengal and the Punjab. Bengal, taken as a whole, is the most populous province in British India. Its inhabitants were notoriously the most pacific folk of all Asia. Yet in this extremely peace-loving province anarchist outrages and organized assassination have been used as weapons of political protest and almost of revolt. The immediate occasion of outbreak was a purely sentimental grievance; the division of the ancient historic province into two separate provinces, with dual capitals. It is quite right to denounce assassination; anarchy is no remedy for misgovernment. But when public meetings are not allowed; when freedom of the press is entirely abrogated; when men are arrested, imprisoned and transported to a criminal colony under an obsolete but resuscitated law a century old, without trial and even without accusation; when young students are publicly flogged by an infamous person for purely political offences—when all these things are done by a foreign government, which has disarmed the whole people and allows them no direct representation whatever—it is impossible not to recognize that these anarchist outbreaks have been deliberately provoked.

What has occurred in the Punjab is even more significant. Here the unrest was the direct effect of terrible economic injustice. Solemn official promises made to the cultivators in regard to taxation were deliberately broken in a manner absolutely ruinous to the ryots. Excessive charges were made for all irrigation water supplied by the Government, in order that the capital sunk in the official enterprise might show a profit. The poor folk were prohibited from using water from their own wells, so that they should be driven to buy government water! No attention whatever was paid to the complaints of the ryots or of their leaders. These latter were men of the very highest character, deeply respected throughout this region. The principal agitator, Mr. Lajpat Rai, who had spent a considerable fortune on purely philanthropic work, was arrested and transported without any accusation whatever having been formulated against him, and therefore, of course, without having been brought to trial. So serious did the matter become, in consequence of discussion in the

House of Commons and my own agitation throughout Great Britain, that the central government in India was compelled by public opinion to intervene. Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, with his local Council, were thrown overboard, and a fair trial of the incriminated persons, who had been transported without accusation, was ordered. The local authorities were overruled on every single point at issue. Mr. Lajpat Rai was at once, and naturally enough, regarded as a popular hero. For the facts having been shown to be precisely what he and his friends had stated them to be, the central government could not avoid carrying out its original agreement with the ryots of the Punjab not to raise their taxation, and the ruin of an entire district was thus averted. But this did not end the mischief by any means. The "spirit of the bureau" is much more stringently upheld in a country where the bureaucrats are all foreigners, quite unaccustomed to having their decisions challenged, still less upset. So Mr. Lajpat Rai was ruined in his profession, continually interfered with personally by the police, and at last hounded out of the country. He took refuge in the United States, where he has been accused of being a German agent—a charge which he has emphatically denied. Unfortunately, far grosser things have been and are being done. The native police under the British Government, depend for their promotion and payment upon the number of convictions they obtain in proportion to the number of offences reported. It has been proved that they do not stick at trifles in order to secure sufficient evidence to convict.

And the people know quite well what is going on. In the Punjab, between fifty and sixty young men were sentenced to death within seven months. In a case of alleged political conspiracy at Lahore, several of those who were hanged had never been proved guilty of any murderous offence. They were executed on the strength of what it was believed they might have contemplated doing. Meanwhile, from one end of India to another the cry for self-government is being raised by the most moderate of the Indians.

As a result of the growing discontent, the great services rendered by Indian troops in the war and the extreme difficulty of Great Britain to pose as the champion of democracy and freedom while, as a nation, we were keeping in subjection a vast Empire of 315,000,000 inhabitants—the British Gov-



From "Crested and Crested's Crested Crest"

THE MOHAMMEDAN PRINCES OFTEN HUNTED WITH THE CHETAH  
The Chetah, Or Hunting Leopard, Was Taken on a Cart to Hunt Deer. The Speed  
with Which It Bounds upon the Prey Exceeds the Swiftness of Any Other Mammal

ernment thought it necessary to show some evidence to the world of a disposition to mitigate the oppression of its rule in Asia. Hence a project of so-called Constitutional Reform, which Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for far our greatest dependency, went out to India in order to put in shape, with the assistance and approval of the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. This project is now embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals.

The outcome of the mission has been a closely printed official report—a survey of British Administration and a series of proposals for improvement. Two points are made very clear in the opening paragraphs. After claiming that Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge had advocated and introduced minor constitutional changes which had no effect "because the end of the policy had never been clearly and authoritatively set forth"—a very frank admission—the report proceeds: "All this time Indian politicians were exerting continuous pressure to increase the rate of progress. The voice of criticism was never silent, but its tone showed a gradual change with the passing years; the purely negative attitude of opposition gradually passed into a more constructive policy. Criticism came to be combined with advocacy of progress and with demands that became steadily more insistent for a form of government which would leave Indians free to rule India in a measure consistent with Indian ideas. The spirit of liberty was abroad and active"—could anything be more pernicious?—"We can distinguish clearly the direction in which political activities were mainly bent."

As an incident in this political movement, the people of India, represented by their leaders of all shades of opinion, objected to the stringent laws of repression which the British Government considered essential in order to preserve for Hindustan the untold blessings of foreign domination. "There was constant opposition to Government measures which were regarded as repression—in 1910 the Press Act was passed—the Act, though by no means the obstacle to liberty of discussion that it is often represented, has since become increasingly unpopular. The Seditious Meetings Act of 1911"—practically suppressing the right of public meeting where any opposition to the Government

was anticipated—"reproduced in a milder form a law which had been in force since the disturbed year 1907; but the new Act was a permanent one, while its predecessor was a temporary measure, and this point formed the chief ground of attack.

"The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1913, followed on the attempt to assassinate Lord Hardinge in December, 1912. It amended the Indian Law of Conspiracy by making it penal to conspire to commit an offence, even though the conspiracy was accompanied by no overt act in pursuance of its object"—opening wide the door to spies, agents of provocation and Indian Jonathan Wilds of every type. "Criticism of all such measures has generally taken the form of an appeal to the abstract (?) principles of liberty and the inalienable rights of British citizens; objection is generally taken to the use of executive rather than of judicial sanction."

This means that Indians resented and denounced the clauses of the act which placed them at the mercy of police indictment and enabled the Government to imprison and deport them without trial and even without formal accusation. "The Government's estimate of the situation is attacked as unduly pessimistic; the necessity for the measure is denied; or it is urged that the political situation will certainly improve, and therefore the measure should be only temporary. In particular, notwithstanding the services which the Criminal Investigation Department (the British 'Third Section') has rendered to the cause of peace and tranquility, and so to the Indian people, by exposing and com-

bating the growth of revolutionary conspiracies, there has been much criticism of its activities as being too widespread." The criticism, in spite of the desperate risks run by the critics, has been very much more plain-spoken than that. Indians of the highest character, not themselves vehemently antagonistic to a British leadership of India, have declared openly that the Criminal Investigation Department of India is one of the worst forms of unrestricted delation and persecution that has ever been known.

But the passages I have quoted show clearly by the official acknowledgment of the British Government of India: First, that there is a great, increasing and determined demand from India that the inhabitants of Hindustan shall in future control their own destinies and that this demand is accompanied by the formulation of a constructive policy essential to the attainment of that end. Second, that at the same time, India, meaning thereby the public opinion of the people as recognized by the British Government, was bitterly opposed before the war, and has been during the war, to the stringent measures enacted against all public agitation in the press or on the platform, against any combination having for its object the removal of British domination and against the suppression of the right of personal freedom and right of public trial before condemnation.

Events are helping: "The spectacle of Indian troops going forth gladly to fight for justice and right, side by side with the British army, appealed intensely to India's imagination. *It was a source of legitimate pride and delight to her people that Indian regiments should be deemed fit to face*"—I am still quoting from the official report—"the most highly trained enemy in the world. The Indian Princes and the great landed proprietors responded splendidly from the very beginning of the war to the calls made upon them." This attitude has continued throughout the war. But criticism of the defects of British rule have increased in number and acerbity. The demands already spoken of are pressed more vigorously upon the Government. And this is not surprising; for the war itself has given India a new sense of self-esteem and has also created a general interest in public affairs far in advance of what existed before. What is still more important, the war was regarded as a struggle between liberty and despotism, for the freedom of the nations and for the right of all peoples to rule their own destinies. "Attention," so the Government declares, "is repeatedly called to the fact that in Europe Britain is fighting on the side of liberty, and it is urged that Britain cannot deny



From "Hindustan and Persia, ancient and modern"

ENTRANCE TO THE LARGEST CAVE OF KANAREE  
These Temples, Carved Out of the Rock of the Island of  
Sakette, Are Brahmin Places of Worship

to the people of India that for which she is herself fighting in Europe and in the fight for which she has been helped by India's blood and treasure."

From all this arises not only a definite demand for liberty and reorganization on Indian lines from India herself, but the British Government admits that something serious must be done, and this something serious is represented by Mr. Montagu's report, from which the above quotations are made. Now, it is certain that the proposals made by the Government are in every respect so insufficient and so disappointing that they cannot fail to produce a very bad impression—are in fact at this moment producing a bad impression throughout India. There is no attempt whatever made to put Indians frankly and definitely even in partial control of British India. The Central Government is to be as autocratic as ever. All that is suggested is to associate more Indians with Englishmen in the work of administration and to give them slight advantages in other directions. This is worse than useless. It would take two hundred years at that rate, and perhaps longer, to establish for India any system of

genuine self-government under British leadership.

Yet even these petty triflings with the grave situation before us are stigmatized as unpatriotic and revolutionary by the reactionary press here at home. That press, and Anglo-Indians generally, write as if India is not, and can never be, fit to control her own destinies. Now, if the one hundred and sixty years of British rule had greatly increased the well-being of the people of Hindustan;



From "Ganges and Ghazal's Greatness"

THE LIFE OF INDIA IS INTERWOVEN WITH THE SACRED GANGES  
Ganges Boats Are Built to Track Against the Stream. There is Much Traffic, for  
the Ganges is a River of Great Cities—Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Agra and Delhi

if the 240,000,000 under our direct governance had been educated; if Indian arts and Indian culture had been encouraged and developed—even then it would be monstrous to assert, at a time when we are declaring for the right of self-determination and freedom for the peoples for all nations, that the 45,000,000 persons in small islands, thousands of miles distant, have justice on their side when they maintain despotic authority over one-fifth of the entire human race. But as we have done none of these things, the contentions of the obstructionists become utterly monstrous.

For, as already shown, there is no such hopeless poverty on earth as that which exists and continues under British rule in India. So frightful is the impoverishment that the Government does not publish official statistics on the subject. We are not enriching but depleting India. Of our disgraceful neglect of education I have already spoken. No serious effort is being made to improve the position, even by restoring old Hindu and Moslem institutions. Ancient Indian arts and culture, so far from being fostered, are falling steadily into decay. Nothing of value is arising to replace this loss. To

this must be added the hideous economic drain upon India.

The position of the ryots, or small indigent peasantry, in all the Provinces is made worse by our European system of laws, innumerable and unsuited to the country. On this the report says in regard to the ryot: "A simple, cheap and certain system of law is one of his greatest needs. He greatly requires to be protected against the intricacies of courts"—our own courts!—"and the subtleties of law, and enabled to defend" (himself against) "the advantages enjoyed by long-pursued opponents. . . . One of his constant needs is protection against the exactions of petty official oppressors." These are our own officials.

"What matters most of all to the ryot are his relations with his landlord." His "landlord"—the word itself is European, as is the thought behind it—that is, the British Government which taxes him and from whose salaried officials the report itself declares he needs protection.

In short, the official admissions in this report itself justify all that I have said and written for more than

forty years about the terrible injury done to the vast population of India by our domination. Indians are at one with enlightened Europeans in believing that matters cannot be put right by well-intentioned European reforms such as those contained in the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals. It is much too late for such superficial treatment. The India of 1919 is a very different India, not only from the India of 1874, when I first began to write upon the subject, but from the India of 1913. A new, determined, capable spirit of construction is abroad among the people and their representatives. Hindus and Mohammedans are acting solidly together. They are united as never before in history, since Mohammedanism first invaded Hindustan. All races and creeds have awakened to the necessity for joint action in a common endeavor to obtain self-government and Indian administration for India—under British guidance; but not under British domination.

The resolutions below, referring to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, were passed at the Special Congress summoned at Bombay from August 29 to September 1, 1918, with the full concurrence of the All-

India Moslem League, which met in the same city at the same time. They constitute a historic demand from the people of a great Empire that they should be peacefully granted the right in the main to manage their own affairs. It is the Magna Charta of one-fifth of the human race.

Resolution I—That the Congress tenders its most loyal homage to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, and has learned with great satisfaction of the recent successes of the Allies in the War now raging, and sincerely prays for their early and decisive victory and the final vindication of the principles of freedom, justice and self-determination.

Resolution II—That this Congress reaffirms the principles of reform contained in the resolutions relating to self-government adopted in the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League held at Lucknow in December, 1916, and at Calcutta in December, 1917, and declares that nothing less than self-government within the Empire can satisfy the Indian people and, by enabling it to take its rightful place as a free and self-governing nation in the British Commonwealth, strengthens the connection between Great Britain and India.

Resolution III—That this Congress declares that the people of India are fit for responsible government, and repudiates the assumption to the contrary contained in the report on Indian constitutional reforms.

Resolution IV—The Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquillity and defence of the country, subject to the following:

That the statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of the Rights of the People of India as British Citizens:

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalized or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in this country, whether substantive or procedural, of a discriminative nature;

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or in respect of free speech or writing, or of the right of association, except under sentence by an ordinary court of justice, and as a result of lawful and open trial;

(c) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a license, as in Great Britain, and that right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary court of justice;

(d) That the press shall be free, and that no license or security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or a newspaper;

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

#### MODIFICATIONS IN REFORM SCHEME

Resolution V—That this Congress appreciates the earnest attempt on the part of the Right Honorable, the Secretary of State and His Excellency, the Viceroy, to inaugurate a system of responsible government in India, but while it recognizes that some of the proposals constitute an advance on the present conditions in some directions, it is of opinion that the proposals as a whole are disappointing and unsatisfactory, and suggests the following modifications as absolutely necessary to constitute a substantial step towards responsible government:

That this Congress entirely disagrees with the formula contained in the said report that the provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps should be taken towards the progressive realization of responsible government, and that the authority of the Government of India in essential matters must remain indisputable pending experiences of the effect of the changes proposed to be introduced in the provinces; and this Congress is of opinion that simultaneous advance is indispensable both in the provinces and the Government of India.

The proportion of Mohammedans in the Legislatures as laid down in the Congress-League Scheme must be maintained.

#### I. PARLIAMENT AND THE INDIA OFFICE

1. The control of Parliament and the Secretary of State must only be modified as the responsibility of the Indian and provincial governments to the electorates is increased. No financial or administrative powers in regard to reserved subjects shall be transferred to the provincial governments until

such time as they are made responsible regarding them to electorates, and until then the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State shall continue.

2. The Council of India shall be abolished, and there shall be two permanent Under Secretaries to assist the Secretary of State for India, one of whom shall be an Indian.

3. All charges in respect to the India Office establishment shall be placed on the British Estimates.

4. The committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India shall contain an adequate Indian element.

#### II. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

##### 1. PRIVY COUNCIL

There shall be no Privy Council.

##### 2. EXECUTIVE

At least half the number of Executive Councillors (if there be more than one) in charge of reserved subjects shall be Indians.

##### 3. LEGISLATURE

1. The number of members of the Legislative Assembly shall be raised to 150, and the proportion of the elected members shall be four-fifths.

2. The president and the vice-president of the Legislative Assembly shall be elected by the Assembly.

3. (a) There shall be no Council of State; but, if the Council of State is to be constituted, a system of reserved and transferred subjects, similar to that proposed for the provinces, shall be adopted for the central government. At least half of its total strength shall consist of elected members, and procedure by certification shall be confined to the reserved subjects.

(b) All legislation shall be by bills introduced into the Legislative Assembly; provided that if, in the case of reserved subjects, the Legislative Assembly does not pass such measures as the Government may deem necessary, the Governor-General in Council may provide for the same by regulations, such regulations to be in force for one year, but not to be renewed unless 40 per cent of the members of the Assembly present and voting are in favor of them.

4. (a) *The reserved subjects shall be foreign affairs (excepting relations with the Colonies and the Dominions), army, navy, and relations with Indian ruling princes; and, subject to the declarations contained in Resolution IV, matters directly affecting public peace, tranquillity and the defence of the country. All other subjects, including customs, tariff and excise duties, shall be transferred.*

(b) The allotments required for the reserved subjects shall be the first charge on the revenue.

5. (a) Whenever the Legislative Assembly, or the Council of State, or the Legislative Council, is dissolved, it shall be obligatory on the Governor-General, or the Governor, as the case may be, to order the necessary elections, and to resume the body dissolved within a period of three months from the date of dissolution.

(b) No dissolution of the Legislature shall take place except by way of an appeal to the electorate, and the reason shall be stated in writing countersigned by the ministers.

(c) There shall be an obligation to convene meetings of the Council and Assembly at stated intervals, or on the requisition of a certain proportion of members.

6. The procedure for the adoption of the budget shall be on the lines laid down for the provinces.

7. The Legislative Assembly shall have power to make, or modify, its own rules of business and they shall not require the sanction of the Governor-General.

8. *A statutory guarantee shall be given that full responsible Government shall be established in the whole of British India within a period of not exceeding fifteen years.*

#### III. THE PROVINCES

[The proposals for the provincial governments, here omitted, include equality with the British self-governing dominions in the relations of the governor to the ministers on transferred subjects and in fiscal autonomy through the legislature, control of the budget through the legislature subject to the contribution to the Government of India and the allocation of a fixed sum for the reserved subjects, and equal rights for women.]

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Resolution XI—This Congress places on record its deep disappointment at the altogether inadequate response made by the Government to the demand for the grant of commissions to Indians in the army, and is of opinion that steps

should be immediately taken so as to enable the grant to Indians at an early date of at least 25 per cent of the commissions in the army, the proportion to be gradually increased.

It is clear, therefore, from this important pronouncement, that the minor alterations in our bureaucratic system, proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, leaving the central autocracy wholly untouched, will not satisfy even a small minority of the Indian people. And there is even

of economic tribute to Great Britain. India protests against the permanent disarmament of her people. India declares that condemnation of arrested persons without trial is tyranny which ought to be abolished. India, in short, claims to be treated as a great and civilized power, and not merely as a field for selfish experiment and exploitation by Europeans. India is anxious that the new development and emancipation should be carried on under British guidance and peacefully.

I have been a student of and writer upon Indian and Eastern affairs for the past forty-five years. So long ago as 1879-80, after the publication of my articles in the *Nineteenth Century* on India, the Conservative Government determined to introduce far-reaching reforms in extension of the policy introduced by Lord Salisbury and Lord Iddesleigh in Mysore in 1868—that is, the restoration of India to Indian rule. Forty years ago, my friend, Mr. Edward Stanhope, then Under-Secretary of State for India, introduced measures into the House of Commons introductory to a much larger scheme. The Government was changed, and the whole scheme was dropped. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy



From "Stanley's and Stanley's Oriental Journal"

#### CALCUTTA, CAPITAL OF BRITISH INDIA AND OF BENGAL PROVINCE

In Various Parts of Bengal, the Most Populous and Peace Loving Province in India, there Have Been Continued Outbreaks and Demonstrations to Draw Attention to Political Grievances

stronger evidence to that effect. Not content with unanimously electing Bal Gungunder Tilak to be President of the Indian National Congress—a position he was unable to accept owing to his visit to Europe—the delegates called upon the British Government to secure for India representation at the Peace Conference, and chose the same Mr. Tilak as their representative. Can anything be more significant? Mr. Tilak is imprisoned for a term of years on account of his patriotism. All India protests. Mr. Tilak is released and is welcomed on his discharge as a popular hero. Mr. Tilak voyages to London and is selected as the representative of India at the close of this great war.

India asks for general national freedom. Great Britain has waged the greatest war of all time in order to secure these advantages for people entirely outside her influence. Can she deny similar rights to Hindustan?

India demands that all British citizens should have equal rights. India calls for fiscal control, in order to have the power to stanch the ruinous drain

was too strong. The important middle-class was in favor of "imperialism," without considering or understanding the mischief being wrought.

Until lately any such genuine change of British front as Indians cry for seemed hopeless without a desperate struggle in India itself. Now, however, that the mass of the British wage-earning population is gaining its rightful influence on public affairs, and that the real truth about India is beginning to be appreciated, in spite of all interested misrepresentation, there is some prospect of a radical transformation being brought about. There is no greater service than this which the British people can render to humanity.

By maintaining our existing European government, regardless of the feelings and opinions of the Indians, we set the moral sentiment of the whole civilized world against us. All over the United States, for example, the sober and constitutional writings of such men as Professor Subindra Bose and Lajpat Rai are being widely read and their views accepted. The same is true of European coun-

tries and Japan. The Germans, who have learned to their ruin what it costs to outrage the consensus of civilized opinion, have taken care to publish far and wide Indian and British criticisms on the present state of affairs in India. Moreover, if the Entente Powers remonstrate seriously with Japan, in reference to her persistent endeavors to

her side guarantees to safeguard the English possession of Hindustan.

Could a more compromising and even dangerous arrangement have been arrived at? I think not. England virtually admits that her Asiatic Empire may be imperiled and relies upon the rising Asiatic Power, Japan, to retain it for her. What the



LUCKNOW, THE STORM CENTER OF THE FAMOUS INDIA MUTINY OF 1857

The Present Unrest in India Is Due to the Desire of the People for Self Government—a Discontent Recognized As Just by the Most Liberal Minded British, Who Are Trying to Introduce Radical Reforms in the Indian Government

absorb a large portion of China, the answer to such protest is only too complete: "What is Great Britain doing with regard to the hundreds of millions of inhabitants under her yoke in India? Why has she asked us to pledge ourselves to maintain by force her domination in that great Empire? When those questions are honestly dealt with it will be time for us, perhaps, to discuss further our policy of peaceful penetration in the provinces of China."

For these reasons I still hope that steps will be taken immediately to accept the constitutional program of emancipation for India set forth by the acknowledged representatives of the Indian peoples. Those views and anticipations may not be realized. But British politicians are beginning to be convinced of the weakness of the English hold upon India, and they realize that a serious upheaval is not unlikely. This is conclusively proved by the terms of the three important treaties with Japan, by which Great Britain guarantees her assistance in safeguarding Japanese possessions. Japan on

real view of the matter is in India itself, as well as in Japan and China, the world will learn soon enough. The cry of "Asia for the Asiatics" never received a clearer exposition of its necessity than when these treaties were ratified with the assent of all English parties. Waking India is to be lulled to sleep by the soothing influence of England's Asiatic ally, Japan—whose confessed ambition it is to lead the Far East against that European influence which she considers fatal to Asia! When she is called upon to help white men against her Asiatic brethren, what is Japan likely to do?

The sooner the true situation is understood and its difficulties faced, the better for civilization. It is too late to temporize; it is ruinous to drift. India and Japan, in different manners, and to a very different degree, are both beginning to react consciously against the domination of the West over the East. Hindustan, with its 315,000,000 of inhabitants, is awake, and the fatal policy of Great Britain herself may easily drive these Aryans into the arms of their historic enemies, the Mongol race.

# TALES OF A CHINESE VILLAGE

By WILLIAM L. HALL

## A SON AND HIS VOW

“WHY do you ask me, a beggar, into your nice room and offer tea? My clothing is hanging in tatters and my skin is unwashed. My eyes? Why, do you see anything different in them? You know I am different—and you want me to tell you the story of my life? You want to write it out for your children. I cannot understand why you think it will be of interest, for my life has been spent in a sombre monotone.

“I was born during the reign of Kuang Hsu, and am thirty-one years old this year. My father was, and is, a silk merchant. He had many mulberry trees of his own, and other men sold their product to his agents. There were many workers at his call to care for the silk-worms. When I was twelve years old he placed me in charge of one of the filatures. It was my duty to see that the cocoons were emptied properly. I had to go to the factory every day, but I did not neglect my study. My teacher came to our place at the day-dawn and remained until twilight. I was an only son. My mother made prostrations to every image over the health and welfare of children in her great anxiety for my safety. To make the spirits of evil think me a girl she made me wear an earring until I was seven. The evil spirits want boys—they do not care for girls.

“When I was fifteen my mother told me a girl had been chosen for my wife. I wanted to see her face, but that was not proper. When I was eighteen a lucky day was chosen and the girl was brought to our home. She was tall and slender, she had smooth soft skin, a gentle voice and pretty teeth. When she laughed it was as the singing of a bird. She blushed when first she looked into my face—and then she smiled. The gods had been good to me and I was satisfied.

“My father gave a feast to all his friends. I was introduced to them as a man. To me each of them vowed lasting friendship, and the day was filled with the revelry of happiness. That day I was taken into partnership with my father and he made over one-half of his fortune to me. The room made ready for the coming of my bride was hung with silken tapestry and an ebony bed was covered with embroidered spreads. The walls were hung with her clothing and mine. My mother and the Woman of Luck chosen for that important task conducted my wife to her room and the guests were invited to inspect her. The Woman of Luck? O, that one who first leads a new bride to her chamber must be a woman who has borne a son, and the

son and her husband must both be living! That is to bring good fortune in the shape of sons to the new family.

“After the feast my father sat drinking wine with his friends and mine. Many times had they my health and future fortune in the hot cup. Then, just when the guests were all ready to go, an evil spirit entered into my father's body and he fell to the floor possessed. When we raised his hands they fell again to his sides. On his lip showed a fleck of blood. When we raised him to a sitting posture he sank back to the floor without a sound and his head was turned off to one side. His eyelids trembled and his limbs were limp. In consternation our guests hurried away from the house. We carried my father to my room, as it was nearest. We laid him on my bed. All that night I sat by his side, rubbing his hands and calling his spirit to come back to him. When the birds first saw the light of the new day and began their songs outside, my father spoke. I did not catch the meaning of his words, but I thought he wanted me to offer incense for him in the temple. I told my mother, and she said I must go. I had never spoken to my bride—but that must wait. My father was my first great care. Without seeing my new wife I left my home. I went to every temple near and bowed before each image. I visited the shrine of the God of Equal-Balance in a village many *li* away. Then I made my way to the Holy Mountain. I carried neither food nor extra clothing and I walked all the way. The stones in the paths cut my feet, and sometimes my limbs almost refused to carry my body further. When I reached the top of the Holy Mountain I bowed before the image of the God of Life, and made a solemn vow: ‘Make my father well, and I will leave my wife and home. For fifteen years I will not eat a morsel of food I have not begged—neither will I sleep under a cover that is clean....’

“When I returned to my home one of the servants met me outside the city gate. He told me they had sought me far and near. Many of our friends had joined in the search for me. At a certain time on a certain day my father sat up in bed and called my name. I knew it was the instant I had made my vow! I asked the servant to bring me a suit of his own clothes and a pair of straw sandals. That night I slept in a temple with many dogs and beggars. Their manners were coarse and their habits nauseating. I did not sleep well. Once I thought the face of my girl-wife appeared before me. She was smiling. She beckoned me to come to her. My first impulse was to return to my home



and her! I even started down the road toward my home and something seemed to draw me on. Then I remembered my vow and crept in among the rows of sleeping beggars once more. At the day-dawn I left the temple. I walked and walked until my feet were sore and my mind was as a bank of clay. That night I slept in a wayside shrine where I was all alone. A few days later one of the servants came to me. He had a letter from my father, asking me to return to my home. Then I wrote to him that I had made a vow to secure his restoration to health, and when the days of my vow were fulfilled I should come to him again. And I asked him to make it easier for me by refraining from any act that might turn my thoughts to my home.

"Fifteen years! Fifteen. That did not seem so very long, when I should be repaying the gods for their great kindness. This was one hundred and eighty moons—and that many moons had only five thousand and forty days. . . . Then I had to stop thinking, for my mind was dull and my heart all worn away. Each morning saw me wandering still—each night brought me one day nearer the end of my task. From village to village I wandered; from temple to temple I bowed before the images. I read all the inscriptions on all the shrines. Once I read of a man who had given up thirty years of his life in exchange for the life of his father. Then I felt that my vow was far too small! For many days I went through a region of graves. I read all that had been carved in the stones set at each mound that marked the resting-place of thousands of men. Sometimes I slept inside old fallen sepulchres. Sometimes I lay beside the road, with my face upturned to heaven. I tried to forget to count the days, but my thought was forever fixed on that one thing. At length I knew there were before me just one hundred moons. One hundred. That seemed longer to me than fifteen years had seemed the day I left my home.

"I came to my own city. The shrine of the Goddess of Mercy rests in a temple not so very far away. The ways to the temple are tracked by many thousands of pilgrims during the festival-month of the Goddess. Hundreds of beggars sit by the roadside, asking alms. With my bowl and my little kneeling-mat I took my place with the others. On my natal day I knelt as usual. I saw my father coming along the way. Into every bowl he cast a coin and a bit of string. When he came to me my hand was trembling and I could not raise my bowl. I bowed my face to the ground, and did not speak. As he dropped my portion into my waiting bowl he spoke to me, as he had spoken to every other beggar he had passed:

"I have a son. He is life of my life. Somewhere he begs his food, in penance to the gods for me. I give thus freely to you, with a wish that

any who may meet my son may also give to him. O, that I might see his face once more before the time of life allotted to me by the gods is fulfilled!"

"My father passed on. I crept under a mat-shed and wept! I was afraid to wait for his return, so I wandered off into a mustard-field and hid myself until the darkness came. After that day some other beggar had my place in the line. I dared not go there again. I was afraid I might forget my vow. Then the gods might send on him deep trouble and distress.

"When there were but fifty moons ahead of me I made another pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain. There I remained for many, many days. Something seemed to fasten my body to the stones where I slept, and would not let me go. There came the time for worship to the Holy Mountain. Thousands of pilgrims from many lands came wandering there, seeking a blessing. The beggars reaped a bountiful harvest. Some days I collected more food than I could eat. This I always divided with the leprous and the blind. I also gave them a portion of my copper coins. One day, as I sat between two—one blind and one a leper—I saw one of our old servants approaching. He walked in front of a chair borne by four men. The curtains were drawn. Just when they reached the spot where I knelt a voice called the bearers to stop. Then my wife raised the curtain, passed some money to the servant, asked him to place it in my bowl, lowered the curtain and the chair went on its way into the temple. My hands and feet were cold and something inside me seemed to break. I placed the coin she had given me between my teeth and tried to crush it. I struck my head against the stone steps to make my pain less and pinched my face until the blood came. Some of the other beggars laughed at me, and one said I was having a fit. I crawled on my hands and knees until the darkness covered the earth, then I lay in the dirt and beat my head on the ground until the sun came over the hills again. Here is the coin she gave me. No, you must not touch it. It is holy! Every night I hold it in my hand when I sleep, and every day it swings from my neck in this piece of cloth.

"Once more some power stronger than my own will dragged me to my home. There I saw my father walking the street, with head bowed low and step so slow I feared him ill. When he saw me he stopped and spoke to me. I did not answer. Pointing to my mouth and ears I would have him believe me mute. He blessed me, and I heard every word. I wanted to cling to his garments and speak his name. I wanted to follow him home and enter with him. I wanted to see the face of my mother and the face of my wife. I wanted all these things, but instead of receiving them I crept off down the street, holding my bowl out to passersby—and my

father was standing where I left him, looking after me.

"My wife? She sits in my father's home—sits and waits for my return. She knows not where I may be, nor what my condition in life. She can only wait and hope for the coming of the one to whom she is bound and to whom she had never spoken. She sits and thinks of that one on whom she smiled so sweetly, that first day she had ever seen my face, the day she entered my home. I can see her now, tall, slender, with smooth, soft skin and a gentle voice! And her smile comes often to comfort and beguile me as I lie on my beggar's bed.

"Five hundred and three. Five hundred. That is the number of the days yet before me. Tomorrow there will be only five hundred and two—then five hundred and one. The days seem so much longer to me now than fifteen years seemed when first I took my vow. They seem longer than the moons I counted when my wander-life was new. Five hundred days and five hundred nights! No, I am not sorry I offered penance in my body for my father!

"No, I must not take the silver piece you offer. That might make me want to buy something for my comfort. That might tempt me too much. I cannot take it. I thank you for offering it to me, but I must not forget my vow. I must pay to the utmost, for then the gods will know that I spoke truth when I fell before them on the Holy Mountain. No, I must not drink your tea, nor eat your cakes. I have not begged them. I might forget. Or remember. Or both.

"I look back with satisfaction on the moons that are in the past. I would live them all over again, if that were necessary to secure comfort for my father. He is my father. I am his son. What else might be expected of me? There were no two paths for my choosing. There was only one way, and I have traveled that way! What the future holds for me, I know not. Whether it leads to paths of peace or to further sacrifice time alone can tell. The future is beyond my vision. I live but one day at a time and borrow not tomorrow's bitterness for today's burdening. My father was ill. I made a vow. The gods heard. I am holding to my word.

"Out there my wife waits for me. She knows not when I may come to her, but she waits without fear. The gods protect us while under a vow and soon I shall be free! Whatever is to be will be. I have not been so long inside a house before. I begin to long for the open way. I must not stay. I might grow satisfied, and until the day of my reckoning that must not be. My wife is waiting. . . .

"Now I must go over the hill toward the temple and take my place among the other beggars of food. I remember seeing you and your wife pass, as you went to visit the temple. When again you pass that

way please do not stop to speak to me. That might make me think, and I must not think! I must only wait. No, I do not enjoy this life. I endure it—that is all! There are others like me. One I know who is to spend his whole life in beggar's garb, in thanksgiving for the restoration of his father. Another with whom I have traveled much returned to his beggar's life when he learned that his father had died just one year after he began his life of shame. That message came to him just twenty-two years after he had left his home. Twenty-one years of useless wanderings! Did the gods forget? Or would they also punish him? I wonder! My friend will no more see the life of the world. Beg he will, until death shall still his tongue.

"Will the gods kill my father or my wife before the time of my vow is fulfilled? Will they demand of me a further test of my willingness to keep my word? I am hoping—and I try to keep from thinking. You have brought it all back to me by asking me to tell my story. Now I must suffer because I have spoken. Now I must try all over to forget. I do not often speak of the past. I do not think much of the future. I dare not! I must not! I must wait—and wander.

"I go. I thank you. Five hundred and three, five hundred and two, five hundred and one, five hundred; then I may have my father, my home and my wife; then may peace and happiness come to me! Forward I look, not back. One day at a time—one night!

"I wish . . ."

#### ONLY A GIRL

"NOT important! not important! only a girl, only a girl!"

The speaker was in earnest. He would have me understand what were the words he spoke. The man had come to the hospital to ask medicine for his child. The child was dangerously ill, he declared. He had just been told of the rule of the hospital that we must see a patient before prescribing, and that we did not send medicine to any one whom we had not examined. Any other way would be guesswork on our part, and manifestly unfair to the sufferer. Yes, bring the child here, and we shall do all in our power to relieve the condition.

"That is too much to ask of me. My home is very far away."

"How far away do you live?"

"Thirty li (ten miles) and the way is rough and hard."

"If you love your child, and consider a member of your family important, you will surely do that much."

"Not important, not important! Only a girl—only a girl!"

Poor little girl! She is not important. Had she been born a boy nothing would have been too good. Nothing could have been left undone to relieve any indisposition—if only she had been a son! She is only a girl—and, therefore, “not important.” Boys are called heaven’s best and choicest blessings—while girls are only marks of heaven’s displeasure.

When a girl comes into a home no demonstration is made. The father is called unfortunate, the mother unlucky. Poor little girl! Not one word of welcome—no clinging kiss of love—never one loving caress—except those given in secret by the mother. Mother-love is the same the world over. Every baby-girl is enshrined in the mother-heart and tears are shed and pitiful efforts made to protect the tender body from harm. Sometimes, when the family is large, and there are already girls, it is decided that the little visitor must not stay. Every extra mouth to feed makes an added drain on the family resources, and life always loses when set in the balance against food and copper coin. After the decision is made that a baby-girl must go, she is wrapped in a bundle of straw, carried to the spot dedicated to that incident of life—and cast in! This is done at night. The dumping-ground for this village is about three minutes’ walk from our front gate. There, at any time, may be seen many of these little tell-tale bundles of straw. But in justice it must be said that not every bundle of straw means a live baby-girl thrown away. Under a certain age children have no souls—so there is nothing to preserve. All children dying up to that age are carried to the community dumping-ground and the families interested make a great saving in expense.

In many families little girls are loved and prized as highly as are boys. In these homes the baby-girls have the nicest caps and garments and shoes possible for their parents to furnish, and their food is regularly prepared. Native babies walk and talk early, and soon the new baby-girl is seen walking about the rooms or playing in the court.

For three years all goes well with the fortunate baby-girl. Then into her life comes a something over which she has no control. She was born a slave—a slave to custom—that ogre which may be stronger, even, than life itself, and from whose rule there is no hope of escape while life endures. The child has never gone barefoot. That would be considered both unsafe and indelicate. If the baby-girl might only be allowed to wear shoes on her natural feet all would be well—but custom has decreed otherwise.

The little feet are bound with cotton tapes. Beginning at the toes these tapes are wound around the feet up to the ankle. The toes are turned down and drawn in, and are soon out of shape and posi-

tion. The tapes are gradually tightened. The body increases in size—the feet can not grow. By the tenth year the feet are all out of shape. The bones have been crushed and held together and the toes have not developed. The heel is elevated and the weight of the body rests on the foot in an unnatural way. To the baby-girl is now bequeathed a life-long burden of suffering, a torture from which she knows no escape. In making an estimate of the success of the binding of any feet there is only one important consideration—the feet must be small. Pain and shape and awkward helplessness count as nothing, if the feet have been kept small. The smaller the foot the more fashionable—and the greater the wedding-gift later on! On all sides may be seen little girls, five and six years old, sitting on the ground or on a door-step, constantly putting their hands to their bound feet and trying to rub the pain away. As they try to play they often carry in one hand a small bamboo stool. Every few steps this is placed on the ground and occupied by the little maid as she works with the tapes or rubs the aching feet. She cannot run and play now. She must not complain. She is in training to take her proper place in life. She dare not hope to change either her position or condition. In this part of the land she is, at the age of twelve or fourteen, betrothed to a man whom she has never seen. Often these little betrothed girls are taken to the homes of their future husbands and become servants to the future mother-in-law. Not far away is a district where the custom prevails to betroth a girl to a boy much younger than herself. There may be commonly seen, at play in the streets, girls with boys carried in packs on their backs. These boys are the baby-husbands of the girls, and the girl is serving her husband in the capacity of nursery-maid. Often these baby-husbands are veritable tyrants in their treatment of their girl-wives. I have seen a boy of six years, bound to a girl of ten, try every imaginable method of torture in his efforts to keep her mindful of the fact that she is his personal property. When he is not being carried about by her he spends the time beating her in the face, spitting on her, pulling her hair, throwing dirt in her food, kicking, reviling her and otherwise keeping himself entertained. She dare not raise her voice in protest, for that would bring down on her poor shoulders the wrath of her mother-in-law.

After she leaves her home the girl can claim no freedom. Often she has only entered into a greater sorrow. She is considered the personal property of her husband’s mother—and that mother may make her most miserable, if she chooses so to do. While the mother-in-law lives the daughter-in-law must serve her. There may be nothing done of which the mother has no knowledge. No plan but what must first be sanctioned by the ruler of the

family, and even the young husband must bow before the iron rule of the one who lives to be obeyed. If the mother so orders all the sons of any family must be ready to bring their brides into the home-nest after marriage, and not one may leave without her consent. After all, in spite of her apparent bondage, the Chinese woman may be the ruling sovereign.

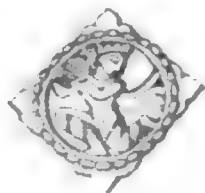
In the district of which I have spoken, where the girl-wives are older than their husbands, the wives are taken into the home of the baby-husbands and become body-guards for them. She makes his food and feeds it to him; she puts him to bed at night, and waits at his bedside to dress him when he awakes in the morning; she must carry him where he wants to be carried; she must go when he wants to go and must stop when he says stop. She takes him in her arms when he is sleepy and does not want to lie on the ground or in his bed. She often

must do her household tasks with her sleeping husband strapped to her back and she must never complain! What a training-school for stoics!

The girl who goes to school or is taught characters is the exception. She must know how to make shoes and clothing and all the things she may require for personal adornment, but it is seldom thought necessary for her to understand books.

Holes are made in the ears of little girls soon after birth. Babies, girls, mothers, old women and grandmothers all wear earrings. Girls are not important. The evil spirits do not bother girls. They want the boys. Many baby boys are seen with a ring in one ear. This is done to deceive the evil spirits who roam everywhere—seeking boys. The evil spirit, on seeing the earring, immediately decides that the wearer is a girl—and he wants boys.

"Not important, not important! Only a girl, only a girl."



## SILVER NAILS ON THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

By JAMES MAXON YARD

*I have seen them shining  
They glitter in the sun.  
They are never tarnished;  
They sparkle and shine.  
They are far and high  
And majestic.  
The snowpeaks of Tibet—  
Silver nails on the Roof of the World.*

*They beckon and call me.  
My home is there,  
On the Eaves of the World,  
In Szechuan.  
I am going back  
To the wonder  
And the mystery.*

*They are shining—  
Silver nails on the Roof of the World.*

# "ELEPHINTS A-PILIN' TEAK"

By ABBY BEATRICE PRATHER

I BECAME acquainted with the teak forests of northern Siam and the interesting jungle-wallah—the men who spend months, even years at a stretch in the jungle wilderness—in the course of a visit I made to Chiengmai. This quiet, beautiful old city with its ruined walls and ramparts, its ancient shrines and wata, has become a little centre of European civilization, despite its isolation. The Sporting Club of Chiengmai has one of the prettiest polo fields I have ever seen. Here the Englishmen, many of whom live for years in the jungle without seeing a white person, come for their furloughs, and play golf, tennis, fives, badminton and polo, and enjoy a little of the flavor of English life after their total isolation from the outer world.

The railroad to the north country from Bangkok, the capital, has been under construction for many years. The railroad contract was in the hands of German contractors and engineers. When Siam declared war on Germany and Austria, all the German and Austrian engineers and workmen employed on the railroad were rounded up promptly and without notice—Siam does not do things by halves—and packed off to an internment camp in Bangkok. The railroad had reached a tunnel,

about fifteen miles north of Lakawn-Lampang, the last station on the line, and there the construction work was halted. Work is now proceeding slowly under Italian engineers.

We alighted from the train at Lakawn-Lampang and found a party of thirty native carriers who had been sent to meet us to transport us and our luggage to Chiengmai. In the party were my cousin, his wife and I. My cousin was given a small native pony to ride. His wife and I were settled in sedan chairs, carried by coolies on bamboo poles which they swung over their stalwart shoulders. I soon became accustomed to the swing of the chair, much less noticeable than that of chairs carried by Chinese coolies in Hong Kong or Canton. The Lao carriers of Siam are much more gentle and considerate, and respond immediately to the call of "yut" (halt). We skirted hills, climbed a mountain range and forded several streams. The carriers shifting their poles from one brown shoulder to another, tripped along the pebbly mountain trail without losing the rhythm of their gait. It was dark by the time we reached a rest house at Me Ta, where we spent the night, leaving most of the carriers behind to sleep in a roadside temple. The next morning



NATIVES POLING A BOAT ON UP-COUNTRY TIMBER CREEK, SIAM

The Complete System of Water Communications in Siam Provides an Easy Method of Transportation for the Teak Logs Which Are Floated Down Creeks and Tributaries Until They Reach the Mills on the Main Rivers



D. F. Smith

#### TIMBER STORED NEAR THE FOOT OF THE HILLS AT PAKNAMPO

The Timber, Tied Together into Rafts of 20 to 30 Logs Each, Which a Whole Family Navigates on the Long Journey, is Inspected and Taxed at Paknampo. The Number of Logs Inspected Here Amounts to 120,000 Annually

we crossed the Doi Ba, where we met a train of elephants carefully making their way up the rocky trail. Toward afternoon we entered the jungle. The great variety of trees fascinated me, especially the feathery green bamboo, graceful and decorative, and the many stately trees that towered defiantly above the sunless jungle underbrush, seemingly proud of having attained their "place in the sun." When we came to a more open space where the growth of bamboo, grass, cane, rattan shrubbery and twisted vines was not so insistent, I noticed a tall, beautiful tree with large leaves and reddish-purple blossoms at the top standing somewhat apart from the others. I asked my cousin its name.

"That," he responded, "is the teak tree, a very important tree in the commerce of the North."

It is, in fact, the most important tree in the commerce of Siam. All along the river beds we crossed, lying aslant in the streams, piled in confusion at every bend, sometimes stranded far above the water line, were immense logs of teak, marked or numbered by deep cuts in the wood. They had floated that far on their journey to the great rivers and now awaited the spring rise of the streams to finish their journey to the markets of the world. I was told that they were seldom stolen. It is as much of a crime to steal teak logs in Siam as it was to steal horses in the early days of our West.

We arrived at Chiangmai at the Christmas season, when a large number of jungle-wallahs had come to the city to spend the holiday season. Some of these were inspectors of the Siamese Government's Department of Forestry. Others were overseers and employes of various timber companies. I had heard something of the life of isolation led by these foresters. They have their bungalows far from human habitation, and there they dwell with their native servants, elephants and ponies. Some of the big teak lumber companies forbid the employment of married men for the north country service, and a jungle-wallah is not likely to become entangled in domestic ties. One of these, an English university man, told me that he felt so self-conscious on meeting people, especially women, after months in the jungle, that it took him several days to feel at ease in their society.

I asked one of the most gracious of the jungle-wallahs to tell me something of their lives in the forest and of teak lumbering. He explained that the trees are first girdled by cutting a ring about the trunk well into the bark of the wood near the ground. They are then left standing for two years to dry. Otherwise the logs would be too heavy to float down the streams.

"Girdling is about the hardest part of our work," he said. "Teak generally grows on the slopes of extremely steep and rocky hills, and up and down



THE TWELVE HUNDRED MILE JOURNEY OF THE TEAK LOG TO THE MILL TAKES SIX YEARS

The Trees Are First Girdled and Allowed to Stand Two Years to Dry. Then They Are Hauled by Buffaloes and Elephants to the Nearest Floating Creek Where They Are Worked Out to the Big Rivers

these heights the unfortunate jungle-wallah is compelled to climb to inspect each tree. One has to flounder through bamboo grass taller than one's head, which in the mornings is drenched with dew. If the jungle happens to be burnt in patches, one is covered with fine, black ash, so that one emerges as black as a chimney sweep. Danger? Well, it is entertaining at times in the jungle, especially when you are crawling on all fours up a steep bit and find yourself face to face with an angry cobra or hamadryad. The latter is very dangerous if sitting on eggs, and has been known to chase men for some distance. Wild bees, wasps and hornets are also on the program. I once collected thirty-six bee stings in my back and legs while riding an elephant.

"The elephants are our chief standby, and without them teak could not be worked, as it grows in such inaccessible places that no hauling machine could be brought near the trees. Elephants can climb like cats. It is marvelous to see them pick their way up and down steep slopes, but sometimes they lose their foothold. One of our elephants fell down a steep river-bank last year, hit her head against a rock and broke her neck. The work of the elephants consists in climbing up to the fallen trees and pushing or rolling them down hill to a spot where it is level enough for dragging chains to be attached. Then they drag the logs down to the nearest floating creek, often six or seven miles away. An elephant can handle from fifty to sev-

enty logs per season, which lasts from about the first of June till the end of February. Then it becomes too hot for them to work, and they go into rest camps until the next rains. The elephants do their best work in floating streams, working the timber with the current, releasing logs from jams and rolling the stranded logs back into the water. The elephant drivers have a special 'elephant' language which the animals understand—a special vocabulary with such terms as 'Push,' 'Push sideways,' 'Roll,' 'Pull out,' 'Stop,' 'Lift your chains.' It is very interesting and exciting to watch the elephants at work in high water. They are magnificent swimmers. When they swim from bank to bank, herding the logs that require their special attention, you see nothing of them except the tips of their trunks through which they breathe, and the *makouts*, or drivers, who are generally in water up to their waists. If a big stack or jam breaks suddenly where elephants are working, they know the danger of being overtaken. They trumpet and clear off to either bank or swim down stream as fast as they can go. I once saw an elephant working at the head of a jam slip off a rock into deep water and get swept under the stack. We all believed that he was a goner, but every now and then we were surprised to see his trunk come up through the logs, suck in a long breath and disappear. The trunk would reappear each time further down stream. He finally emerged at the foot of the jam,



very much blown, but otherwise none the worse for his accident. But he would not go near a pile of timber in high water for a year afterwards. This particular work is called 'hounding.'"

My jungle-wallah told me that the elephants are, as a rule, wonderfully gentle and obedient, although occasionally a rogue is found among them. Their worst trick is shaking the mahouts off their necks by violently swaying their heads back and

worked out to the main Meping River by elephants during the rains. Henceforth it moves more rapidly, but still it may take the log about four years to reach the Bangkok mills after it has been floated. The 1,200-mile journey from stump to mill takes six or seven years.

It was in 1882 that the attention of British timber firms was first attracted to the virgin teak forests of Laos, northern Siam. By 1897 all the more



R. C. CUT

**THE ELEPHANT IS VERY MUCH ATTACHED TO HIS MAHOUT, OR DRIVER**

His Only Vice Is Occasionally to Shake the Mahout Off His Neck. To Break Him of This a Sharp Bamboo Collar Catches Him Under the Chin. If He Tosses His Head

forth. To break an elephant of this habit, called swai-ang, a collar with sharp, pointed bamboo stakes, about eighteen inches long, is fitted around his neck in such a way that when he tries to shake his head the sharp points catch him under the chin.

The labor and expense of the teak industry may be gauged by the itinerary of a log from the time it is cut down until it reaches the mill. No teak tree is felled until two years after it has been girdled. A tree in the Mekong River watershed, for instance, is hauled by elephants a distance of two to six miles to a cart-road, where it is loaded on a timber cart and dragged by long spans of bullocks for twelve miles to the foot of the hills between the Mekong watershed and the Meping River. Here it is hauled up the ridge of the hill by a capstan, or ox-whim, worked by buffaloes; loaded on trucks and hauled by buffaloes for three miles along a hill tramway; and is then sent down a chute a half a mile long. It is now loaded on trucks and hauled another eight miles to a floating creek and

accessible teak area of the land had been so depleted that it will not give another yield for fifty years to come. The greatest damage was done from 1887 to 1897. There were no government laws during that period to protect the forests. Hereditary Lao chiefs, who understood nothing of the principle of conservation, ruled in different parts of the realm, and sold or gave away the forest rights with a freedom that encouraged the foreigners to denude Siam of what might have been one of its chief sources of revenue.

Fortunately for Siam and the world at large, the Government at Bangkok became aroused before the timber traders had moved into the more remote parts of the country where teak is still plentiful. It realized not only the depreciation that was being wrought, but also the loss of revenues through improper supervision and the imminent danger of exhausting the supply of teak for a century or more. The Siamese Government therefore decided to establish a forestry department modeled after the Indian



Forestry Service. Better still, Siam secured the services of Mr. H. Slade, an officer of the Imperial Forest Service, to head the new department, a man of exceptional ability, who knew his business thoroughly and performed his duties fearlessly and honestly. Before Mr. Slade took the reins there had been some feeble attempts to restrict the operations of the timber traders. An edict specifying the minimum girth of trees to be girdled had been

to be more than one thousand years old have been found in the ruins of cities in India. The forests of Siam where teak is still plentiful are situated in the dry regions of Monthon Bayap, about 17° N. Latitude. The teak is found at an altitude of 2,500 feet, where the annual rainfall does not exceed 50 inches. The country is hilly and is drained by two large rivers on the east, by the Mekong, forming the boundary between Siam and Annam, and on



THE ELEPHANT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE TEAK INDUSTRY

The Elephants Push and Roll the Logs down Hill to a Place Level Enough to Attach Chains and Then They Drag the Teak to the Nearest Creek. An Elephant Can Handle from 50 to 70 Logs per Season

issued, but as no department of the government was directly responsible and no government officials penetrated the interior to see that lease conditions were enforced, the timber men, sanctioned by some of the local officials, exploited the forests with considerable freedom.

It is due to the efforts of Mr. Slade and the organization which he built up that Siam still remains the greatest teak producing country in the world. Siam's teak forests might be leveled by this time but for his labor. Instead, the number of teak logs floated down the Salween and Menam Chao Phaya Rivers averages 160,000 annually. When one considers that the price of teak has of late years fluctuated between \$50 and \$100 per load of 50 cubic feet, weighing a ton, one can realize something of Siam's great timber wealth. It takes a teak tree from 100 to 200 years to attain a height of 150 feet, but the timber from such a tree can probably outlast any other wood. Teak beams in an excellent state of preservation and believed

the west by the Salween, which forms part of the boundary between Siam and Burma. The Meping, Meyom, Mewang and Menam Rivers, tributaries of the Chao Phaya, supply the system of waterways by which the logs are floated to the sea.

On assuming office, Mr. Slade devoted his whole attention and energy to the teak forests. He made a tour of inspection of the whole north country. This journey in itself was a noteworthy feat, for he had to travel through hundreds of miles of jungle, going sometimes afoot, sometimes mounted on an undersized Siamese pony, astride an elephant, making at the most fifteen miles a day, or in a sedan chair carried by four natives. As such mode of travel necessitates an entourage of servants, cooks, carriers, guides and interpreters and officials, Mr. Slade's mission soon became noised abroad. The lessees of the forests, uneasily promising a change of régime, dispatched agents broadcast to girdle and fell great numbers of undersized trees. Every accessible tree large enough



D. P. Strauch

CHUTE IN A TEAK FOREST DOWN WHICH LOGS ARE SENT ON THEIR WAY TO THE CREEKS  
The Foreign Timber Firms So Devastated the Siamese Teak Forests from 1867-1897 That Some of Them Will Not Yield Again for Fifty Years, But the Siamese Government Has Now Passed Stringent Laws to Protect Their Teak

to yield a single log was ruthlessly killed.

On the advice of Mr. Slade after his tour of inspection, the Government established in 1896 a Department of Forestry, with headquarters in Chiang-mai. A European staff of officers, recruited for the most part from the Forest Services of India and Burma, was installed. Royal decrees were promulgated for the protection and control of the forests. Timber companies were forbidden to operate except under lease. All the leased areas were surveyed and inspected. Provisions were made for the training of selected Siamese youths in the Indian Forest School at Dehra Dun. During the past decade many promising young men have been graduated from this school and returned to Siam to be appointed to forestry positions formerly held by Europeans. On the expiration of old grants and leases, new leases with rigid conditions governing operations were presented to the timber men. The minimum girth for girdling was increased from 51 to 76½ inches. The royalty per log was increased from 4¼ rupees to 6 rupees (the normal value of the rupee is about 32 cents gold) for a small log and 10 rupees for a large log, according to definite standards of measurements. In all new grants made after 1909 the leases were lengthened from six to fifteen years. The small leases are being regrouped for consolidation into a few grants

of large area and compact form, covering practically the whole of the teak-bearing forests of Siam. Other stringent, but just, regulations were enacted, and so completely were the teak forests brought under the immediate control of the Forestry Department and so thoroughly did the officials of the department go about their work that seemingly almost every teak tree in Siam was accounted for within a few years. It is in the dry weather when forest men are busily engaged in girdling and felling teak that the Conservator of Forests is most busily engaged. His entire staff of fifteen deputy conservators, thirty assistant conservators, and numbers of rangers, foresters, hill men and guards are all occupied in touring timber districts, inspecting and surveying new leases.

The most important timber companies operating in Siam are five European firms, four of which are British, representing an investment of \$10,000,000 and the employment of hundreds of people, including over fifty Europeans. The natives employed in forest work are from the Kamuk tribe, which is especially skilful in this kind of labor.

The lesson learned by Siam in saving the teak forests of the country, which now yield over 1,500,000 *ticals* annual revenue (a tical is worth about 37 cents gold), promises to be a valuable asset for the kingdom in conserving its other forest wealth.

# THE BUSINESS SIDE OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

By TYLER DENNETT

ACCORDING to the best available figures a little less than \$40,000,000 is being spent annually in the propagation of Protestant Christianity in non-Christian lands and among the undeveloped races. The total revenues of all the missionary societies and boards of United States and Canada have been increased at the rate of more than a million dollars each year since 1910. The average increase for the years 1916 to 1918 was more than \$1,700,000 a year. In the year 1918 the United States and Canada contributed considerably more than half of the entire fund for Protestant foreign missionary work.

Present indications are that the next decade will witness such a rapid extension of the work as will be quite unprecedented in the history of Christianity. The Missionary Centenary of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South have just completed a remarkable financial drive of eight days in which a total of over \$140,000,000 has been subscribed for a period of five years. It is confidently expected that delayed subscriptions will bring this total probably up to \$150,000,000. One-half of this enormous sum, the largest ever raised by any religious body for any purpose, will be devoted to foreign missions. The New Era Movement of the Presbyterian Church reports that already virtually \$38,000,000 has been subscribed for the extension of its work and a very large proportion of this sum also is devoted to foreign missionary work. The Northern Baptists have nearly completed a similar movement. In 1918 the various foreign missionary societies of the United States and Canada received \$22,182,823, an increase of more than \$1,700,000 over the previous year, notwithstanding the multiplied demands for various war funds.

The Interchurch World Movement of North America, recently organized, is now engaged in a very complete survey of the entire religious resources of all non-Christian lands and undeveloped races with a view to presenting before the end of the year a report of the present condition of all American foreign missionary work. On the basis of the facts gathered a unified program of foreign missionary work, defined in the broadest possible terms, will be built with a view to securing the unified effort of all the American Protestant churches in a well considered program for the adequate presentation of Christianity to the entire non-Christian world. It is yet too early to speak of figures in connection with this new program, but it seems a safe prediction that within five years the

annual contributions of the United States and Canada will be increased to at least \$50,000,000.

The plans of the Interchurch World Movement have sometimes been loosely and wrongly identified with the very popular subject of church union. The movement is proceeding on the principle that the best way to promote church union is to work along the lines of a unified program without attempting to dismantle any existing organization or to seek organic unity of denominations. It contemplates a business-like plan of action, based on ascertained facts, and then an orderly, unified presentation of the facts to the entire constituency of American Protestantism. F. W. Ayer, a prominent Baptist layman, is chairman of the general committee, on which are such well known laymen as Stephen Baker, James M. Spears, Fred B. Smith, Raymond Robins, Warren S. Stone and John Willis Bear. The chairman of the executive committee is John R. Mott and the general secretary of the movement is S. Earl Taylor, who has also been the executive secretary of the Joint Centenary Committee of the Methodist Episcopal denominations which have just finished the financial campaign above noted.

One of the most remarkable facts with reference to the present status of foreign missionary work is that the native constituencies on the various fields give annually about one dollar for every four, or even less, which is contributed by the churches in the home lands. For example, while the various societies of the United States and Canada collected in 1918 \$22,182,823, these same organizations collected in the previous years not less than \$4,740,141 on the fields in which they were working. In order to appreciate the full force of this comparison, one must remember that a dollar in the mission fields represents from five to twenty times as much labor as it does in America. Four million seven hundred thousand dollars contributed by the non-Christian world is easily equivalent to \$40,000,000 collected in the United States or Canada. There could hardly be better proof that the foreign missionary is genuinely welcome in the countries to which he goes.

The contributions to missionary work collected on the fields are constantly increasing. A young contract teacher went out to take charge of a large Chinese school for boys. An additional building had soon become necessary. He assumed the responsibility of securing twenty thousand dollars from the native constituency. One of the first men to whom he went said, "I am not interested in this project, but if you will start a fund for a college to be placed by the side of the school, I will give you



Anti-Slavery Extension Committee

**J. CAMPBELL WHITE, PROMINENT IN MISSION CIRCLES**

Associate Secretary of the Interchurch World Movement of North America, Now Making a Survey of All Non-Christian Lands As a Basis for a New Missionary Program



**S. EARL TAYLOR, LEADER IN MISSION CAMPAIGNS**

General Secretary of Interchurch World Movement, Also Executive Secretary of Methodist Missionary Centenary, Which Has Just Raised \$140,000,000 for Mission Work

fifty thousand dollars, and I think I can lead you to a man who will give more than that." The friend actually subscribed \$100,000 and another Chinese gentleman put his name down for \$100,000 more. In a few weeks the young teacher had subscriptions to the value of nearly \$600,000 gold, and gifts of land valued conservatively at three times that amount. The Chinese Young Men's Christian Association has for years paid its own expenses. Money has been contributed from the United States for new property only after the Chinese themselves had secured sufficient funds to erect the buildings. All current expenses and the salaries of the Chinese workers have been carried by the Chinese. Only salaries for the secretaries appointed by the International Committee have been contributed from abroad. At least one missionary board is proposing to make all contributions for property in China dependent upon the amounts raised by the Chinese contingency.

Because of the large sums of money involved, the business side of foreign missions is a subject of general interest. The four or five million dollars

which the American missionary spends in China each year becomes a factor in international credits and the fact that a great deal of this money is spent on American made goods is an item not to be overlooked in international trade. It is of immediate interest to know in what degree the missionary is a worthy representative of American business in his commercial dealings with peoples whose judgments of America are becoming of daily increasing importance to our commercial and political welfare. Mission drafts are sent to the various fields in small denominations because they are immediately sold and become a commercial commodity which may be handled most easily in small sums. In Liberia, West Africa, where the state currency system is neither very staple nor elastic, it has been the custom of one board for many years to send its drafts in twenty-five and fifty cent denominations. These pieces of paper are used very widely as currency and often circulate for several years before they are returned to the New York office for collection. Not long ago a twenty-five cent note was returned which had been out about thirty years. It is inter-



RAYMOND ROBINS, HEAD OF AMERICAN RED CROSS IN RUSSIA

Well Known Social Economist Who Has Led Many Movements for Social and Political Reform. He is Also Identified with the Interchurch Movement As a Member of the General Committee



JOHN R. MOTT, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE Y. M. C. A.

Head of All Y. M. C. A. Work during War, and Identified with Religious Student and Missionary Life of America. He is Chairman of Executive Committee of the Interchurch World Movement

esting that during the entire time the negotiable value of that paper rested solely on the credit of the missionary society. Throughout the mission fields the drafts of the mission boards are well known in banking circles and among the money changers. In such a country as China, where the national currency is chaotic, these drafts are a much more satisfactory form of money than many of the bills which have been endorsed by the local banks or by the state.

When Dr. Rockwell Clancy, treasurer of one of the largest American missions in North India, first took hold of the finances for his mission he found many difficulties confronting him. During an earlier period of missionary history, many of the mission properties had been heavily mortgaged at high rates of interest. Again, no effort had been made to build up a centralized credit. As rapidly as possible Dr. Clancy established a strong credit with one of the banks. Then he began the refunding of mortgages by the simple process of going to each creditor, with the money in his hand, the day a loan fell due and offering either to pay up the

mortgage with money he had borrowed from the bank or to renew it at a lower rate. Eight per cent interest was cut to seven, seven to six and one-half, then to six. At length he reached rock bottom, but meanwhile he had drawn the attention of the banks to his methods and won their confidence. In time he was able to clear nearly all the mission property and then to secure a credit of several hundred thousand rupees. When the outbreak of the war demoralized the exchange rate, Dr. Clancy was able to hold his drafts and borrow at the bank to meet his regular expenditures.

The volume of mission business in Shanghai is so large that it has been found profitable for six of the larger organizations to establish joint offices. While there is no actual pooling of credit one man takes entire charge of the selling of drafts for all the boards. Another has charge of transportation. The obstacle to be met in such ventures for efficiency and economy is that mission work is carried on without capital other than property investments. The money is contributed from year to year for immediate use. It is difficult to create capital funds

to be used to take advantage of the usual business opportunities possible to so large a business.

The distribution of American made goods through the missionaries reaches proportions which few people realize. The total foreign staff of missionaries from the United States and Canada, physicians and short term workers is more than 54,000. The foreign community thus created is even larger than that. The missionary is a buyer of every conceivable commodity from needles to cod liver oil by the barrel and traction engines. One mission board a few years ago sent an entire ship-load of Oregon pine to Shanghai. Hardware for buildings is purchased almost entirely in America. Rice-mills are sent to China, portable saw-mills to Africa and electrical apparatus goes everywhere.

Not long ago an American doctor building a hospital in one of the waste spaces of Korea urgently needed a larger water supply. Turning to his mail-order catalogue, which in most missionary homes shares the most convenient shelf with the Bible, he found a picture of a wind-mill with instructions so complete that he was able to erect his mill without difficulty. Now the natives come many miles to see it.

Incidentally it may be noted that the increasing earning power of mission school graduates is developing immense sources of new wealth in Asia and is increasing the purchasing power of the natives to a very marked degree. A missionary at Penang on the Malay Peninsula has estimated that the earning capacity of his school graduates was increased on the average from \$25 to \$75 a month. At that rate the eight thousand boys who pass through the schools of that region in a generation have a total increased earning capacity of nearly \$5,000,000 a year. When one remembers that every educated Chinese boy in that country insists on wearing European style clothes and foot-wear, and carries not only a watch but also a fountain pen, one realizes how very great is the influence of the missions in developing new markets in Asia.

Another interesting phase of foreign missionary business is printing and publishing. The missionary introduced the modern printing press into Asia and Africa to supply the printed matter necessary for the propagation of the work. At first the chief output was Bibles, tracts and school books. The business has constantly expanded until it now includes as wide a variety of jobs as will be found in many publishing houses in the United States. I have in mind one such house, in Singapore, which did a business last year of \$80,000 and showed a profit of over \$10,000, all of which was used to extend evangelistic work. This establishment is the largest educational supply house in the Straits Settlements, and publishes more books each year than all the other printers put together. There are

about eighty employees, only three of whom are Europeans. Eight or ten languages are spoken in the shop and literature is published in eight languages. Most missions are now finding it more profitable to let out their printing to native establishments, many of which owe their origin to the training offered in the mission press. It is doubtful whether there will ever be a greater extension of the mission printing business, but the work of publishing will probably assume much greater proportions. There is now no new opportunity open to the missionary which promises better rewards for the effort than the creation of new national literatures.

The property holdings of the various American mission boards is probably in excess of \$150,000,000. Mission property, because of its well-kept appearance, the quality of the buildings and the improvement in sanitation, almost always attracts the better class of native property owners, with the result that a select community is developed and there are large increases in values. The relatively low cost of land and of building and the large gifts from the native constituency mean that mission properties acquire a value all out of proportion to the appraisement of similar investments at home.

Mission organizations do not escape the vague charge that is some time or other brought against most philanthropic societies that their "over-head" expenses are so large as to eat up most of the funds contributed. A brief description of the channels through which missionary money travels from the time it leaves the contributor's pocket until it is applied to the work will show how baseless is the suspicion.

The constituency from which the money is collected is the membership of the denomination. That membership may be less than a million people represented by five thousand congregations, or it may be four million people in thirty thousand different churches. The average contributions of these constituents have not equalled a penny a day. The problem of collecting that money closely parallels that of an insurance company which collects its premiums in small weekly payments. The over-head expenses for such forms of insurance are notoriously high, but in the collection of missionary funds there is relatively little expense because every church organization acts as a collection agency, sending in one hundred cents of every dollar to the central office. Again, the cultivation of this constituency is done largely by the officers of the various missionary organizations in the local church and by the minister. All of this service also is without cost to the missionary administration. The only outside help which the local church receives usually comes from the missionary who is home on furlough once in six or seven years. The expense of the missionary's furlough salary is rela-

tively small, so small that many missionaries complain bitterly about it, and in any case the mission boards would be compelled to bear this charge whether the missionary were engaged in stimulating contributions or not. The bulk of the expense involved in gathering the money which is sent to the fields is in the production of literature and other publicity material, such as lantern slides. The overhead charges for administration work are almost exclusively for the maintenance of a single office where the complex work of collection and distribution of funds, education, selection of missionaries and direction of the work in foreign lands is centralized. The total overhead expenses of the various boards fluctuate from year to year between five and ten per cent, the average being about seven.

One of the most serious defects in present missionary organization lies in the custom of depending upon the missionary himself to finance large parts of his own work, sometimes as much as two-thirds of it, through the cultivation of special gifts. At least a half dozen years are required for a missionary to learn the languages and accumulate sufficient experience to prepare him for maximum usefulness in the work. He becomes a highly trained specialist. It is probably not an over-estimate to say that the potential efficiency of the present missionary force is not over fifty per cent of what it would be if all the money for the work could be raised without the necessity of the direct personal solicitation of the missionary. One of the most serious defects of this condition is that when the missionary is at home on furlough he is permitted practically no time for rest or for such further technical study as his special tasks in education and medicine on the field may demand.

The problem of securing contributions to foreign missions may be considered essentially a problem in advertising. There is a select constituency which in the United States amounts to about twenty-five million people, namely, the Protestant church membership. This constituency is already committed to the work to the extent of approximately eighty cents a person annually. The per capita contributions to foreign missions have varied among the larger denominations from ninety cents a member to a little less than two dollars and twenty cents. In general, the larger the denomination, the smaller the per capita contribution. The United Presbyterian Church, which has a membership of only about 160,000, contributes nearly \$4 a year for each member. The Presbyterians, with 1,500,000 members have given about \$1.25; the Methodist Episcopal Church with nearly 4,000,000 members only \$1.06. Two-thirds of the Protestant church members are accustomed to give almost nothing to foreign missions.

The development of contributions in this vast con-

stituency ought to prove increasingly easy. The war, in which so many of the undeveloped races freely and eagerly participated, created a new sense of friendliness among the white and other races. The war also widened the horizons of people who had hitherto had only a parochial outlook. The Peace Conference has left some huge open sores in its handling both of the race and the subject nation questions. The question of lasting peace in Asia hangs very largely upon an understanding between the Western Powers and the Oriental races, an understanding which is at present very insecure. It ought to be very easy to urge the value and the necessity of foreign missions in these days which are just ahead of us. President Wilson during the war wrote in a letter to a missionary now home on furlough:

"I entirely agree with you in regard to the missionary work. I think it would be a real misfortune, a misfortune of lasting consequence, if the missionary program for the world should be interrupted. That the work undertaken should be continued and continued—at its full force—seems to me of capital necessity, and I hope for one that there may be no slackening or recession of any sort. I wish that I had time to write you as fully as this great subject demands, but I have put my whole thought into these few sentences and I hope you will feel at liberty to use this expression of opinion in any way that you think best."

As a matter of fact the subject of foreign missions has not always been presented in terms to which the average church member will respond. He has not seen in it a world movement in which humanitarian purposes are mingled with those of self-preservation for civilization itself. The facts as to the moral and spiritual impoverishment of the non-Christian races are unchanged and must be as potent an argument as ever to those who support foreign missions because of their evangelistic purpose. On the other hand, for those who have dismissed the older missionary appeal with the answer, uttered or unexpressed, that "their religion is good enough for them," there is the challenge of the new world, a world of freedom and democracy. To quote President Wilson again: "Religion is the only force in the world that I have ever heard of that does actually transform the life; and the proof of the transformation is to be found all over the world, and is multiplied and repeated as Christianity gains fresh territory in the heathen world."

The Interchurch World Movement of North America is so fortunate as to be launched on a rising tide of popular interest. The best possible underwriting of the League of Nations will be a league of the religious forces of the world, without the support of which the League can be but a doubtful success.



# MY DARLING HOPE

By FREDERICK O'BRIEN

*Edited by Rose Wilder Lane*

**M**AUITETAI, a middle-aged woman with a kindly face, was long on my *paepae*. Her name would be in English, My Darling Hope, and it well fitted her mood, for she was all aglow with wonder and joy at receiving a letter from her son, who three years before had gone upon a ship and disappeared from her ken. It brought My Darling Hope into intimate relations with me, for I uncovered to her that her wandering boy had become a resident of my own country, and unveiled some of the mysteries of our polity.

The letter was in Marquesan, which I translated into French, and then into English, seeking to keep the flavor of the original:

"I write to you, me, Pahorai Calixte, and put on this paper greetings to you, my mother, Mauitetai, who are in Atuona.

"*Koaha nui tuu kui*, Mauitetai, mother of me. Great love to you.

"I have found in Philadelphia good work for me.

"I have found a woman for me. She is Jeanette, an artist, a maker of tattooings on cloth.

"I am very happy. I have found a house to live in. I am happy I have this woman.

"She is rich. I am poor. I write to you to make it known to you that she is rich and I am poor.

"By this paper you will know that I have pledged my word to this woman. I found her and I won her by my work and strength and endeavor.

"She is *moi kanahua*; as beautiful as the flowers of the *hutū* in my own beloved valley of Atuona. She is not of America. She is of Chile. She has paid many *piastres* for the coming here. She had paid forty *piastres*. She has been at home in Las Palmas, in the islands of small golden birds.

"I will write you more in this paper. I seek your permission to marry Jeanette. She asks it, as I do. Send me your word by the government that carries words on paper.

"Give me that word I ask for this woman. I cannot go to marry in Atuona. That is what my heart wants, but it is far, and the money is great. The woman would pay and would come with me. She is rich and I am poor. I say no. I am proud. I have shame. I am a Marquesan.

"I live with that woman now. I am not married. It is forbidden. The American *mutoi* (policeman) may take hold of me. Five months I am with this woman of mine. The *mutoi* has a warclub that is hard as stone.

"Give me quickly the paper to marry her. I

await your word. And it is far to come to me.

"My word is done. I am at Philadelphia. New York Hotel. A. P. A. Dieu. Cout Pae, Mama."

Mauitetai had read the letter many times. It was wonderful to hear from her son after three years, and pleasant to know that he had found a woman. She must be a *haoe*, a white woman. Were the women of that island, Chile, white?

I said that they ran the color scale, from brown to blonde, from European to Indian, but that this Jeanette who was a tattooer, a maker of pictures on cloth, unlike an artist of merit, must be pale as a moonbeam.

My Darling Hope would know what kind of a valley was Philadelphia.

It was the Valley of Brotherly Love. It was a quiet valley, but very big, with two streams and a bay. No, it was not near Tahiti. It was a bread-fruit season away from here, at the very least.

What could a hotel be? The New York Hotel in which her poor son lived?

I did not know that hotel, I told her, but a hotel was a house in which many people paid to live, and some hotels had more rooms than there were houses in all the Marquesas.

What! In one house, under one roof? By my tribe, it was true.

Did I know this woman? I was from that country and I had been in that valley. I must have seen her.

I replied that I knew a Jeanette who answered the description, beautiful, but she was not from Chile.

Now, My Darling Hope knit her brow. Why would the *mutoi* take hold of her son, as he feared?

I soothed her anxiety. The *mutoi* walked up and down in front of the hotel, but he would not bother her son as long as her son could get a few *piastres* now and then to hand to him. The woman was rich, and would not miss a trifling sum, five or ten *piastres* a month for the *mutoi*.

Why was it forbidden for her son to live with Jeanette, being not married to her?

That was our law, but it was seldom enforced. The *mutois* were fat men who carried *u'u* (warclubs) and struck the poor with them, but her son was *tapu* because of Jeanette's *piastres*.

She was at ease now, she said. Her son could not marry without her permission. No Marquesan ever had done so. She would send the word by the next schooner, or when I returned to my country I



might take it with me. I had done her a great kindness, but one thing more. Neither she nor Tithuti nor Vai could make out what Pahorai Calixte meant by Cout Pae, Mama. A. P. A. Dieu was his commendation of her to God, but Cout Pae was not Marquesan.

She pronounced the words in the Marquesan way, and I knew at once. Cout Pae is pronounced Coot Pye. Coot Pye was Pahorai Calixte's way of

imitating the American for *Apae Kaoha*. Good-by, Mama, was his quite Philadelphian closing of his letter to his mother.

I addressed an envelope to her son with The Iron Fingers That Make Words, and gave it to My Darling Hope. A tear came in her eye. She rubbed my back affectionately and caressed my nose with hers as she smelled me solemnly. Then she went up the valley to enlighten the hill people.

## A JAPANESE STUDENT ON WILSON

ONE of the most precious things the Westerner carries away from the Orient is the memory of the friends he has left behind him. Kipling's phrase, "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet," is more than trite; it is false. On the pagoda and tiled-roof side of the Pacific one draws immeasurably close to one's oriental friends. It is not so difficult to penetrate beneath the crust of diverging environment and tradition. Perhaps the very differences serve to make the human and spiritual bond more real. For myself, I can only say I feel what so many who love the East have experienced—a great surging up of tenderness at the thought of my friends in the Orient. Included among them may have been a gentle priest at some wayside shrine in China, or the faithful Number One Boy in the Peking house; in Japan, the venerable old flower teacher, the stocky little mail carrier, or a university professor. And if they can write English, one looks forward eagerly to those letters that diffuse the mingled aroma of Gobi Desert dust, the strange exotic flavor of bazaars and a suggestion of junks with faded orange-pink sails; and to those slender, delicate envelopes from Japan, in which are inclosed long streamers of paper which are mistily suggestive of fox-maiden foot-prints, of cryptomeria groves, and of summer nights on the Sumida.

Two members of the ASIA staff who have lived in Japan recently received the following letter from the young man who had lived in their house as a student. In Tokyo it is customary both for Japanese and foreigners to give a room and a small remuneration to young students in return for certain domestic services. The boy who wrote this letter had an unusual opportunity to learn English in his ten years in an American household in Tokyo. The letter is reprinted word for word as he wrote it, except for the omission of names and of some of the more personal passages. It is a charming combination of international political wisdom and personal revelation.—*Editorial Note.*

"Thank you much obliged for your kindness in writing.

"Now, you the young ladies, are I think performing your mission merrily and happily in publishing the magazine for the sake of the world—to introduce *Asia* to everybody.

"How glad you are to have such a popular actor of the universal stage, the President Woodrow Wilson!

"As far as I know he is a man precisely sure of himself, a man talking into the world of affairs the authority that belongs to the head of a university, a man essentially an idealist, but an idealist with a large and assured knowledge of men, the President always trust in himself alone to get it. He speaks for a great democracy, but he speaks as a personal autocrat. He is single minded. He has courage. And he has patience. He must be largely recorded on the world history as well as David Lloyd George, George Clemenceau and the Prussian militarism. Much for that.

"Miss — has spent her New Year at Kamakura enjoying much happiness and many pleasures Japan affords.

"We are all well. Umé is now a nice girl of eighteen with the pride of pure virginity. Mother is a good servant who has been attending diligently for over ten years. I am working in the coal department of — and Company, Tokyo, a young gentleman, not tall, the hair nicely divided, merry hearted and a lover of joking and of *haikai*<sup>1</sup> as ever. We are proud of ourselves for not afflicted with Spanish flu. Lastly our pet, Niké, is four years of age and good behavior now. He learnt how to be gentle and play. Nice cat.

"House is *ojisan*,<sup>2</sup> on the contrary its rent raised high. The garden is miserable sight which has been painted by the mischevous Jack Frost. I mean the face of the garden is ugly looking, but by and by it will become a nice girl of garden again.

"I am sending you the decorated envelopes for present under separate cover.

"Thank you again for your kindness.

"Best wishes to you."

<sup>1</sup> The popular little Japanese poems of seventeen syllables.

<sup>2</sup> Grandfather.

# A FORCE FOR RUSSIA'S RECONSTRUCTION

By J. V. BUBNOFF

**I**F Russia has not yet perished, if the horrors of the Revolution are passing over its surface without furrowing deep into its soil, the credit for this belongs solely to the mighty coöperative movement which during the last few years has laid the foundation of stability and order in the sub-strata of national life.

It is usual to regard the trading class and its economic enterprise as the only creative power. The independent economic enterprise of the masses never receives its due consideration. The history of the Revolution in Russia has shown, however, that political systems may come to grief, the trading class may lose all its power and cease to fulfil its economic function and even the machinery of local self-government may completely break down. But the democratic organizations of the masses retain their power and stability and suffer the least from the turmoils of revolution. The Russian coöperative movement has weathered the period of Tsardom, the time of the Kerensky government, Bolshevism, and still exists, proving the firmness of its foundation which no political storm can shake.

As early as 1865 was laid the foundation of the first consumers' store in Russia. During the succeeding thirty years the movement remained a weak and barely noticeable factor in Russian economic life. A new stage began in 1895. The old Tsarist government never encouraged coöperation, believing it to be dangerous to public order and safety. But pressure of the growing moneyed classes who demanded a change in the financial policy of the country and the necessity for raising the welfare of the peasantry, compelled the government to establish some system of small credit. Count Witte introduced a special type of organization to provide the population with small credit at a low rate of interest.

The first revolutionary upheaval in Russia which swept over the country in 1905 unlocked the store of popular energy and gave a mighty impetus to the coöperative movement. The number of individual coöperative societies began to grow with amazing rapidity. Side by side with them local unions of societies were founded, leading to the formation of central organizations.

The first of these determining factors of Russian life bearing on the coöperative movement is the agricultural character of the country. In some districts only 10 per cent of the population live

in towns, and through the country as a whole the urban and agricultural population is 30 and 70 per cent respectively. The peculiar form of the life of the peasants in Russia, their communal ownership of land and mutual responsibility before the State supplied a favorable ground for the spread of coöperation. By guaranteeing to the State the repayment of loans, a firm foundation was laid for the growth of credit societies.

The second factor is the small industrial proletariat. Kept under the supervision of factory inspectors and government officials, deprived of the right of organizing trade unions, Russian workmen were practically peasants attached to their land, though engaged in industry. In the Russian Manchester, the town of Ivanovo-Voznessensk, the cotton manufacturing center of the country with an industrial population numbering in 1917 about 100,000, the greater mass of workmen lived in the surrounding country districts. Even in Moscow and Petrograd when factories closed for the Easter holiday (lasting from two to three weeks) the mass of workmen would leave to rejoin their families in the villages.

The third important factor is the particularly rapacious type of the village tradesman in Russia. He often acts the part of a local usurer. Before the introduction of the State monopoly of liquors, he was also publican, in which position, especially with a liberal distribution of drinks, he was able to dominate the public life and enterprise of the villagers. The same parasitic village capitalist was the first to buy land of the poorer peasants when the laws of 1909 and 1911 made possible the splitting up of communal land into individual holdings.

These three factors have given Russian coöperation a character greatly different from coöperation in other European countries. Both the credit and the consumers' societies, not to mention the agricultural, grew up in the country. Nothing had been done by the government to increase the yield of the peasants from 1861, the date of their emancipation, to 1905. It was natural, therefore, that peasants' credit associations should have bought agricultural machinery and implements, sold and stored corn, organized educational societies, constructed roads, telephones, and even established consumers' stores, potato-grinding mills and other public and semi-public aids.

Existence in the country of the rapacious tradesman who made 100 per cent profit on his goods and charged 50 to 100 per cent on money lent, made it easy for the coöperators to impress on the minds of the peasants the advantages of coöperation. What wonder that under these conditions the 12 per cent interest which the credit societies charged at the early stage of their existence, or the 20 to 30 per cent increase on the cost price charged by the consumers' stores was looked upon by the peasant as a God-sent blessing. However, till 1914 Russian coöperation, though numbering over 30,000 societies with about 10,000,000 members could hardly have been considered a powerful factor, the influence of which could be felt in the whole commercial, industrial or financial life of the country.

But the war gave coöperation a position of special importance, almost from its first days. The enormous work of supplying food and forage for the army required the services of the small collector. The coöperative societies and particularly their unions, being in direct contact with the small producer, began to receive government contracts. Because of a shortage of rolling stock on the railways, the government, confronted with the critical problem of regulating transport, began to encourage the organization of local unions or federations of the coöperative societies. The government was later compelled to regard favorably the unifying activities of the central coöperative organizations which engaged in buying and distributing agricultural machinery and implements, binder twine, insecticides and fungicides, seeds, fertilizers and even metals.

These were united by the Zemstvos, the Moscow Narodny Bank (the central coöperative bank) financing the transactions, and the government giving its assistance in railway transport, in securing tonnage, and in buying foreign currency. As early as the end of 1915 coöperative organizations were recognized as engaged in war-work, their workmen were granted exemption from military service, the opinions of their leaders began to carry ever-increasing weight with the authorities, so much so that even a special bill regulating the formation and activity of coöperative societies was introduced into the Duma to put an end to arbitrary action by the police. When in 1917 the revolution swept off the old régime, among the first acts of the new government was the en-

listament of the coöperative organizations for assisting the state, not only in the supply of forage and distribution of foodstuffs, but in the collection of subscriptions for war-loans. This was followed by the inclusion in the government of certain leaders of the coöperative movement, the passing of a law on coöperation, and the drafting of a scheme for establishing a special Minister of Coöperation. The period from March to November, 1917, was marked in the life of Russian coöperation by tremendous energy, extraordinarily bold enterprise and widespread activity.

No sooner did coöperation tackle the organization of purchase and distribution of foodstuffs than it found itself face to face with the problem of furnishing an immediate supply of manufactured goods to the country. One organization after another then decided to start industrial enterprises. Factories, saw-mills, flour-mills, were built or purchased. The number of coöperative unions grew by leaps and bounds. Educational work was carried on with unprecedented energy by specially organized departments. Innumerable lectures and classes were arranged, newspapers and pamphlets were published, book-shops and printing presses were acquired. Attempts were even made to enter political life, but, unfortunately, conditions proved more than Russian coöperation could cope with.

The advent to power of the Bolsheviks marked the third and the most interesting period of Russian coöperation. The autocracy had done its best to hamper the progress of coöperation. The Kerensky government placed great hope in coöperation and encouraged it in every possible way. But the Bolsheviks began their rule by trying to stretch the movement on a Procrustean bed of nationalization. In this, because of the opposition aroused among the coöperators, they miserably failed. Having, however, destroyed the mechanism of trade and industry, and in default of any of their own they were compelled to change their minds and to fasten upon coöperation as their standby, showering upon it all kinds of monopolies and subsidies, though at the same time continuing their unwarranted and often high-handed interference with the work of the coöperators. The decree on coöperation promulgated by the Bolsheviks on April 11, 1918, shows the measure of their surrender to the movement which had nothing to oppose to them except its efficiency and vital national importance.

The position of Russian coöperation now, though full of every promise, is not free from certain misgivings. The

movement has been capturing one new sphere after another and reaching stupendous figures of turnover. But in this rapid growth there lurks the danger of recklessness and speculation which threatens the movement with grave disaster. Fortunately for the Russian coöperators their leaders are sober and business-like people who are well aware of the fact that the present success has not been attained wholly by hard and persevering work, and that, therefore, the magnificent edifice may not prove solid enough to sustain some unexpected shock. To prevent this, energetic measures are being taken.

Too rapid progress has been made by the consumers' societies as a result of the collapse of private trade brought about by the dearth of commodities. Some credit coöperative organizations yielding to the general temptation and launched on the path of speculation, took an active part in the organization of mixed bodies in which the trade element is predominant. Large capital has become available for coöperative enterprise, doubtless attracted by the possibility of selling anything at any price demanded, and within the shortest time.

The demand for credit has grown to tremendous proportions, so that the Moscow Narodny Bank, having no competition to face from other banks, has developed its operations to a remarkable degree. Thus the balance of the Moscow Narodny Bank on January 1, 1917, was 83,000,000 roubles, and on August 1 about 1,250,000,000 roubles. The deposit and current accounts on January 1, 1917, were 33,000,000 roubles, and on June 1, 1918, they were 495,000,000 roubles. The credits opened to coöperative societies in 1917 amounted to 409,000,000 roubles, and for last June alone, 285,000,000 roubles.

Some Russian coöperative organizations show no inclination to remain content with the present scope of their work. They conjure up visions of their own undertakings—factories, mills, cotton plantations, mercantile fleets. They contemplate driving private capital out of commerce and industry. They dream of being the only dominating force in the economic life of Russia. This all involves danger for coöperation. Intoxicating as this sudden rise to prominence is, it nevertheless does not blind the coöperators in general to the actualities. The time is not far off when it will be their duty to take stock of all the coöperative work and to decide what can be preserved and what must be abandoned.

They will have to pay special attention to the problems of agricultural coöperation. They will have to reflect the

new outlook of the peasantry, freed from the shackles of serfdom and communal land ownership, conscious of its peculiar nature and position—of being something that is not petty bourgeoisie, nor proletariat, nor merely a laboring class.

Russia for a long time will continue to supply the western countries of Europe with agricultural products. Agricultural coöperation will recruit its members only among those elements of the country population who have carried on an independent husbandry of their own.

Of late it has become increasingly evident that agricultural coöperation requires a separate center for the defense of its interests. This question was recently considered at a conference arranged by the Goods Department of the Moscow Narodny Bank, and the necessity of such a center, independent of its possible form or the time it might be set up, was recognized by an overwhelming majority of the members present. The first step, i. e., the recognition in principle, has, therefore, been taken, and it can be expected that before long the conditions will induce Russian coöperators to create such a central organ.

The progress of the coöperative movement among the industrial population of Russia has been rapid, since no other class has suffered so much from famine as the working class. Distributive coöperation is the natural form in which the coöperative movement finds its expression among the industrial workers. It may therefore be reasonably predicted that as soon as normal conditions of life are reestablished in Russia, consumers' stores in towns and industrial centers will pass entirely under the control of workmen, and will thus constitute a powerful labor wing of the coöperative movement.

For the time being, at all events, coöperation holds the position of the foremost economic force in Russia. But Russia cannot continue to remain isolated from the rest of the world. She must satisfy her needs in manufactured goods by importing them from other countries, and she must export her surplus of agricultural produce and raw materials. Thus, Russian coöperation is face to face with the problem of international trade. The future development of Russia and the welfare of her people will depend upon the solving of this problem. It is to be hoped that other nations, and particularly the great American people, will realize the extreme importance of reestablishing trade relations with Russia without delay, and will do all they can to assist the only stable and financially sound economic organization of the country.

# ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

**RUSSIA: FROM THE VARANGIANS TO THE BOLSHEVIKS**, by Raymond Beazley, Nevill Forbes, and G. A. Birkett; with an Introduction by Ernest Barker. The Oxford University Press, New York City, 1918, 601 pp.

"History cannot solve the riddle of humanity, but it can at any rate record the gradual accumulation of factors which have gone to produce the result by which we are confronted, and by breaking up the problem into its constituent elements and successive stages it may enable the student to find some reason and provide some answer for the whole." Thus Mr. Barker, in the introduction to this history of Russia, which, by the way, tells more about the Varangians than about the Bolsheviks.

One is tempted to quote at length from this introduction, for in the text of the volume itself the multitude of facts tends to obscure the tracing of causes which seems to be the definite purpose of the three authors. However, accurate chronicling of data is better than uncertain interpretation. Professor Beazley contributes the first section, which covers the romantic epoch of vikings and traders; Mr. Forbes depicts a scene of perpetual wars and annexations, during the period of the building of the Russian colossus; Mr. Birkett brings the history to date and juggles problems of serfdom and socialism, autocracy and bureaucracy, nationality and constitutionalism. An excellent illustration of keen interpretation is offered in the first chapter of Book II, as Ivan IV and Catherine II are portrayed with great vividness.

The effect of the history is detached rather than cumulative. Somewhere in the volume, in a discussion of the great Russian state, the point is made that its dissolution is less astonishing than its long continuance, since it was shaped by force and held and clamped together by force. The causes of the present unrest and agitation are traced back to those who set Russia on the wrong track—rulers like Peter the Great, Ivan III, Basil IV, Ivan IV and Catherine II; also to the absence of frontiers; to the migratory habit of the people; and to the dour policy of the Princes of Moscow of adding acre to acre and principality to principality.

This history does not solve the "riddle of Russia." But, as Mr. Barker suggests, through this careful assembling of factors that have produced the results the reader will at least see method in the wayward country's madness and better understand the problems that she needs to solve before peace is assured.

**THE RED HEART OF RUSSIA**, by Bessie Beatty. The Century Company, New York City, 1918, 480 pp.

With enviable vividness and charm Miss Beatty tells her story of the Russian Revolution as she saw it in the year beginning June, 1917, when she was in Petrograd as war correspondent of the *San Francisco Bulletin*. Here are phrases and flashes of insight into conditions one does not easily forget: No Man's Land lying like a bone between two hungry dogs; the frail Princess who looked like an orchid and could not help loving her husband, though "it's very bourgeois of me, I know"; the shoddy workmen talking of a statement of the Allied war aims and the publication of the secret treaties; the kiss of "Babushka"; the peasant's interpretation of freedom in terms of land.

The account of the Battalion of Death is unusually sympathetic. The author shared the wooden board and soup and "kasha" of these soldier women for a week, donned "overettes" and sliced off hunks of black bread for breakfast and was an unobtrusive and watchful observer of the heroic girls who went into battle shouting a challenge to the deserting Russian troops. The later chapters in the book lack a little of the convincing quality that is so delightful here; occasionally they leave the impression that they are the outgrowth of the breathless discussions in the little blue room in the War Hotel where the American correspondents often gathered rather than the result of first-hand observations. However, where conditions are as abnormal as those depicted here, it is ungracious to criticize.

*The Red Heart of Russia* has been on the shelves of our book stalls for many months already; much has happened since it was written, for the momentum of action in Russia today is so swift that it crowds a month of events into a week or even a day. But throughout the volume the perspective is sure, the journalist's genius for elimination of non-essentials is everywhere apparent, and it gains rather than loses from this somewhat belated perusal of it.

**EASTERN EXPLORATION, PAST AND FUTURE**, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, Hon. D. C. L. Robert M. McBride & Company, New York City, 1918, 118 pp.

Almost shabby in its lack of physical attractiveness, this little volume fortunately possesses compensating features in the way of a wealth of interesting information that can be culled from its contents. While politicians are determining spheres of influence and mandates for the lands that lie east of Suez,

the archaeologist is pondering over the problems of conserving the treasures of antiquity. To a large extent exploration in Mesopotamia and Palestine was prohibited under Turkish rule. The Allied conquest opened these countries to civilization, but Dr. Petrie sounds a stern and much needed warning lest in assuming a stewardship of their past, British management will repeat the ghastly results of its inefficiency that have been exhibited in Cyprus and Egypt. He pleads for sane conservation and scientific excavation. The man who does not respect the traditions of the past he considers "just as much a barbarian as if he melted up Charles at Charing Cross, or took the coffin of Edward I for a horse-trough." The last of these chapters, which are the author's lectures before the Royal Institution, outlines a program of conservation in detail. A Department of Antiquities and Museums is proposed, with a vigorous and impartial organization and facilities for complete publication of all discoveries.

**CHINA AND THE WORLD WAR**, by W. Reginald Wheeler. The Macmillan Company, New York City, 1919, 263 pp.

Mr. Wheeler's little book on China has many features that commend it as a reference volume. His narrative of events is dispassionate and laudably objective. He begins with the first year of the war—with Japan's capture of Tsingtao and the Twenty-one Demands. Next follow chapters on the attack upon the Chinese Republic from within, the forming of a new foreign policy, severance of diplomatic relations with the Central Powers, declaration of war against Germany and Austria, the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, the Chinese-Japanese Military Agreement of 1918 and the future of China. Five appendices give official documents and statements, and a useful annotated bibliography on China concludes the work. His picture of the present political and economic situation is not hopeful. The most definite contribution he makes is his suggestion to take a common-sense view of unpleasant possibilities in the way of international friction or potential future hostilities between China and Japan, and to arrive at satisfactory arrangements at the close of the war. (The book was written before hostilities ceased.) He voices the hopes of the Chinese people, so often expressed, that the old cordial relations between their country and the United States might be maintained; and reiterates that growing conviction among many that for the next few years the storm centre of the world will be the Far East—especially China.

A. L. O.







## Contributors and Contributions

FREDERICK O'BRIEN, the publisher of the *Manila Times*, lived for some time in the South Sea Islands. He spent a year in the Marquesas, where he associated on friendly terms with the natives and collected notes on primitive customs that are fast disappearing.

ROSE WILDER LANE, who has collaborated with Mr. O'Brien, is one of the most promising of the younger American novelists. The article in this issue is the second of a series, which will be published as a book in the early fall as *White Shadows in the South Seas*.

ALICE ROGERS HAGER has recently gone to take up her residence in Japan.

SILAS BENT is on the editorial staff of the *New York Times*.

ELIZABETH J. COATSWORTH, a young American poet who has traveled extensively in the East, draws much of her inspiration from the Orient.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS is one of the pioneer Americans connected with the early friendly associations of Japan and the United States. In 1870, when Japan was just beginning to emerge from feudalism, Mr. Griffis went to the newly opened island empire to help organize the school system. He is recognized as an authority on Japanese and Korean history. *Korea, the Hermit Nation* and *The Mikado's Empire* are among the many books he has written on the Orient.

"AMERICUS" is the pen name of a writer who has lived for many years in China and Japan, and has occupied positions of trust that have given him an unusual opportunity to make a sympathetic and at the same time a critical and well balanced study of these two oriental peoples. A complete understanding of the psychology of the Japanese and Chinese is necessary to any real insight into their problems, which are so intricately bound up with the international relations of the United States and other western countries.

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS went to Belgium as a war correspondent. Later, he entered Russia and witnessed some of the most stirring events of the revolution. He lived fourteen months with Russian peasants, soldiers of the Red Army and factory workers. He left Russia toward the end of 1918, traveling through the Ukraine and studying conditions in Siberia.

ELIZABETH COOPER lived for ten years in Shanghai, and has traveled extensively in the Far East, making two trips around the world, particularly for the purpose of investigating the status of oriental women. She is the author of *My Lady of the Chinese Courtyard* and *The Heart of O Sano San*.

FREDERICK STARR, head of the anthropology department of the University of Chicago, has visited Korea and Japan many times on expeditions and field work connected with ethnological research. He has just sailed for Japan to gather more material on Japanese customs, principally with the object of organizing the results of his many expeditions into final form for publication.

H. M. HYNDMAN, the English Socialist, contributes an article on certain problems of oriental immigration that directly concern, not only the United States, but also the British Dominions.

V. C. SCOTT O'CONNOR, an official in the financial department of the Government of India, has lived many years and traveled extensively in India and Burma.

# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

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ARTICLES and pictures on matters of Oriental interest are invited, but the responsibility is not assumed for the safe return of material submitted. Return postage should be enclosed.



RICHARD WOOD RANDOLPH, AMERICAN RAILROAD ENGINEER, WHO HAS SURVEYED THE UPPER YANGTZE VALLEY FOR THE PROPOSED HUKUANG RAILROAD INTO WEST CHINA

Mr. Randolph has surveyed the line which is now under discussion in New York, Paris, London and Peking for prospective building. It is a proposed link in the first great east and west trunk line in China—from Canton to Chengtu near the Tibetan border—which is to be built under the plan of coöperation of the United States, England and France. Mr. Randolph surveyed not only the American section, but the British and French western sections of the line. In another part of this issue is the first of a series of articles setting forth the significance of this Hukuang Loan Railroad as a political and economic factor in China's development.





JOHN JAY ABBOTT, WHO HAS JUST RETURNED FROM INVESTIGATING  
CONDITIONS IN CHINA FOR THE AMERICAN GROUP OF BANKS FOR  
LOANS TO THE EASTERN REPUBLIC

Mr. Abbott is Vice-President of the Continental and Commercial Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago. He was selected by the heads of the American group for prospective loans to China, which now includes about thirty-seven banks, to make a close investigation of financial and general conditions in China fundamental to large loans. Mr. Abbott went to China about the first of the year. He crowded into his stay an exhaustive study of men and conditions in China. Mr. Abbott is a keen student of Far Eastern affairs.



George A. Fiske

#### THE HALF RUINED RAMPARTS AND TURRETS OF THE GREAT WALL

The Most Ambitious Defense of an Ancient Civilization Against Invading Barbarians Was Begun in the Third Century, B. C., to Shut Out the Mongolian Hordes. With Its Double Gateways and Sturdy Towers and Its Intrepid Scorn of Such Geographical Obstacles As Steep Mountain Ranges, It Winds Southeast for Fifteen Hundred Miles Across China, from Shan-hai-kwan on the Gulf of Liao-tung to the Hwang-ho

# THE PASSING OF THE MEN OF AHAO

By FREDERICK O'BRIEN

Edited by Rose Wilder Lane



I SET out one morning with Le Brunec, the French trader at Atuona valley, in search of rubber trees on the plateau of Ahao, above Hanamenu, on the other side of Hiva-on Island.

Mounted on small but sturdy Marquesan horses, we followed the trail across the river and up the steep mountain-side clad with impenetrable jungle, climbing ever higher and higher above deep gorges and dizzying precipices, until at noon we crossed the loftiest range and dipped downward to the wide plateau.

A thousand feet above the valley, level as a prairie, and indescribably wild and deserted, the plain stretched before us. At some distance to our right a long and narrow mound rose five hundred feet from the plateau, a hill that did not mar the vast level expanse, but seemed instead a great earth-work piled upon it by man. Its green terrace was a wild garden of flowers and fruit growing in luxuriant confusion, watered by a stream that leaped sparkling among tall ferns.

There was no breadfruit, for it will live only where man is there to tend it, and in all the extent of the tableland there was no human being or sign of habitation. Wild cattle and boars moved in droves among the scattered trees, or stood in the shallow stream watching us with curiosity as we passed. Thousands of guinea-pigs scampered before our horses' feet, and the free descendants of house-trained cats from the cities of Europe and America perched upon lofty branches to gaze down at our cavalcade.

I have seen the Garden of Allah, and the Garden of Eden,—if I can believe the Arab sheik whose camel I bought for the journey,—I have been in Nikko at its best, and known Johore and Kandy *en*

*fête*, but for the hours in which I looked upon it this plateau of Ahao was the most exquisite spot upon the earth. The wildness of its tropic beauty, the green of its leafage, the rich profusion and splendor of its flowers, the pale colors that shimmered along its far horizon, and the desolate grandeur of Temetiu's distant summit wrapped in thunderous clouds, gave it an aspect primitive, mysterious and sublime.

Upon the trees hundreds of orchids hung like jewels, and vines were awung in garlands. Flowers of every hue spread brilliant carpet beneath the horses' hoofs; the hart's-tongue, the *manamana-o-hina*, the *papa-mako* and the parasol-plant, with masses of every description and myriads of ferns covered the sward. Some were the giant tree-ferns, tall as trees, others uncurled snake stems from masses of rusty-colored matting, and everywhere was spread the delicate lace of the *ua-fenua*, a maiden-hair beside which the florist's offering is clumsy and insignificant.

We made our own way through the tall grass and tangles of flowering shrubs, for there were no trails save those made by the great herds of wild cattle that wandered across the plain. Three thousand head at least I saw grazing on the luxuriant herbage or pausing with lifted heads before they fled at our approach.

"They are descendants of a few left by ship-masters decades ago," said Le Brunec. "Twenty years ago they roamed in immense herds all over the islands. I have chased them out of the trail to Hanamenu with a stick. Like the goats left by the American captain, Porter, on Nuku-hiva, they thrived and multiplied, but like the goats they are being massacred.

"Both cattle and goats were past reckoning when, with peace fully established and the population dwindling, the French permitted the Marquesans to buy guns. The natives hunt in gangs. Fifteen or twenty men, each with rifle or shot-gun, go on horseback to the grazing grounds. The beasts at the sound of the explosions rush to the highest points of the hills. Knowing their habits, the natives post themselves along the ridges and kill all they can. The hunters eat or take away three or four, but they kill thirty or forty. They die in the brush and their bones strew the ground."

I told him of the buffalo, antelope and deer that formerly filled our woods and covered our prairies; of Alexander Wilson, who in Kentucky in 1811, estimated one flight of wild carrier pigeons at two thousand millions, and of there being not one of those birds now left in

all the world so far as ornithologists know.

Le Brunnet sighed, for he was a true sportsman, and would not kill even a pig if he could not consume most of its carcass. Often he half-lifted the shot-gun that lay across the pommel, but let it drop again, saying, "We shall have a wild bird for supper."

We pitched our tent as the moon hung her lantern over the brow of the hill. Never was tent raised in a spot lonelier or lovelier. We chose for our camp the shelter of a *moto* tree, one of the most lordly of all the growths of these islands. Not ten of them were left in all the Marquesas, said Le Brunnet as I admired its towering columns and magnificent spread of foliage. "The whites who used the axe in these isles would have made firewood of the ark of the covenant."

We made a fire before our tent and cooked a wild chicken he had shot, which, with pilot-biscuit and Bordeaux wine made an excellent dinner. Darkness closed around us while we ate, the wide plateau stretched about us, mysterious in the light of the moon, and the night was cool and pleasant. We lay in lazy comfort enjoying the fresh light air of that altitude, and smoking "John's mixture" from Los Angeles, till sleepiness spilled the tobacco. Our numbed senses scarcely let us drag our mats into the tent before unconsciousness claimed us.

I was awakened by the blood-chilling howls of a wolf-pack in full cry, and a shout from Le Brunnet.





"ATITUAHARI WENT WITH THE TAUA TO THE GIANT ROCK, NEAR-TOPAIMO. THE SACRED STONE SHAPED LIKE A SPEAR THAT STOOD BETWEEN THE LANDS OF THE WARRING POEPOE, AND THERE HE SAID THIS VOW TO THE GODS. AND THE PEOPLE WAITED"

"The dogs!" brought us immediately to our feet.

He stood by the open flap of the tent, a black silhouette of man and gun. When I had clutched my own rifle and reached his side I saw in the moonlight a score of huge white beasts, some tangled in a snarling heap over the remains of our supper, others crouching on their haunches in a ring, facing us. One of them sprang as Le Brunneec fired into the pack. Its hot breath fanned my face before my own finger pressed the trigger.

The two wounded brutes struggled on the ground until a second shot finished them, and the rest made off to a little distance, where Le Brunneec kept them with an occasional shot, while I brought up the terrified horses, snorting and plunging. More wood thrown on the coals spread a circle of firelight about us, and Le Brunneec and I took turns in standing guard until morning, while the white dogs sat like sheeted ghosts around us and made the night hideous with howls. One or the other of us must have dozed, for during the night the beasts dragged away the two dead and picked their bones.

These, Le Brunneec said, were the sons and daughters of dogs once friendly to humanity, and like the wild cats we had seen, they bore mute testimony to the numbers of people who once lived on this plateau.

When dawn came the mountain rats were scurrying about the meadows, but the dogs had gone afar, leaving only the two heaps of bones and the wreckage of all outside the tent to tell of their foray. The sun flooded the mesa, disclosing myriad fern-fronds

and mosses and colored petals waving in the light breeze as Le Brunneec and I went down to the stream to bathe.

Alas! I lolled there on the bank, thinking to gaze my fill at all this loveliness, and sat upon the puke, a feathery plant exquisite to the eye, but a veritable bunch of gadflies for pricking meanness. It is a sensitive shrub, retreating at man's approach, its petioles folding from sight, but with all its modesty it left me a stinging reminder that I had failed to respect its privacy.

At noon we came to the hill that rises from the plateau and found at its base a cistern, the sole token we had seen of the domain of man, except the dogs and cats that had returned to the primitive. It was a basin cut in the solid rock, and doubtless had been the water supply of the tribes that dwelt here hemmed in by enemies. There was about it the vague semblance of an altar, and in the brush near it we saw the black remains of a mighty *poepae* like that giant Marai of Papara in Tahiti, which itself seemed kin to the great pyramid temple of Boro Budor in Java. Melancholy memorials these of man, who is so like the gods, but who passes like a leaf in the wind.

Lolling in the stream that overflowed the edge of the ancient cistern, we discussed our plans. Le Brunneec was convinced that the era, which we had found in considerable numbers, was a rubber-tree. He said that rubber was obtained from many trees, vines, roots and plants, and that the sap of the *eva*, when dried and treated, had all the necessary

bouncing qualities. We were to estimate the number of *eva* trees on the plateau and size up the value of the land for a plantation. Thus we might turn into gold that poison tree whose reddish-purple, alluring fruit has given so many Marquesans escape from life's bitterness, whose juice wounded or mutilated warriors drank to avoid pain or contempt.

Idling thus in the limpid water, we heard a voice and started up surprised. A group of natives looked down upon us from the hill above, and their leader was asking who were the strange *haae* who had come to their valley.

Le Brunnec shouted his name—Proneka, in the native tongue—and after council they shouted down an invitation to breakfast. We had no guns, nor, indeed, any other clothing than a towel, our horses being tethered at some distance, but we climbed the hill. Half way up the steep ascent we were confronted by a wild sow with eight piglets. Le Brunnec said that one of them would be appreciated by our hosts, but the mother, surmising his intention, put her litter behind her and stood at bay. To attempt the rape of the pork, naked, afoot, and unarmed, would have meant grievous wounds from those gnashing tusks, so we abandoned the gift and approached our hosts empty-handed.

We found them waiting for us in the Grotto of the Spine of the Chinaman, a shallow cave in the side of the hill. There were seven of them, naked as ourselves, thick-lipped, their eyes ringed with the blue *ama* ink and their bodies scrolled with it. They had killed a bull the day before and had cooked the meat in bamboo tubes, steaming it in the earth until it was tender and tasty. We gorged upon it, and then rested in the cool cave while we smoked. They were curious to know why we were there, and asked if we were after beef. I disclaimed this intention, and said that I was wondering if Ahao had not held many people once.

"Ai! *E mea tiatohu hoi!* Do you not know of the Piina of Fiti-nui? Of the people that once were here? *Aoe?* Then I will tell you."

While the pipe went from mouth to mouth, Kitu, the leader of the hunters, related the following:

"The Piina of Fiti-nui had always lived here on the plateau of Ahao. The wise men chronicled a hundred and twenty generations since the clan began. That would be before Iholomoni built the temple in Iudea that the priests of the new white gods tell us of. The High Place of the Piina of Fiti-nui was old before Iholomoni was born.

"But, old as was the clan, there came a time when it grew small in number. For longer than old men remembered they had been at war with the Piina of Hana-uaua, who lived in the next valley below this plateau. These two people were kinsmen, but the hate between them was bitter. The enemy gave

the Piina of Fiti-nui no rest. Their *popoi* pits were opened and emptied, their women were stolen, and their men seized and eaten.' Month after month and year after year the clan lost its strength.

"They had almost ceased to tattoo their bodies, for they asked what it served them when they were so soon to bake in the ovens of the Hana-uaua people. They could not defeat the Hana-uaua, for they were small in number and the Hana-uaua were great. The best fighters were killed. Only the gods could save the last of the tribe from the *veinahae*, the vampire who seizes the dead.

"The *taua* went into the High Place and besought the gods, but they were deaf. They made no answer. Then in despair the chief, Atituahuei, set a time when, if the gods gave no counsel, he would lead every man of the tribe against the foe, and die while the war-clubs sang.

"Atituahuei went with the *taua* to the giant rock, Meae-Topaiho, the sacred stone shaped like a spear that stood between the lands of the warring peoples, and there he said this vow to the gods. And the people waited.

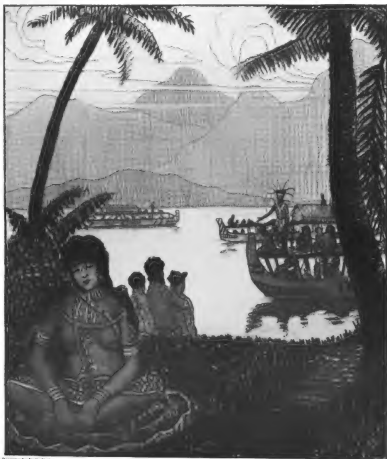
"They waited for the space of the waxing and waning of the moon, and the gods said nothing. Then the warriors made ready their *u'u* of polished ironwood, and filled their baskets with stones, and made ready the spears. On the darkest night of the moon the Piina of Fiti-nui was to go forth to fight and be killed by the Hana-uaua.

"But before the moon had gone, the *taua* came down from the High Place and said that the gods had spoken. They commanded the people to depart from Ahao, and to sail beyond the Isle of Barking Dogs until they came to a new land. The gods would protect them from the waves. The gods had shown the *taua* a hidden valley, which ran to the beach, in which to build the canoes.

"For many months the Piina of Fiti-nui labored in secret in the hidden valley. They built five canoes, giant, double canoes, with high platforms and houses on them, the kind that are built no more. In these canoes they placed the women and children and the aged, and when all was ready the men raided the village of the Piina of Hana-uaua, and in the darkness brought all their food to the canoes.

"At daybreak the Fiti-nui embarked in four of the canoes, but one they had to leave behind for the daughter of the chief, who expected to be delivered of a child at any hour, and for the women of her family, who would not leave her. The hidden valley was filled with the sound of lamentation at the parting, but the gods had spoken, and they must go.

"When the four canoes were in the sea beyond the village of Hana-uaua, all their people beat their war-drums and blew the trumpets of shell. The people of Hana-uaua heard the noise and said that strangers had come, but whether for a fight or a



*Drawing by E. W. Dean.*

"THE TWO TRIBES TALKED TOGETHER ACROSS THE WAVES, AND THE TRIBE OF HANA-UAAU BEGGED THEIR BROTHERS NOT TO GO. THEY SAID THAT THEY WOULD FIGHT NO MORE, AND THE TWO CLANS WOULD LIVE FOREVER IN FRIENDSHIP."

feast they did not know. They rushed to the shore, and there they saw on the sea the people of the Fiti-nui, who called to them and said that they were going far away.

"Then the Hana-uaua tribe wept. For they remembered that they were brothers, and though they had fought long, the warriors of Fiti-nui had been good fighters and brave. Also many Fiti-nui women had been taken by the men of Hana-uaua, and captured youths had been adopted, and the tribes were kin by many ties.

"The two tribes talked together across the waves, and the tribe of Hana-uaua begged their brothers not to go. They said that they would fight no more, that the prisoners who had not been eaten should be returned to their own valley, that the two clans would live forever in friendship.

"Then the people of Fiti-nui wept again, but they said that the gods had ordered them to sail away, and they must go.

" 'But,' said the chief of the Fiti-nui, 'you will know that we have reached a new land safely when the Meae-Topaiho falls. When the great spear is broken by the gods, you will know that your brothers are in a new home.'

"Then they departed, the four canoes, but the daughter of the chief did not go, for her child was long in being born. She lived with the people of Hana-uaua in peace and comfort. And when the season of the breadfruit had come and gone, one night when the rain and the wind made the earth tremble and slip, the people of Hana-uaua heard a roaring and a crashing.

" 'The gods are angry,' they said. But the daugh-

ter of the chief said, 'My people have found their home.' And in the morning they found that the Meae-Topaiho had fallen, the blade of the spear was broken, and the prophecy fulfilled.

"That was four generations ago, and ever since that time the people of Hana-uaua have looked for some sign from their brothers who went away. Their names were kept in the memories of the tribe. Ten years ago many men were brought here to work on the plantations from Puka-Puka and Na-Puka in the Paumotas, and they talked with the people.

"*Aue!* They were the children's children of the Piina of Fiti-nui. In those low islands to which their fathers and mothers went, they kept the words and the names of old. They had kept the memory of the journey. And one old man was brought by his son, and he remembered all that his father had told him, and his father was the son of the chief, Atituahuei.

"These people did not look like our men. The many years had made them different. But they knew of the spear rock and of the prophecy, and they were in truth the lost brothers of the Hana-uaua people.

"But the Hana-uaua people, too, were dying now. None was left of the blood of the chief's daughter. No man was left alive on the plateau of Ahao.

"Their *popoi* pits are the wallows of the wild boar; on their *paepaes* sit the wild white dogs. The horned cattle wander where they walked. *Hee i te fenua ke!* They are gone, and the stranger shall have their graves."



## MOCKERY

By ALICE ROGERS HAGER

*As when the paper-images are burned,  
Crackling and flaming, at the funeral  
Of some great mandarin (where the keen eye  
grows blind);  
And each old wish aspires,  
As once with living fires,  
Only to drift in dull gray ashes on the wind—*

*So does my waiting heart  
Flame newly with each wistful thought of thee,  
Patient at thy long festival of Youth;  
But thou must, careless, free,  
Make glad, wild sport,  
Blowing the ashes of my pain apart!*



# OPENING CHINA'S INLAND EMPIRE

## I. Richard Wood Randolph's Survey of the Upper Yangtze

By SILAS BENT

*Illustrations from Richard Wood Randolph's Official Photographs*

**S**ZECHUAN, that vast inner empire of China, with a territory greater than the combined areas of Greece and continental Italy, and with a population nearly twice their combined number, a land of multiple annual harvest and of abounding mineral wealth, has for decades lured the world's commerce and at the same time held it at arm's length. This single province has an area of more than two hundred thousand square miles and a population estimated at eighty millions. It is rich in coal and iron, lime and salt; and gold, silver, copper and antimony are found within its borders. Such is the mildness of the climate that there are intermediate crops between the two main harvests. The great plain of Chengtu, its capital, is a golden granary of magnificent capacity.

Surely, no country offers prizes more tempting

to the adventurous hardihood of modern commercial pioneers. It has tempted them—and baffled them. For Szechuan is walled about with barrier mountains. Its only artery of communication with the world is the Yangtze River, which has burst through the imprisoning ranges to the sea. And so difficult is traffic through its gorges that a can of kerosene which sells in Hankow at \$3.40 costs \$10.30 in Chengtu. The people of Szechuan can live without foreign commodities in adequate comfort as the Chinese have done for centuries; but the little foreign merchandise which has made its costly way into the country has whetted an appetite for more. The Chinese of Szechuan want a railroad almost as much as the outer world wants to tap the prodigious resources of their basin. They have even made an attempt on their own account



THE SI HO, ONE OF THE MANY RIVERS OF SZECHUAN, THE RICH PROVINCE OF THE UPPER YANGTZE VALLEY THAT OFFERS TEMPTING PRIZES TO COMMERCIAL PIONEERS

Szechuan is Rich in Coal and Iron, Lime and Salt. Gold, Silver, Copper and Antimony Are Found Within Its Borders. Its Resources Are Lying Dormant Until a Railroad Connects This Vast Hinterland with World Commerce

to pave the way for commerce by undertaking a railroad project. They failed. But the three greatest European powers before the war—England, France and Germany—who had each been competing zealously for the exclusive right to finance a railroad into the far interior, finally got together in a tripartite cooperative agreement to build a line from Canton on the coast to the farthest west provincial capital of China—Chengtou of Szechuan, near the borders of Tibet—via Hankow, the heart of China's industrial life, and via the Yangtze River, the main artery of its commerce. Into this group, the United States, under President Taft, forced its way. It was our first step in placing fact and act back of talk in our much vaunted rôle of protector of the "open door" policy and defender of the integrity of China's sovereignty. This agreement is known as the Hukuang Loan.

If you want to explore the international political intricacies that now confront us as an international power—the play of national ambitions and aggrandizement, giving rise to international political tangles; or the methods so far developed for harmonizing and compromising these ambitions and neutralizing the evil effects of organized private concession hunting, backed by great governments in undeveloped territories—you have here in the Hukuang Loan a field of actual fact ready for inquiry.

Or if you see a great foreign trade before the United States and want to understand the secret of foreign trade development as practised by Europe at the height of its trade attainment—of how trade follows the bond; why export business is dependent upon an investment market at home for foreign securities; and how a railroad built in China would stimulate, not merely the export of the materials which go into it, but an array of corollary enterprises and industries; and how the general prosperity, the unemployment problem and the marketing of the output of this country in slack periods would be favorably affected as such projects gained momentum—you have a concrete example of all this in the Hukuang Loan.

If finally you would recognize how inextricably trade and politics are interwoven in the international field, how impossible it is to have a great trade except through clear cut governmental policies, and above all how inevitably such national programs of expansion in the development of the backward countries of the world must lead to deepening jealousies, injustice to the weak, and to war, unless controlled under some such self-imposed restraint and mutual agreement as the League of Nations—you will see that the very seeds of the League of Nations idea were worked out nine years ago in the Hukuang Loan and its ramifications, out of the promptings of commercial necessity.

Because their individual claims for precedence in the building of a railroad or parts of it through the heart of China were so strong, England, France and Germany decided that the interest of each was better served by pooling rights and rewards. Because the United States, under President Taft and Secretary Knox, saw that only by having an actual "stake" of interest in China's material development, could it be put in a strong position to fight for the "open door" policy of equality of opportunity for all and the preservation of China's sovereignty, this country entered into an active participation in the Loan with the avowed statesmanlike purpose of leaguering four great powers together and harnessing their purposes into a single energy for China's peaceful betterment.

Americans, having assumed leadership and responsibility for the League of Nations, will turn to the Hukuang Loan as the first big practical application of this idea in embryo with peculiar interest—an interest intensified because the survey of the most important and difficult section of the railroad, the Szechuan-Hankow line, has been accomplished by an American engineer. The work on this line, one of three railroad projects intended to tap Szechuan, was brought to a sudden halt by the world war. Today, in Paris, the bankers and engineers of this Hukuang project are conferring daily with their government representatives—Germany excluded—in conjunction with the major project of the consortium of Allied powers for great loans to China, for the completion of this railroad artery of China and world commerce.

The war came at a crucial moment in this nation's young manhood and the nation has emerged from it with an intoxicating sense of its muscular energy and its authority. And immediately, the question arises: What shall be done with nearly fourteen millions deadweight tons of merchant shipping which will be ours at the end of next year? There can be but one answer. We can utilize that tonnage profitably only by using it in large part to carry and stimulate our interchanges with the four corners of the earth. At first, tonnage assigned to Far Eastern ocean lanes must stimulate as well as carry trade. China, for instance, spends less than a dime at present with the United States out of each dollar for foreign products. Chiefly that is our own fault, for the Chinese are disposed so favorably toward no outsider as toward Uncle Sam.

The fault on our side may be easily corrected; and it is my purpose to tell here of the principal remedy so far offered, in the prospective opening up of a rich empire within the boundaries of a single Chinese province. This vital story is summed up in the survey of 700 miles along the mighty Yangtze into the heart of Szechuan made by



ENTRANCE TO WUSHAN GORGE, WHICH, WITH YELLOW COW GORGE, IS THE GREATEST OBSTACLE ON THE LINE. Not Only Was It Imperative for the Engineer to Traverse the Gorges, But to Climb Them with Ropes. The Etched Line in the Photograph Follows the Direction of the Randolph Survey and the Tunnels to Be Cut Through These Mountains That Rise Like Impassable Walls.

an American engineer, Richard Wood Randolph.

To the group who helped make that survey it may have seemed nothing more than exceptionally hard work, involving the reconnaissance of seven thousand square miles. As a matter of fact they were outrunners of civilization. Colonel C. C. Manifold, a British engineer, and a group of companions, had investigated practically all the routes possible from the Han River basin to the north.

of which as a vital highway for China and for world commerce are of real promise. Some route into Szechuan seems certain to be chosen in the immediate future. This province, which so long has inflamed the imaginations and energies of all nations commercially alert, no longer seems a mirage. A trail has been blazed to Chengtu and what was a dream has become an achievable reality.

As originally conceived, only the provinces of



YUNG CHANG HSIEN IN THE VALLEY OF THE LU HO, ANOTHER RIVER THAT CONTRIBUTES TO MAKE THE UPPER YANGTZE ONE OF THE MOST FERTILE VALLEYS IN THE WORLD

The Valley is a Golden Granary of Magnificent Capacity, a Land of Multiple Harvests, Populated by Prosperous Farmers, and Possessing Many Market Towns, Thriving and Substantially Built

And so it had come to be said that the Yangtze gorges, which Mr. Randolph's men pierced, were the neck of the Szechuan bottle; that only through this neck could its riches be poured forth.

Other paths, however, have been considered and may be found feasible or even better than this. The Siems-Carey Railway and Canal Company, an American concern, has made an independent survey from Chengtu northeast to Laohokow in the Han valley. There is a Belgian survey from Chengtu north through Sian-fu and Tai Yuan-fu to Tatung-fu on the border of Mongolia, whence runs a railroad to Peking. It is not the purpose of this article to say which of these three lines will finally be built. That is a matter for engineers, the Chinese Government and the Powers to determine. We are merely presenting here as a possible road, one line, a completed survey, remarkably photographed by Mr. Randolph himself, the possibilities

Hunan, Hupeh, Kuangtung and Kuangsi were to be included in the Hukuang project. And so the Loan intended to cover it took its name from the first syllable of each set of names: *Hu* as expressed in the first two, and *kuang*, the first syllable of the second pair. *Hukuang* was a word coined to cover those four provinces and retained after Szechuan was embraced in the scheme, which now involves construction west of Hankow to the estimated cost of \$90,000,000 based on pre-war prices. On the entire project, roughly, \$30,000,000 has thus far been expended, one-quarter of this amount furnished by each of the original participants, and the bonds are listed on the New York Stock Exchange.

It may be said that the Hukuang Loan marks a step in advance of the old order of international, industrial and commercial rivalries which have been the mainsprings of modern wars. Such rivalries are most acute in outlying countries where the

concessionaire and the diplomat work hand in hand. China cannot raise funds to any considerable extent by internal borrowing, and she has not heretofore been able to obtain outside financial backing without concessions which threatened her national integrity. That was why the American State Department requested a banking group in this country to participate in the Hukuang Loan. The conditions under which the terms were made and

influence as President by cabling about it to Prince Chun, regent of China, "because of the high importance," as he explained, "which I attach to the successful result of our negotiations" and he added: "I have an intense personal interest in making the use of American capital, in the development of China, an instrument for the promotion of the welfare of China and an increase of her material prosperity, without entanglements or creating embar-



THE LU HO RUNS THROUGH HILLS LUXURIANT WITH VEGETATION AND ALONG ITS COURSE UNFOLD PANORAMAS OF SCENIC BEAUTY

Before the European War, England, France and Germany Formed a Tripartite Cooperative Agreement to Build a Railroad Into This Far Interior—from Canton on the Coast to Chengtu, Capital of Szechuan, Near the Borders of Tibet

money advanced throw a flood of light on the whole question of politico-economic conditions in undeveloped countries, and on cooperative finance as a safeguard against future wars.

When Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State, in May, 1910, projected American influence into the Hukuang situation, his motive was to keep the open door, China's chief protection, from being closed. The Hay policy had won the verbal assent of the other Powers, but it was becoming a pleasant fiction. Theoretically, commercial opportunities were open to all nations; actually, there were definite "spheres of influence," and in most instances railroad concessions were their backbone. The only way for the United States to have an effective voice in the affairs of China was to engage at first hand in Chinese affairs.

At one juncture of the proceedings for accomplishing this, William Howard Taft interposed his

assurances affecting the growth of her independent political power and the preservation of her territorial integrity."

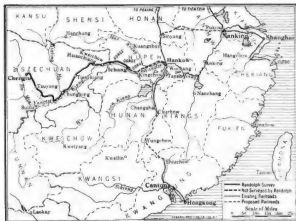
The negotiations were long drawn out even after American participation was assured through the action of William Howard Taft, when President of the United States; but finally an agreement was signed by the four banking groups, and certain sections of the road were assigned to each of them. Starting at the coast, the line from Canton to the border of Kuangtung province was to be built by local Chinese capital. From this point to Hankow the line was a British section. From Kuangshui, seventy-five miles north of Hankow, west to Ichang on the Yangtze, about 200 miles, was German. The American line was from Ichang to Kweichow-fu, 134 miles; thence west to Chungking, 306 miles, British. The line was to be built by the French from Chungking for 325 miles to Chengtu,



PLAN FOR 17,000 FOOT NANTO TUNNEL  
It Is Proposed to Cut Through the "Wrist" to Avoid  
Tunneling "Fingers" and Bridging "Tips"

which is to be made the terminus of the railroad.

To gain a clear conception of the projected line it is well to visualize the Yangtze River as roughly bisecting China somewhat as the Mississippi bisect:



MAP SHOWING RELATION OF SZECHUAN TO HANKOW AND CANTON  
Szechuan is Virtually Cut Off from the Coast Except for Water Transportation

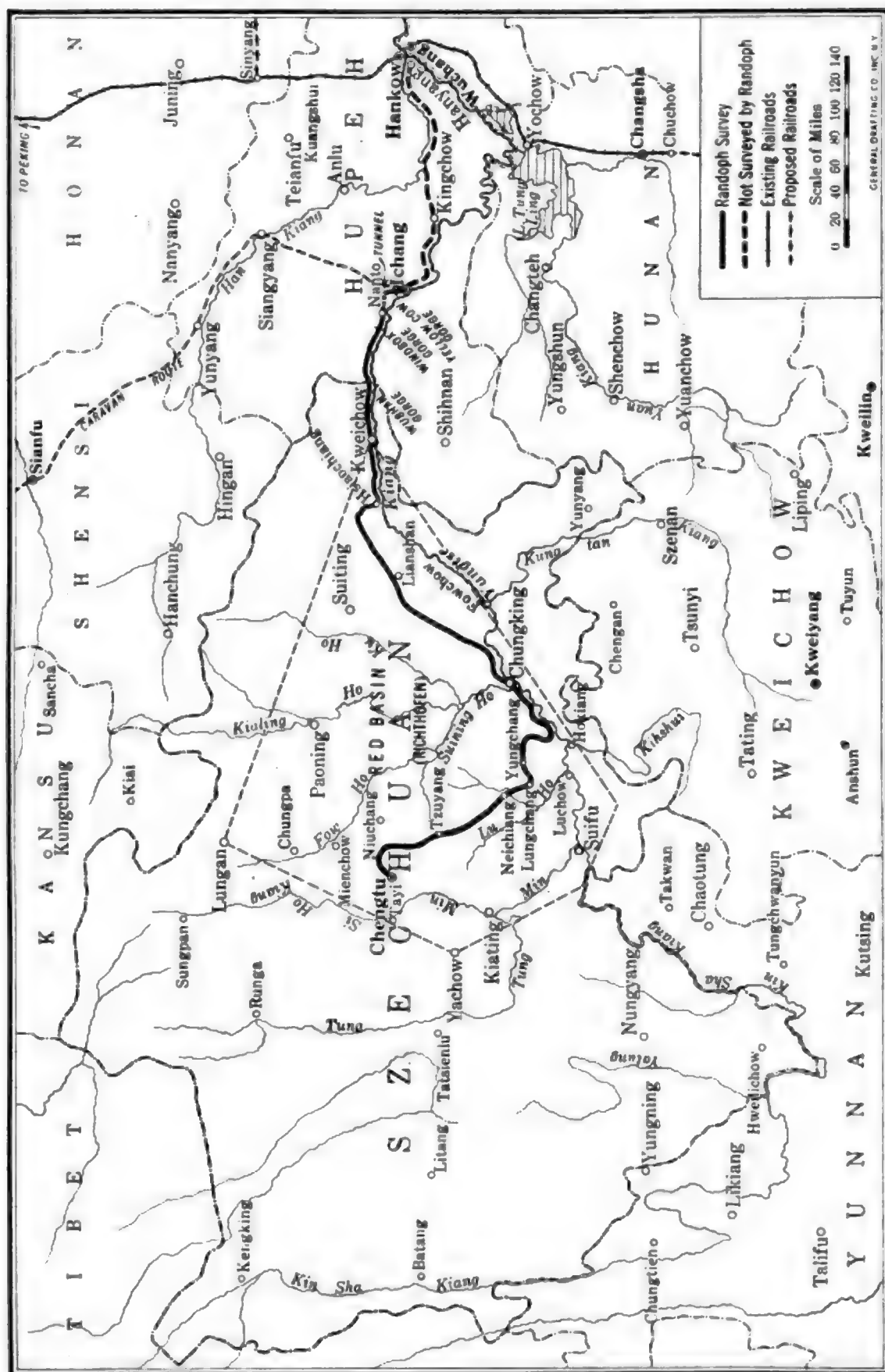
the United States. But the Yangtze, a mightier stream, flows from west to east. The inland city of greatest potential commercial importance on its banks is Hankow. It is the hub, not only of the railroad we are discussing, but probably of China's trade. From Hankow one spoke of the wheel stretches south to Canton and Hongkong; another, eastward along the Yangtze, by steamer traffic, toward Shanghai, not far from its mouth; another (along a railroad already constructed) northward to Peking, capital of the Republic; and another westward into Szechuan.

The Yangtze is navigable for small steamships about 372 miles beyond Hankow to Ichang. Five miles beyond Ichang begins that formidable hundred-mile series of gorges through which the stream races in turbulent rapids and treacherous deep pools. Beyond the gorges is Kweichow-fu; and further west, by about forty miles, is Hsiao-chiang, chiefly important for us because it forms a terminal point in the Randolph survey.

From Hankow, 180 miles south to Changsha, the railroad has already been constructed. This part of the line was originally in the British section, and the banking groups of that nation were to have financed its development. But after the outbreak of the European war it was agreed by the banking groups to discontinue work on the Szechuan-Hankow section, which included the American strip, and to concentrate their effort south of Hankow—a concrete evidence of cooperative endeavor.

From Changsha south to the boundary of Kuangtung is 210 miles. For thirty-three miles, to Chuchow, the line has been open to traffic since 1911. That part of it, and another stretch north from Canton to the border of Kuangtung, were built with local capital. The Central Government is expected to complete the provincial contract and may possibly buy the bondholders' rights. Between Canton and Hankow 177 miles remain to be built.

After the war began the original plan was abandoned, because the other groups would not coöperate with German capital and China had not abrogated the German concession. The original intention that American, British and French engineers would undertake the surveying of their respective sections was abandoned be-



MAP SHOWING THE RANDOLPH SURVEY IN SZECHUAN ALONG THE UPPER YANGTZE AND ITS RELATION TO HANKOW

Running a Railroad through This Region Means Opening the Vast Inner Empire of China, with a Territory Greater Than Greece and Italy Combined, Laced by a Dozen Rivers As Large As Some of the Tributaries of the Mississippi, Locked by Mountain Ranges Bigger Than the Alleghenies, and Cultivated by a Population Four-fifths As Great As That of America



ANOTHER BEND IN THE LU HO NEAR LUNG CHIA-SSU THREE THOUSAND MILES FROM THE SEA  
From This Point One Gains an Excellent View of Several Miles of the Proposed Hukuang Railroad, the  
Direction of Which is Indicated by the Two Little Crosses at the Left of the River

cause of the war and other events, so that the whole 731 miles from Ichang to Chengtu, the most arduous and difficult part of the survey, fell to Richard Wood Randolph, an American engineer. Mr. Randolph was first engaged in railroad work in China in 1908. He was made chief engineer for the Szechuan Survey in 1914.

With the war over, the question of the construction of the Szechuan end of the Hukuang railways, after a survey has been decided upon, is now under consideration. There comes up with this the matter of the continued exclusion of Germany as a participant and the disposition of Germany's interest. Before the American, British and French groups are likely to proceed with further loans, it has been suggested that the Chinese should take over the loan bonds from Germany as a portion of the war indemnity claim which China has against the German Government, leaving it to the latter to reimburse the German bondholders.

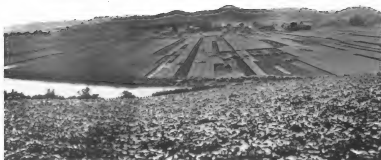
Formal orders to undertake the Szechuan Survey were given on April 24, 1914. A staff of thirty-three engineers and thirty-six assistant engineers, composed mostly of Chinese students recommended by the Ministry of Communications, was organized and divided into six parties for field work in separate sections for reconnaissance and locating. Once the best route has been located, difficulties peculiar to China are encountered for the actual survey. In Chinese geomancy, graves and trees play an important part by virtue of the reverential care devoted to the resting places of ancestors. Any railroad must traverse a multitude of graves. Houses, temples, gardens and plants must all be

accounted for. In purchasing a right of way they must be listed and bought separately. A canny engineer charts all such objects as he proceeds, lest new ones put in an appearance after he has gone on his way, to be purchased when the time for settlement comes. He does not, if he can avoid it, run his line back of a village, knowing well that to the Chinese this affects the *feng-shui* (literally, the power of "wind and water") most unfavorably. In every other way possible he pays heed to the multitudinous superstitions of the people. He divides the land roughly into first, second and third class ground, and so indicates it on a topographical chart, in order that its value may be estimated readily. And when the time arrives to buy the right of way he employs a Chinese of established integrity to undertake the dickering with the local owners.

The first orders handed to Mr. Randolph provided for a survey from Chengtu, the western terminus of the line, to a point two hundred miles west of Ichang on the Yangtze. Hsiao-chiang was selected. The second section, from Hsiao-chiang to Ichang, which was the more difficult portion, was surveyed later. The first part of the survey traversed the celebrated "Red Basin" of Szechuan, which had so excited the ambition of the German Baron Richthofen years ago. The second pierced the stupendous gorges of the Yangtze.

Each of the engineering parties carried three months' provisions, and of necessity moved slowly. Mr. Randolph, impeded with less material, traveled more rapidly. His was the guiding hand. He directed his men in tying their surveys together at the junctions, for at those cities which were se-





THE RIVER AT ORDINARY FLOOD STAGE—BROAD, DEEP AND SLUGGISH  
The Chinese in Szechuan Want a Railroad Almost As Much As the Outer World to Tap the Prodigious Resources of Their Luxuriously Fertile Basin

lected as terminal points for the parties, each leader started forth without reference to the nature of the country in the next section and so adjustments were necessary to link their work into a whole. In making the survey, the engineers were governed by consideration of the commercial control points, topographic control points and future possibilities in the development of agricultural, mining and industrial centres.

In carrying out his survey, Mr. Randolph has performed one service of monumental value in analyzing the nature and resources of western China. He photographed every mile of the seven hundred miles of line he surveyed, from Chengtu to Ichang. This and subsequent articles are illustrated from his collection. Mr. Randolph made this collection at a cost of unusually taxing labor, in answer to an issue raised against the line of his survey by the Germans—that it did not tap a productive territory. The Germans wanted to build a line into Szechuan across country from middle China to the north of this line. Mr. Randolph's pictures tell with convincing vividness the story of the agricultural abundance of the lands of the Szechuan plain and those behind the Yangtze, either tapped or passed through by his line. It would have been no small undertaking to take these pictures even in the United States. In China it meant that special means had to be devised for developing and printing. Not only did Mr. Randolph have the best camera to be obtained in China and a competent Chinese photographer, but he had built what he calls a "dog-house," a collapsible structure about thirty inches high, four feet long

and three wide, with a covering of black cloth. Into this structure the photographer crept on hands and knees and developed his plates in zinc containers at the end of the day. Because of the clouds of mosquitoes and insects, special racks had to be devised to dry the plates. They were protected with mosquito netting and carried by coolies during the next day's journey.

A railroad through terrific river gorges, tunneling through five miles of solid rock in the Yangtze gorge region, dipping quite far to the southward in following the general course of the river before it turns north to Chengtu, is an expensive road to build. One school of railroad builders in China are opposed to following the Yangtze valley route. The chief reasons in Mr. Randolph's mind for following this line are that though the Yangtze gorge tunneling is exceedingly expensive in parts it gives practically a water-level route with the resulting permanent and expanding economy. Furthermore, to follow this route means to tap all the tributary commerce that has been flowing into the Yangtze for centuries from the vast territories of its headwaters, from distant Tibet and western Szechuan, from Yunnan to the south, from Kweichow and Szechuan along either bank.

Chungking, for instance, must be included in any scheme of Szechuan development because of its dominant commercial position. Junk cargoes destined north, south and west are there transhipped, because pilots of the inland rivers do not know the lower Yangtze. The city is a natural distribution point for merchandise to and from Kweichow, Yunnan, northern and western Szechuan and



THE WUSHAN GORGE, WHICH HAS BEEN SURVEYED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER  
The Line Indicates the Proposed Route through the Gorge, Which Throughout Its 26.9 Miles Was Found  
Entirely Feasible for Railroad Construction and Maintenance

Tibet. It was opened as a treaty port in 1890, and has steadily increased in size and importance. Situated at the junction of the Yangtze and the Kia-ling Ho, in a country with a network of interior streams that will help tremendously to feed any future railroad, it cannot, in Mr. Randolph's opinion, be neglected in any successful transportation scheme for the province. The line was carried back from the Yangtze where deviations meant reduced costs and the tapping of productive territory. From Wan Hsien to Chungking the river is tortuous and the prospective local traffic did not seem to justify the greater length of line. It was decided to seek a more direct line across country. Assistant engineers were therefore sent from Chiang-chow Hsien via Ki-Lan-chiao, Tien-Chiang Hsien and Liang-Shan Hsien to Wan Hsien. Another party was sent through the valley of the Sha Ho. The reconnaissance demonstrated that the first route was superior either to that through the Sha Ho basin or that along the Yangtze, because for eighty miles it traversed a level plateau, requiring little bridging and little variation in elevation of alignment, in a region populated by prosperous farmers

and abounding in coal and iron, with numerous market towns thriving, and substantially built.

But the survey of the "Red Basin"—this fertile, level country of the Szechuan plain at the western end of the line—required no decision so crucial as was involved in the second section of the work, from Ichang to Hsiao-chiang. For between these cities lie the Yangtze gorges. Generally it had been supposed that any successful route must run back of those gorges. Mr. Randolph decided to penetrate them to seek a water-level route. He decided to enter the Szechuan bottle through the neck.

The greatest obstacles lay in the Yellow Cow and Wushan Gorges. The Yellow Cow Gorge is precipitous and forbidding. The conformation of land may be imagined if one places his hand palm down on a sheet of paper and traces lines roughly about the fingers, the tips of which touch the Yangtze. This will give a graphic, although not accurate representation of the topographical features. The thumb and fingers may be considered as mountain spurs radiating somewhat in fan-shape from the main range at that point. At the wrist



A RAILROAD THROUGH THESE TERRIFIC RIVER GORGES IS EXPENSIVE TO BUILD  
But Mr. Randolph Preferred This Route, Because Though the Gorge Tunneling Is Expensive in Some Places,  
It Gives Practically a Water Level Route with the Resulting Economy

the range is narrowest. To pass around the Yellow Cow Gorge, therefore, meant either tunneling through each of the fingers and bridging from fingertip to fingertip, or following, in a general way, the outline of the pencil marks. But the sides of these spurs or fingers are not smooth. Near the first finger the cliffs on the north bank of the Yangtze are almost perpendicular. The route would have required much arched-over construction and numerous concrete or steel structures. Mr. Randolph decided to tunnel through the "wrist." He would then greatly reduce the cost of construction. At San Tu Yung, where the mountains rise like an impassive and impassable wall, the Chi Ho, paralleling them, and draining their eastern watershed, empties its abrupt current into the Yangtze. Mr. Randolph's route turns into the valley of the stream, enters a gash in the hills formed by a smaller tributary and then, at the narrowest point of the mountain range, passes through the Nanto tunnel. Near this point is a horseshoe curve with remarkably picturesque qualities, which may, despite its easier grades, be abandoned for a short cut across its neck, and in this way be able to save

for the road practically two miles of trackage.

Through the Wushan Gorge both sides of the river were surveyed. This gorge is 26.9 miles long. It was found entirely feasible for purposes of railroad construction and maintenance. Not only was it imperative for the engineers to traverse the gorges but to climb them, sometimes with the aid of ropes. But after passing Wushan Hsien, the country is less precipitous and construction simpler until reaching the Windbox Gorge, which is four miles long. Three miles of it require major gorge construction. It is the last of the great natural obstacles along the line.

Between Ichang and Kweichow, 52.23 miles, the survey calls for nineteen tunnels with an aggregate length of 4.97 miles and a maximum elevation of 663.8 feet from Ichang as a basis. This is the section of the route requiring the greatest fertility in engineering resources. Mr. Randolph describes it as a water-level route throughout practically its entire length and the only route of that character by which it is possible to enter Szechuan. It is the shortest route between Szechuan, Hankow and the sea. If built, it will be one of the scenic

wonders of world travel. Although for part of its distance it parallels the Yangtze, a railroad there would have nothing to fear from water competition, as will be shown in greater detail later, because of the difficulty and delay boats encounter in traversing the dangerous rapids of the gorges.

When the survey was in progress, the junior men in the surveying parties often pitched their tents at night on threshing floors of beaten earth; but as a rule Mr. Randolph slept in a temple which the interpreter arranged for at a rental of about fifteen cents in American money. A corner would be cleared of rubbish, Mr. Randolph would open out his American-made cot and his cook would set about preparing a meal on a portable sheet iron stove. Usually it was a meal such as an American might get in any small town here, with ham or bacon and eggs, biscuit and vegetables. There was never any trouble with bandits or revolutionists, and the "guard" of six Chinese soldiers served not so much for protection as to give the expedition official character. It is the exception in China for foreigners to be attacked, either by bandits or revolutionists, even when passing through their midst. The prowess of the foreigner and the extent to which the government goes in punishing any attack on a foreigner breed respect. The foreigner is, of course, an object of curiosity, but never, in Mr. Randolph's experience, of malevolence.

Forty of the assistant and student engineers were Chinese, eighteen of them Szechuanese, who knew the country they traversed. Mr. Randolph, after his long experience with them, is most enthusiastic about their dependability, loyalty and devotion when under competent direction. "They'd go to the ends of the earth for a man they like," he says. And adds that that man who would win the fine loyalty and devotion the Chinese are ready to give must take a comprehensive and sympathetic interest in them. Otherwise they close up like sensitive plants. He was impressed with their stamina, their willingness to do hard work for long hours at a stretch without grumbling, their ability and adaptability.

Like all who have been in close contact with the Chinese, Mr. Randolph is a great admirer of the Chinese and has established warm personal relations with them. Before setting out on the survey Mr. Randolph called the Chinese around him to explain what a big thing the job meant to them individually and to China. He told them the work

could not be done unless they all stuck together through thick and thin. And they stuck with keenest enthusiasm. Between July 17 and October 20, in hot and muggy weather, they surveyed five hundred and forty-five miles of the line, a task which could not have been accomplished without superb team work and devoted interest both on the part of the young Chinese engineers and the coolie helpers. There was Jick Gan Wang, a Wisconsin University graduate, who volunteered for the most dangerous tasks in the survey of the gorges, climbing steep cliffs that were between five and six hundred feet high. Chang Wah, Mr. Randolph's "boy" or personal servant, suffered for thirteen days with dysentery without even telling the engineer, because he thought the engineer too busy to be bothered. The Chinese storekeeper at Ichang worked day and night to get the stores and supplies to the parties of engineers. These were not exceptions, but typical of all the Chinese who felt the enthusiasm of the job.

The Chinese are open to graft, but Mr. Randolph found not a single instance of dishonesty among his men. He found, on the contrary, genuine loyalty and cleancut professional pride. The big engineering task awakened in the men a sporting competitive instinct to finish the job on time. Patient teaching and friendship from the foreigner, the Chinese youth require, and they appreciate supervision by foreigners accustomed to executive duties. Mr. Randolph believes that the next generation will outgrow this. The young Chinese engineers were diffident about expressing opinions, even when in the right, partly because they thought it might seem disrespectful. But often the retentive memories of these boys could supply information which he had long forgotten. They were obedient, industrious and quick to learn, and Mr. Randolph is optimistic about the future of a nation which, under favorable circumstances and with adequate and patient teaching, can produce such young men. He thinks the time not far distant when China will be able to survey and build her own railroads with perfect efficiency.

The resources of Szechuan, the traffic and navigation of the Yangtze, the significance of the Hukuang project to China and the United States, the standardization of railroad building in China and the elements of international cooperative finance bearing on our future, are factors of the Hukuang Loan which will be discussed in subsequent articles.





## SKY LOTUS

By ELIZABETH J. COATSWORTH

*Moon over Japan,  
White butterfly moon!  
The waters wash against the sacred islands  
Where steps lead down to the sea,  
Where neither death nor birth is permitted,  
Where the heavy-lidded Buddhas dream  
To the sound of the cuckoo's call.  
The whitened mists lie adrift among the pines  
And steal the color from the bright-leaved maples  
On the mountains where the deer pasture and the monkeys  
sleep among the branches.  
The white wings of moon-butterflies  
Flicker down the streets of the city,  
Brushing into darkness the useless wicks of round lanterns  
in the hands of girls.*

*Moon over the tropics,  
A white curved bud  
Spending its petals slowly in the warmth of heaven,  
The white tree-tillies droop in its presence;  
The long strawed coconut palms catch little reflections  
And gather them on their leaves like garlands of white shiny  
flowers;  
The air is full of odours  
And languorous warm winds;  
In the flooded terraces the bright outline of the moon  
Is a silver floor for the young rice to stand upon;  
A flute drones its insect music to the night  
Below the curving moon-petal of the heavens.*

*Moon over China,  
Wrung moon on the river of the sky.  
The stir of light in the willows is like the flushing of a  
thousand silver minnows  
Through dark shoals;  
The tiles on graves and rotting temples flash like ripples;  
The sands of deserts, and the great shoulders of trees  
mountains whiten miserably in its rays;  
The sky is flecked with clouds like the scales of a dragon.  
And the boppers, lying beneath the city walls, huddled to-  
gether, whine  
"It will rain on us before another nightfall."*

# JAPAN'S DEBT TO KOREA

By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS

AS THE Orientals and Occidentals become better acquainted with each other, their common origin and destiny are mutually discerned. Nothing essentially different has happened in Europe that had not already been enacted in Asia.

Especially is this truth illustrated in certain great epochs that show movements of the human spirit marvelously similar, although separated by a thousand years. Today, from Ireland to Korea, a mighty wave stirs mankind. This movement, instead of being an affair hopelessly archaic, is affecting the history we are making now. It touches even the crux of politics, during this very year of our Lord, 1919, laying bare the taproot of problems that imminently menace the peace of the world. It also shows that race and religion are indestructible, yet ever tending to world unity.

Thinking internationally for the three great religions, Christianity, Buddhism and Islam, which today dominate the world, the sixth century would seem, in the whole world's perspective, the most notable. From Ireland, then a hotbed of missionary propaganda, Christianity reached out to Scotland, England, France and Switzerland. Islam, in the rampancy of its nascent vigor, was on its triumphal march, both in East and West. Buddhism had awakened to a second birth, and Asia, from India to the Sea of Japan, was in its unity a garden of the faith. From India ten thousand missionaries with their families were active in the world of Chinese culture. On the peninsula of Korea, then relatively rich in civilization, culture, temples, shrines and monasteries, Buddhism was established to run its triumphant course for over a thousand years.

The sixth century saw an outflow to Japan which did not cease for many centuries. To the isles of the Rising Sun Buddhism was the purveyor of arts and letters, and of Hindu, Chinese and Korean civilization. Then, the bare ritual of Shinto was forced into something like a systematic cult. With its gorgeous worship, came a mighty train of influences—fully as great, relatively, as the movement of western civilization to the Japan of our day. Yamato, a small territory over which the Mikado, or tribal head, ruled, was then but the tiny germ of the great empire we call Japan. The general tone of modern native historiography, or pseudo-mikadoism, would have us believe it was the whole area.

Except for the immense outflow of Buddhism

from India, China, Tibet and Korea, in both the Larger and the Smaller Vehicles—that is, the simple and primitive protestant, and the luxuriant or catholic form—we question whether the world can show a parallel to the relative proportions of zeal and thoroughness of the Buddhist missionary movement, which began in Japan in A. D. 552—an event which is statedly celebrated in Japan. Buddhism, with its noble ethical precepts, its resplendent ritual, rich symbolism and art, completely swamped Shinto. The master stroke of decisive victory for Buddhism was achieved as early as the ninth century, when Kobo, who was both the Philo and Euhemerus of Japan, proclaimed that all the indigenous *Kami*, or gods, were avatars of the Buddha in previous states of existence. This plausible invention won its way with amazing rapidity. Soon, with every Shinto name, festival, ritual and doctrine baptized with a Buddhist name, Shinto was a lost religion, and the new Buddhism became the universal faith of the Japanese.

This undisputed reign lasted until the eighteenth century, when there began, as literature, read almost wholly by the curious and learned, the Revival of Pure Shinto. In the perspective of a century and a half, this movement is shown to have been almost wholly an academic affair of scholars. After the revolution of 1868, Shinto was galvanized into a semblance of life, but after a few spasms of governmental support Shinto declined steadily. From being made a Council of Gods and Men, overtopping even the Supreme Council of State, it declined to a department, then to a bureau, and was finally and officially declared to be, not a religion, but a patriotic cult. The American, who thinks of his Independence, Memorial and Thanksgiving days made into one, can best understand what Shinto, the God-Path, or the Cult of the Superiors, is.

The Japan of the Buddhist conquest was not, in its beginning, the homogeneous nation or empire of today, but a conglomeration of unrelated warring tribes, Aryan, Malay, Semitic and Tartar, with the rule of the Mikado, or head of the house of Yamato, confined to a small area in the center and south. This political entity was lifted up, from barbarism into civilization, largely by Buddhism. For with the new religion came letters, writing, architecture, arts, and hundreds of cultivated men and women of learning and zeal, with a mighty train of influences that completely transformed both humanity, society and the landscape. Those



THE KEIKWAI-RO, OR BANQUET HALL, OF THE KEIFUKU PALACE, SEOUL.

The Banquet Hall, Which is 90 by 114 Feet and Supported by 48 Stone Pillars 15 Feet High, Is Set on a Summit Commanding a View of All the Palaces and Hills in the Vicinity

who will consult the foreign authorities and the writings of those native scholars who have not been silenced or driven out of their chairs by the military bureaucracy and the pseudo-mikadoism on which they fatten, may see for themselves what a lean outline of culture Yamato possessed and how rich is the dower which Korea gave. Or they may study for themselves in the native literature the entire inventory and assets of the early centuries, only to realize how poor was the recipient and how rich was the giver.

Whether the Koreans of today are a degenerate race, and Korea's civilization, down to the time of the Japanese annexation, is itself degeneracy, as Isabella Bird Bishop, and not a few other writers of a generation or two ago, argued concerning the Japanese—is not to our point. We cannot know, unless we study it, the richness of Korea's social, religious and political conditions before 1392, when Buddhism was disestablished and Confucianism was made the state religion. No iconoclasm in Europe, whether Anabaptist, Puritan or Jesuit, such as first emptied of symbols, and then either whitewashed or "modernized" the medieval cathedrals and resplendent edifices, ever surpassed the destruction wrought in Korea during the great civil strife of A. D. 1392. Those who think Con-

fucianism tolerant should read de Groot. The torch was systematically applied. The temples were leveled, the monasteries and convents left in ashes and the pagodas overthrown. Today the scattered ruins of what were once crowded cities surprise the traveler.

As Buddhism was the religion of the masses, the people were left as sheep without a shepherd; nor is it any wonder that, during the past five centuries, they were sunk in an ignorance and gross superstition far beyond anything known in the previous Middle Ages. Yet what was the amazement of the English-speaking missionaries who entered Korea in 1885 and later, to find innumerable proofs and traces of a lost civilization that included in its assets something that neither great China nor mighty Japan possessed; that is, an alphabet, with its signs classified according to the organs of speech and serving admirably the purposes of a popular literature.

There was indisputably a rich thesaurus of Korean civilization, and without the generous importation from this to the isles of the Rising Sun, the existence of medieval art in Nippon or the art contribution of modern Japan is absolutely inconceivable.

It may be worth while to make some inventory,



Methodist Episcopal Church Conyary Commission

**KOREAN SCHOOL GIRLS QUICKLY LEARN TO PLAY THE SAME GAMES AS WESTERN CHILDREN**

According to the Japanese, the Aim of Their Korean Educational System is "to Give the Younger Generation of Koreans Such Moral Character, National Spirit and General Knowledge As Will Make Them Loyal Subjects of Imperial Japan."

rude though it be, of Korean history from the fourth to the seventeenth century and show her place and work in the world. The relations of the peninsula and the archipelago were very close and intimate, from A.D. 552 to 1592. Then followed the terrible invasion of Hideyoshi's army, from 1592 to 1597, which ended finally in withdrawal and defeat. During these years the destruction of things Korean, relatively, equaled that of the Huns in Belgium. The Japanese scooped the country clean of art, artisans and art industries. Let those who doubt read the contemporaneous diaries and reports of the Japanese invaders themselves, who were driven away by the use of bombshells (Heaven-shaking thunder balls) of native Korean invention, before these were known in Europe, and their fleets sunk by an iron-clad, planned and built by a Korean, and by the Allied armies, native and Chinese. After the death of Hideyoshi, the desolating invaders were recalled, but they brought with them whole guilds and villages of artistic workers. "All Japan's chief potteries date from this date, her teachers being Korean captives," says Chamberlain.

The Japanese relations with Korea, until 1876—when both were hermit nations—were limited to a trading station at Fusan, on the one hand, and on the other, to a formal visit of congratulation by a Korean embassy on the accession of a new shogun in Yedo. In 1876, after a close imitation of President Fillmore's peaceful armada and of Perry's

tactics, a treaty was made, in which Korea was recognized as a sovereign state. The example of Japan was followed, in 1882, by the United States and China. The Americans again led in the three-fold initiative of peaceful diplomacy in the Far East, the abolition of the hermitage of retarded nations and of the worn-out dogma of dual sovereignty.

American missionaries and teachers entered Korea in 1885. They began not merely the work of propagating a creed, but of establishing an extensive system of healing, cleansing and general human improvement. Their work was so successful, their influence so great and their naturally democratic ideas so rooted, that Ito bluntly confessed that their presence was a serious embarrassment to his work, as the Governor-General and imperial administrator of a conquered country.

When Korea was annexed to Japan and its sovereignty and independence blotted out, the United States and other foreign countries withdrew their legations. As a true statesman, Ito grappled with the situation with all patience and vigor until his death at the hands of an assassin. Then Ito, the statesman, was followed by military men, who were strongly upheld in their policy by the militaristic and imperial bureaucracy which, since 1868, has ruled emperor, cabinet, diet and people, and is only now beginning to show signs of being checked.

Why was the presence of American teachers an embarrassment in Korea when, since 1859, hun-



dreds of the same sort of people, teaching and living the same truths, had been active in Japan?

In the correct answer to this question lies the crux of the whole situation in the East today. He who runs may read.

The Revolution, or Restoration, of 1868, in spite of the fact that it contained the seeds of despotism, meant progress of a certain sort. The world wondered why the ruling class gave up their power so easily, but they did not give it up. The figureheads were removed and the dummies—that is men of high rank and birth but of no personal importance—were bowled over; but, as a class, no power was lost by the *samurai*, or sword-wearers. Rather did the militaristic culture come to renaissance in fuller organization. *Bushido*, a word virtually unknown before, was coined to suit the new age, and the book based on the new mintage was taken seriously by the men who slipped into civil office. They still held power as soldiers and policemen; or, under the new constitution, they were established as permanent and unremovable officers and as heads of the army and navy in the cabinet, not to be disturbed by the fluctuations of politics.

While there was no change in the spirit, attitude or method of the foreign teachers in either country, there were in Japan two or three very profound, and, from the view of today, sinister, changes. These, in the light of Japan's authentic records, may be regarded as revolutionary. They were:

1. The adoption of an imperialistic militarism, the purpose of which was to keep all real power in the hands of soldiers, and to "make Japan's power shine beyond the seas."

2. This spirit and system were fed on a pseudo-mikadoism, to which all previous Japanese history was a stranger. Instead of the maxim of Iyeyasu, "the people are the foundation of the empire," the dogma was fixed and enforced, as an article of war and peace, that the Mikado is the source of all authority, in "a line of emperors unbroken from ages eternal." In a word, the ruler was even more than the nation itself.

3. To maintain this pseudo-mikadoism, there was a thorough-going imita-

tion of the German system, both as to philosophy and practice.

This new system of dogma, manufactured chiefly since 1868, has since controlled the press, dominated education and made a camouflage of history, penalizing native scholars and critics who have dared to speak their own minds concerning this new-fangled mikadoism. Worse than all, this spirit and method have equipped the hostile critics of Japan with their weapons. This pseudo-mikadoism of the militarists has done more to raise doubt as to the real character of the progress of Japan, the sincerity of her purpose and the purity of her political ethics, than anything else. It has also raised the serious question whether Dai Nippon, with her barrier of autocracy, intends to stand in the pathway of the world's democracy. While making an alliance with Great Britain, the men behind the throne were far from being Anglo-Saxon in spirit. It is notorious that Ito and the constitution-makers of 1889 took their ideas of English political institutions, not directly from English expounders, but from the German von Gneist's interpretation of them, in his *Verfassung* (History of the English Constitution).

Whether it is against the actual loss of their country's sovereignty, or against this ruthless militarism which, beyond controversy, has shown itself



Methodist Episcopal Church, Chongju, Chosen

HORSES ARE A UNIVERSAL MEANS OF CONVEYANCE IN KOREA  
Korean Horses Are Generally Small But Strong. They Can Carry 200 Pounds  
Weight and Make 20 Miles or More a Day for Several Days in Succession



APR. 21, 1910

#### THE "WHITE BUDDHA" PAINTED ON A ROCK AND ENSHRINED IN THE HILLS NEAR SEOUL

The Legend Goes That the Waters Will Never Rise Above the Buddha's Feet and Inundate the Land. Korea Is Rich in Such Legends and in Monuments Recalling a Great History in Religion, Art and Literature

so roughly in their native land, that the Korean millions protest and have so often resisted with their lives even to the year 1919, is not here discussed. My purpose is to show that Korea has done something for the world, and that her civilization is worth preserving. To this end—if it really be Japan's purpose—other methods must be used than those in vogue at the present time, and especially since Ito died. So long as the question remains open to challenge, as to whether the conquerors are exploiting Korea for their own advantage, or whether, in righteousness and justice, they mean to do well by the Koreans, it is vain for them to point to a veneer of material progress and reform. Do these conceal the ultimate and real purpose? No country can afford to resent, as an interference with its domestic affairs, just criticism of the ways of old Russia or Turkey, still perpetuated, even when done in the name of a Heaven-descended emperor.

Korea has a population of about fourteen million souls in a peninsula of somewhat less than ninety thousand square miles. It is cold and mountainous in the north, warm and fertile in the south, but capable of being made into an overflowing granary and a region rich in live stock. The Koreans are neither skilled traders like the Chinese nor soldiers like the Japanese, but have shown rather the traits of the literary recluse. The bibliography of their

voluminous literature has been annotated and published in three large volumes, by Henri Courant.

The Koreans claim a civilization older than that of China. They chronicle as their founder the ancestor of Confucius, Kija, who in 1122 B. C. established law and order. Their domain, tributary to China, was called Cho-sen, or the Land of Morning Splendor, a name which the Japanese have very properly restored. This ancient Cho-sen, however, comprised very little of what is modern Korea. It lay for the most part within the modern Chinese province of Shing-King.

The historic period of Korea proper begins about the opening of the Christian era. The race struggles in the peninsula at that period bear a close analogy to those of England. Just as in Great Britain, three congeries of tribes, discordant even within themselves, after many struggles of race, dynasty and religion, formed themselves into the one kingdom, or commonwealth, comprising England, Scotland and Wales; so in the Asia peninsula, there were three states formed (Silla leading). Into them flowed the letters, art, ethics and culture of China and the religion of India's great reformer. The three states were united politically in A. D. 960, under the name of Koraí (Japanese pronunciation) whence our present name Korea, which in the seventeenth century was brought into European languages by the Jesuit missionaries of France,

who in their various reports used the term, Corée.

During a thousand years of Korean history Buddhism enjoyed an almost undisputed field. In this era were built those numerous stone pagodas and astronomical observatories—possibly the oldest extant in the world—excavations were made in the solid rock, and those colossal figures, from thirty to seventy feet high, which are still archeological curiosities, were chiseled out. Within this glorious period was invented the almost perfect Korean alphabet, of fourteen consonants and eleven vowels. Hundreds of young men were sent to China and India to study. At this time, too, Korean products were seen in the countries of Islam.

The little volume on "Korean Buddhism," by Professor Starr, published last year, with its suggestive illustrations, gives one tantalizing hints as to the survivals of the popular religion, as well as to its possible unity and ultimate renaissance. It also proves conclusively the wide and deep prevalence in Korea of a religion which has always been the mother of art and civilization. There are other proofs in abundance, which tell or illuminate the same story. One who, like the writer, has seen the festal side of popular Buddhism, on a large scale, is quite as much impressed by other and more homely relics, as by those seen in pictorial art and architecture; such as the bells, among the largest in the world, and the enormous iron pots in which rice and other eatables were cooked for thousands, on the occasions when great crowds of pilgrims and devotees came to renowned monasteries and temples.

Perhaps even more impressive, to those who know Japan chiefly from the aesthetic points of view, is the fact that the Korean origin of Japanese art is not an hypothesis, but a demonstrated fact, the overwhelming proofs being in Japan itself. Original Japanese art did not arise until the ninth century, and apart from the Korean masterpieces there are only the rudest traces of art. In fact, what is called "Japanese art" was, before the tenth century, almost wholly the work of Koreans.

In fact, just as between Egypt and Greece there was Cyprus, which was a geographical entity and a link in evolution, which cannot be ignored, so Korea was the middle term between India and China and Japan. Though the modern Japanese may be inclined to forget this, his ancestors for many centuries spoke of Korea as the Treasure Land of the West. We do not deny that the full sunrise and midday of far oriental art belongs to the archipelago, but the fountains of its first light lay in the near peninsula, when in Nanking and the palaces of China, the fame of Korean and peninsular art was as great as in the mansions of the Mikado at Nara. So long as the capital was at Nara (A. D. 719-784) art was an exotic. When

the capital was transferred to Kyoto, the motives and models of art were Korean, both in ceramics, drawing, color painting, architecture and in decorative art generally. All the first decorators were Koreans, and not till the ninth century was there a *We-dokoro*, or Imperial School of Painting, having four chief painters and sixty sketchers, or draughtsmen, whose main business it was to decorate the palace and public buildings. But these were all Koreans. Curiously enough, although the



AT THE TOMB OF AN OLD KOREAN EMPEROR  
During the Buddhist Period, Korea, Known to Japan As  
the Treasure Land of the West, Contributed Lavishly  
to Art and Civilization

Japanese have no pure word for "art," unless of recent coinage, they distinguish their aesthetic products according to their Chinese, Korean or Buddhist origin—*Kara*, *Korai* and *Butsu-ise*. It was not until the eleventh century that a distinctively native art arose in Japan.

We must remember that it was not the quasi-degenerate Korea of today that supplied Silla and Korai of the early and middle ages, when Buddhism was in its bloom. Their art came to flower, only to be plucked and worn by the Japanese. The decay of Korean art was largely due to the fact that Japan, for centuries, drained the rival country of

her best artists and workmen. Artisans and teachers of every description, as well as monks and nuns flocked to what was then a new country.

The Japanese are deeply indebted to the Koreans for the introduction of writing and literature. Not only did hundreds of Korean peaceful envoys and men of the pen, the brush, the chisel and the sutra enter the Mikado's domain, but along with them came refined and educated women, who were governesses in the noble families and instructors of the court ladies and teachers of etiquette. These Korean women deserve no little credit, for it is a unique fact that pure literature in Japan was inaugurated and for five centuries almost monopolized by the women. Most touching is the elegy on the death of the Korean nun, Riguwan, who crossed to Japan in A. D. 714 and spent twenty-one years in the house of the prime minister, Otomo. The elegiac verses in her praise were written by the daughter of the house and sent to her mother. Of course, according to the native writer, Riguwan and all the other Koreans came to Japan in order to place themselves "under the beneficent sway of the Japanese Emperor," on whose house his subjects have ever lavished the colossal flatteries and gem-like adjectives which were formerly showered on the Emperor of China.

The nursery tales, accepted as sober facts, which picture Korea as conquered and made tributary to Japan, are simply mirrors of Japanese vanity and conceit, with no reflection in history. Yet even the late legend of Empress Jingu does but confirm the thesis of this paper; for it is said that the eighty ships, which came back loaded with spoils, from the Korea of A. D. 200 were freighted with pictures, brocades, precious stones, books and various articles new to warriors of Yamato.

It was from Korean immigrants that the native schools of ceramic and decorative art, known to us under the names they now bear, of Hizen, Imari, Satsuma and others, had their rise. It is almost as rare to find a Japanese line of fine or industrial art which is not of Korean origin, as it is to find in England things of the same sort, esthetic, commercial or industrial, that did not come from either the Netherlands or the Huguenots. The ceramic ware dug up from Korean tombs, such as the tall, graceful, long-lipped, or long spouted tea pot; the celadons; the wave pattern; the arabesque lines of decoration (in Korean, *Chiu-mong*) that break up the surface with flat fillets or curved flutings, are purely Korean. In fact, the whole drift of Japanese art tradition carries us back to Korea, or to the

early Korean artists in Japan. When, a generation ago, I used to talk over these subjects with Japanese artists, they were surprisingly generous in their acknowledgments to the Koreans.

In a word, the civilization of Korea was and is a reality. Japan is now on trial before the world, to show whether her annexation of the old Treasure Land means a blessing or a curse—to either or both the Korean or the Japanese people. She may well consider whether her own existence does not depend upon a righteous treatment of the people whom she expects to assimilate.

Perhaps in personal experience lies an allegory. Fifty years ago, a call came to America, from Japan's far interior, for a young man "to organize schools on the American principle." The writer accepted the call, but no insurance company would, except at a very high premium, take the risk and issue a policy on his life. Friends thought him a fool, for "trusting himself among such a people," where a brace of swords formed part of the daily costume of gentlemen, and in which *jo-i* (alien-exPELLERS and foreigner-haters) were sufficiently numerous, and where assassination of Europeans was common—two taking place during the first month of the writer's arrival. A revolver, kept in the left breast-pocket, whence, for urgent need, it could be drawn quickly, seemed very necessary, and certainly was comforting. However, when settled down in the interior city of the Happy Well, his eyes were opened. The American teacher laid away his Smith and Wesson six-shooter, nor did he take it up again while in Japan. Instead, he kept his pockets stored with lumps of sugar for the children he met on his walks, and won all hearts by living the normal life of a decent American.

Within a year, also, the sword-wearers were "permitted" by edict to lay aside their killing tools. The old fogies who did not were soon laughed into becoming unarmed civilians by those who had laid aside their frontier and medieval equipment. Japan disarmed herself. Incipient reactions and rebellions against modern ideas were put down by public schools and science, or came to naught because of ever increasing freedom under law. The old reign of force was over. Widening out from precedent to precedent, Japan has become the beacon of hope for Asia.

I have witnessed too many grand reforms and have, again and again, seen too many noble illustrations of that outstanding trait of a Japanese who, when he sees himself in the wrong, changes to the right, to lose confidence now. I have faith in Japan.



# BUDDHA'S PATH IN CHINA



Alfred D. Williams

*The deep sonorous tones of temple bells, the beating of the gongs that call to prayer, are inextricably woven into the subtle soul of the East. The Westerner who has dwelt in pagoda cities always afterwards carries wistfully in his memory the endless booming of the temple gongs. What were they—those winged messengers that mounted night after night to strike against the wall of his alien consciousness? Were they mere mechanical reverberations of an outworn creed or were they vehicles of a universal truth that is re-incarnated for every environment and every epoch? It is written in the Gospel of Buddha: "Truth is eternal and will still remain even though heaven and earth shall pass away." The old Buddhist priest softly tapping the strange fish-mouthed gong through the temple services may seem to have a simple enough spiritual occupation. But at the far frontiers of his religion he can explore the esoteric depths of philosophy, probe the heart of life and death and immortality, and equally with his brothers of the western Book he has words of wisdom for the young, strength for the weary, comfort and cheer for those who are troubled in heart.*



Unsettled by Williams

The young Chinese ascetic travels a long road before he attains the serene self-obsorption of the older priests in the monastery. Through a study of the sutras and a close application to the teaching of his masters he endeavors to follow the Noble Eightfold Path—right belief, right aspirations, right speech, right behavior, right livelihood, right effort, right thoughts and right contemplation. That only is the straight and narrow way for the true Buddhist toward the extreme heights of passionless tranquility, enlightenment and the blissful state of Nirvana. At the same time the Buddhist monk on ordination does not bind himself to any established and iron-clad articles of creed. He is free to interpret the scriptures and doctrines laid down by his school according to his own judgment. When the candidate takes his ordination vows he repeats the ten Buddhist commandments—promising to avoid the three evils of the body, the four evils of the tongue and the three evils of the mind. But in no sense is the monk required to take perpetual vows, and he is free to return to the world whenever he chooses. And if he leaves his cell of meditation he goes back again on the high road of life with a more pure understanding of the immutable realm of the spirit.



Stephen O. Williams

*It is an unusual occupation for a Chinese priest to be examining the mechanism of that strange western device of witchcraft—the camera. A few years ago it would have been impossible for a "foreign devil" to persuade Chinese in the interior to pose for a photograph. But times are changing, even in old Cathay. The priest, like the young Chinese student, who has received his education at a western university and returns ardent with ideas of progress and reform for China, is aware of the passing of the old order of things. If he has wisdom, he realizes that he must extricate his religion from the grosser superstitions that have been entangled with its truths. The simpler folk of China may have little vision beyond charms and mechanical prayers and the external efficacy of image worship; but in this they do not differ greatly from some peasant groups of eastern and southern Europe. The sophisticated and highly educated Chinese may deny any enthusiasm for Buddhism as a religion, but they are deeply interested in Buddhist philosophy. Artistic Chinese makes pilgrimages to Buddhist temples to pay reverence to the fine old works of Buddhist art. Buddhism is not dead, or dying, as some of its critics affirm. It has struck its roots deep into the heart of China and will again draw renewed strength from Chinese soil.*



Monks of O. H. Williams

The future of Buddhism lies in the hands of the nobler type of young Buddhist priest. There may be few of him, but the pure in heart who inherit the kingdom of heaven are rare to find among the followers of any religion. In the Chinese monasteries one often comes unexpectedly upon some youth, spiritually beautiful, strangely diffident and other-worldly. Perhaps he has hearkened to the far-off echo of a great Indian sage: "You will not find the Buddha in images or books. Look into your own heart; that is where you will find the Buddha." Perhaps he is meditating on the past glories of his religion, which has exerted such a tremendous influence over the whole trend of Chinese civilization. According to the popular account, Buddhism was introduced into China in A. D. 67, when Ming Ti, then Emperor of China, hearing of Buddhism for the first time, dispatched a mission to India to investigate the strange religion. Buddhism suffered many vicissitudes in China before it occupied a prominent part in the religious and political life of the people. The great painters and poets of Tang and Sung drew their finest inspiration from Buddhist sources. Everywhere China is rich in Buddhist monuments, sculpture, temples and legends. Chinese philosophy has been shaped by Buddhist doctrines. China's history has been closely linked with Buddhism. Will Buddhism continue to march on with China into the uncharted future?





Shanghai 11. Williams

Nirvana and the austers and the attainment of selflessness do not seriously concern this happy-go-lucky follower of the Buddha. He is endowed with very much the same spirit as Chaucer's "Friar," and indeed there are striking points of resemblance between certain priests of present day China and members of various Christian clerical orders of the Middle Ages, immortalized in Chaucer's "Prologue." A none too rigid observance of monastic etiquette, a rollicking Rabelaisian sense of humor, a frank preference for flesh-pots to the serene tranquility of Paradise—all these things make a wandering priest trudging through the dust of a Chinese village road a blood-brother of the friar off to Canterbury. The average uneducated Buddhist priest does not probe too deeply into the tenets of his religion. As a matter of fact, Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, the three central religions of China, are all tangled up together in his beliefs and practices. And the same thing is true for the majority of the Chinese people. In the sixth century there was a learned scholar, Fu Hsi, who went about in a curious attire, consisting of a Taoist cap, a Buddhist scarf, and Confucian shoes. His costume aroused the curiosity of the Emperor, who asked him if he were a Buddhist. Fu Hsi only pointed to his Taoist cap. "Then you are a Taoist?" Fu Hsi simply pointed to his Confucian shoes. "O, you are a Confucian?" said the Emperor. But this time he pointed to his Buddhist scarf,



Victor G. Hultine

*The devout Buddhist spends much of his time in prayer. As he walks through the monastery garden, with its graceful tiled pavilions and lotus pond and marble bridge, perhaps he voices some such prayer as this: "I am indeed filled with thankfulness that it has been granted to me to know the Buddha's way of salvation; but although I am a monk and have abandoned the world, I am bitterly conscious that my heart is not yet penetrated with the truth. I study the scriptures with diligence, and yet I am incapable of fully understanding and assimilating their holy wisdom. Behold, in my longing to purify this heart of mine, I am shedding tears of anguish. In reverence and humiliation I kneel before Thee; day and night my thoughts dwell on Thy holy countenance. Incline Thy heavenly ear, O Pass, to hearken unto me; of Thy divine love save me from misery; grant me Thy pity and protection; let Thy spiritual light shine upon my body and illumine my heart. Grant that I may increase in spiritual intelligence and discernment. May I walk in the way of the Passus; may I put my trust in the Buddha, the Law and the company of the saints; and wherever the Law holds sway, may all living beings attain union in the wisdom that leads to the peace of Buddhahood."*



Harold G. Williams

None of the most celebrated men in Chinese history took refuge in the ancient Buddhist monasteries to rest from the cares of state and to exchange views on philosophy and eternity with the gentle revellers who had abandoned the vanities of the world. The great poet of the Tang dynasty, Li Po, loved the mountain monasteries, and particularly did he love Chia-hua in Central China. Here by the Spring of the Water Nymph, he built a rustic cottage where he came to have long talks and rambles with the Korean hermit and sage who was renowned in his time. Five centuries later on the site of the poet's cottage, a high official erected a club, The School of Li Po, which was a meeting place for students, poets and artists. Chia-hua was also a favorite resort of Wang Shou-chen, one of the leading statesmen and soldiers of the Ming dynasty. At one time when Wang was in temporary disgrace at the Imperial Court because he was suspected of being the instigator of a revolution, he retired to a cottage in the shadow of the monastery. The Emperor sent spies to watch him, but when they returned with their reports, he said, "The man is a philosopher. Rebels are not made of such stuff." And Wang was speedily reinstated to office and granted many new honors. Not only statesmen and poets, but emperors as well, when weary of pomp, retired to the monasteries.



Magnum G. Williams

Pilgrim guests are always received with great courtesy and hospitality by the Buddhist priests. In some parts of China the temple is the only refuge for the traveler, and the stranger who comes to the gate is welcomed whether he be Buddhist or Christian. Pilgrimages to sacred places are as popular with the hardier Chinese as with those in more exalted positions. Just as in Japan, the Chinese pilgrims form themselves into bands, subscribe to a common fund, and usually travel together from the same village under a selected leader. There is a handbook for the guide of pilgrims, which outlines pilgrim routes and goes into detail concerning proper conduct and etiquette. The pilgrim must rid his mind of all feelings of hatred and ill will when visiting the holy shrines of Buddha. Gentleness and compassion and humility must be his guiding principles. The summer is the season to visit the sacred mountains of the north and west. The Four Famous Hills, great mountain strongholds of Buddhism, are the favorite centers of pilgrimages—Wu-tai-shan, in Shansi; Tsin-tai-shan, in Szechuan; Chin-huo-shan, in Anhui; and Fata-shan, in Chekiang. All have ancient and distinguished histories and have been visited by many of the greatest men of China, who humbled their spirits to walk in the way of the Buddha.

# THE CASE OF CHINA AND JAPAN

By "AMERICUS"

**I**T seems to be the fashion for writers on problems of the Far East to begin with a statement of their qualifications to discuss these questions.

The present writer has, it is true, spent many years—almost a lifetime—in various parts of the Far East, but he cannot claim to have earned thereby the right to speak with authority on all the many aspects of the present complicated situation there. But one thing he has gained—a feeling of deep affection and respect for all the great peoples whose apparent interests have come into such serious conflict there. Perhaps that feeling, which is not now so common as might be desired, may justify this attempt to present from that special point of view some facts and arguments in the hope that others may come to share his belief that the real interests of these rival nations of East and West do not conflict, but that each will profit by the growing strength and prosperity of the other.

One of the greatest difficulties in the way of a dispassionate study of Far Eastern problems, particularly those relating to the activities of Japan in China, has been the almost universal tendency of Americans and Europeans who have lived or traveled in the Far East to take sides rather violently.

While the European business man in Tokyo is at times likely to complain somewhat bitterly of unfavorable conditions in Japan, if he transfers his activities to Peking he is soon apt to extol the strong points of the Japanese, to sigh for the more highly developed commercial organization of Japan and to feel that it would be infinitely preferable to return to the struggle with old problems, in the solution of which he has, after all, gained considerable experience, rather than to submit to the irritating delays and uncertainties attending most transactions in the Chinese capital. When his opinion of the Chinese is asked thereafter he gives them rather doubtful commendation. Similarly, the foreign merchant in Shanghai, who has developed a most effective if somewhat expensive method of handling his Chinese trade with the minimum of financial risk, is at a loss when he comes to deal with the Japanese, whose trade is organized in quite a different manner, and he is loud in his condemnation of Japanese officials and merchants, especially when he feels their competition. In the same way we find the missionaries in China, Japan and Korea each inclined to champion the cause of that people among whom they live. Even officials of foreign governments are affected to some extent by the same strange force, which may lead the diplomat

in Peking or Tokyo to regard with a certain amount of suspicion his fellow countrymen serving in the other capital.

What is the cause of this state of affairs? Is it merely the blindness of the individuals concerned, which leads them to fall easy victims to an insidious propaganda, carefully conducted with all the attendant purchasing of opinions through judicious entertaining and the conferring of complimentary decorations? These things do, of course, play a part, at times a most important one, through the unconscious corruption of a "key" man, to borrow an expression from our financial campaigners. But there is perhaps a deeper reason, a little more creditable to human nature. After living and doing business with a people for a long period of time, or sometimes even by getting a brief glimpse of the everyday life of the common man in his home or at his work, the average foreigner begins to see some of the many things which the Oriental possesses in common with his own people. The main preoccupation of the ordinary Japanese or Chinese is to earn a good living, to maintain a pleasant home, and to give his children the start in life that he thinks they should have. The thoughtful foreigner sees the industry and cheerful courage of both peoples in the midst of their hard struggle for a bare existence. When he observes how they both respond loyally to courteous and considerate treatment in the manifold relations of everyday life he naturally begins to develop a feeling of affectionate respect for many of them. Not only does he begin to see that there is a real distinction between the peoples themselves and the governments which for the time being control their national policy, perhaps exploiting the people in the interest of a few individuals or of an aristocratic class, but he tends more and more to regard the peoples themselves as a collection of individuals, good, bad and indifferent, rather than as a uniform and standardized product turned out from a single pattern, and he becomes more and more cautious about making general statements regarding them. It comes as something of a shock to the foreigner who has been fed on the well-intentioned but somewhat injudicious and misleading anti-Japanese propaganda of the time to discover that the average Japanese farmer and shopkeeper does not lie awake nights, plotting to extend his country's sway on the Asiatic continent, and if he reads of these things at all he has no very clear idea what it is all about. On the other hand, the man who has formed his impressions mainly from the



R. H. CHAM

**A COMPRADORE IS THE FIRST NEED OF THE FOREIGN FIRM IN CHINA**  
He Is Usually a Wealthy Merchant Who Becomes an Associate of the Foreign Business Man and Acts As Intermediary in Transactions with Foreign Customers

active but naive pro-Japanese propaganda, with a Hearn and Sir Edwin Arnold background, is shocked to find that there is much that is sordid and mean about Japanese life at home and its manifestations abroad, that all Japanese are not polite, and that some Japanese babies do cry a good deal, like spoiled children anywhere. A distinguished Japanese diplomat with much experience in America once remarked in the period of relaxation after a good dinner that it was a pity that American children were not taught at school, as Japanese children were, to be respectful to their elders and to foreigners. He said that in the streets of American cities children frequently called out after him "John, John Chinaman" and other remarks not intended to be complimentary. "Well," said I, "when I go out on the streets of Tokyo the children call out things that no Japanese friend has thus far been willing to translate." This seemed to be an entirely new discovery for my Japanese friend, who after all had probably not had occasion to walk the streets of Japan with foreigners, and could not know how the children reacted to such an amusing spectacle. Similarly in passing through a crowded Chinese street the foreigner occasionally hears himself referred to as a "foreign devil." There have been times when there was real feeling behind this epithet, but it seems to be often used now in a perfectly amiable spirit. So we find even in such petty

things that we and our oriental friends have more in common than we had supposed.

A favorite subject for generalization is the relative honesty of the Chinese and the Japanese. The really wonderful record for honorable dealing of some Chinese merchants has shed a reflected glory over their people as a whole to an extent that astonishes the Chinese people themselves, who are not precisely noted for confidence in one another. It once occurred to a well-intentioned foreigner in China that if his Chinese friends would organize a cooperative store they might be able to buy and sell much more advantageously than through the existing channels of trade. He accordingly called together a number of the leading men of the community and described in detail

the organization and workings of a cooperative society. They listened with respectful interest, but when he suggested that they proceed to organize one for themselves there was a dead silence. Finally one man said, "Your proposition is a very good one, but to make it really successful there is evidently necessary an honest manager who shall have the confidence of the other members." There was another silence, and as no one seemed able to answer the objection, the project died a natural death.

In making comparisons between East and West or between China and Japan, it is only fair to take into consideration the different economic and social conditions. In the East in general and in China in particular, the struggle for existence is so much keener, and the social sense, the realization of the advantages of cooperation so much less understood than in the West, that it is not strange that movable property needs to be fastened down tight, or constantly watched, if it is not to disappear. Can you really blame the Chinese laborer, whose family may be starving or freezing, for walking off with any detachable thing of value? Being more prosperous, Japan has perhaps a bit less of that kind of dishonesty, though I have heard even Japanese express wonder that flowers were safe in our suburban towns in unfenced gardens. Even flowers planted on graves are not always respected in Japan. The confidence in the honesty of the ordi-

nary wayfarer that is shown by our system of unlocked, unprotected rural post boxes would astonish almost any Oriental.

Perhaps the same keenness of the economic struggle, coupled with lack of experience in large affairs, makes both oriental nations less scrupulous than some western peoples, in seeing to it that quantity and quality of goods delivered are up to an agreed standard. While considerable publicity has been given to the failings of the Japanese, in this respect, this is perhaps largely due to the fact that there are more Japanese firms engaged in direct trade with western countries, whereas most Chinese products pass into foreign hands at Chinese ports, and are then sorted and packed for shipment under European or American supervision. The foreign merchant who has struggled with the problems of watered cotton and other adulterated products in China, or has learned through bitter experience the necessity of constant supervision of building operations if poor materials and faulty workmanship are not to be passed off on him, will admit that in certain kinds of honesty the Chinese merchant and contractor has something still to learn, like his brethren in other countries. When a definite and limited obligation is assumed by a Chinese, he shows a wonderful sense of responsi-

bility. A servant, who will not hesitate to collect exorbitant commissions on purchases for his employer, will never dream of stealing property that is committed to his care, and will frequently feel himself responsible for losses not due to any act of his own. In larger affairs, Chinese commission merchants are sometimes given advances of tens of thousands of dollars without any apparent security and without even the passing of a receipt. Yet these advances are nearly always repaid or accounted for at the proper time, unless the foreigner, anxious to get rich quick, has ventured outside the select circle of experienced and trusted dealers, in which case he may add one more to the docket of similar actions against Chinese merchants in the local mixed court. For, contrary to the legend, there are many complaints of foreigners against Chinese merchants which have to go to the courts for settlement.

One reason why there is so little complaint against the Chinese dealer is because the foreign merchant so effectively fortifies himself against any chance of being defrauded by a Chinese customer. When a foreign firm opens up in China, one of its first cares is to select a compradore. This individual is usually a wealthy merchant of the town with considerable real property. He becomes, not



WHERE THERE'S A WILL THERE'S ALWAYS A ROUNDABOUT WAY—IN CHINA

These Hundred Coolies Dragging a Heavy Boiler Through the Streets of Shanghai Are Symbolic of the Human Motive Power Latent in the Chinese. Their Energy and Industry Combined with Modern Science May Produce Great Things for the World

an employee, but a kind of associate of the foreign business man, and while keeping up in many cases his own independent commercial ventures, he establishes an office in connection with the firm's offices, where he acts as intermediary for all transactions with Chinese customers. No Chinese order is booked without his approval, for he takes the place of our "credit man" and knows who can be trusted and to what extent. But he differs from the credit man in that he, in return for a commission on the transaction, assumes full responsibility for it and pays up himself if the customer defaults. Being a man of property he can do this, and to make assurance doubly sure, the foreigner usually requires him to deposit security in the form of title deeds to land or even cash in some cases. When the goods are finally delivered it is not usual to give long credits. In one of the principal ports of China payments are usually made at once through what are called native bank orders, i.e., checks dated five or ten days ahead and certified by some Chinese bank. In other words, very little real credit business is done, according to our idea of that term, and it is consequently not surprising that there are so few losses.

In Japan, however, the compradore system does not exist except for business with Chinese there; the foreign firms themselves take the risk and the profit involved in direct relations with the trade. Consequently one hears more of cases in which confidence is abused. The compradore in China commonly engages those of the Chinese staff of the firm who are responsible for money or goods, and he guarantees their fidelity, thus taking the place of our surety companies. It is this custom that gave rise to the well-worn story that Japanese banks are obliged to employ Chinese cashiers to handle their funds, although as a matter of fact strictly Japanese banks rarely have Chinese employees, except a few to attend to their Chinese customers. It is true that the British and other foreign banks having branches in Japan do find it convenient to use the Chinese compradore system to obtain guaranteed cashiers, who are transferred from China where the principal offices of the foreign banks are located, in the same manner as the other foreign employees.

Even the most ardent champions of the Chinese will usually admit that in the organization of commercial corporations and in official life Chinese moral standards are distinctly below par. It would be difficult to name half a dozen large Chinese corporations that are conducted to the satisfaction of those stockholders who do not have a hand in their management, and the financial irregularities of the Chinese functionary, from such distinguished officials as Li Hung-chang down to the meanest *yamen* runner, are a by-word. As has

been pointed out by others, one of the causes for this state of affairs seems to be the Chinese feeling that a man's first duty is to his own family and friends. For a president of a company or a high official to refuse a profitable post to a relative merely on the ground of his incompetence would seem heartless and indicate the lack of proper family feeling. He would frequently like to refuse, but does not know how to avoid the family pressure, especially since he knows that in case of refusal he will have to support the poor relative from his own pocket. The endless demands made by his relatives on any man who shows signs of prosperity constitute a very heavy burden. In considering the illegal exactions of Chinese officials, it must be borne in mind that a large part of the so-called graft goes to meet legitimate office expenses, which in other countries would be covered by an official budget, and to supplement a salary that is admittedly most inadequate for the manner of life which the official is supposed to lead. In Japan, on the other hand, while there has been much corruption in municipal politics and occasional scandals in Imperial departments, a system of budgets with strict auditing control has been enforced and the standard of financial morality in government circles has been fairly high. Undoubtedly, the feudal traditions of the Japanese people, inculcating loyalty to a larger unit than the family, have helped greatly in the organization of a relatively honest and efficient government service. There are also in Japan large numbers of important modern corporations which have succeeded in holding the confidence of their stockholders in a way that would have been impossible if they had not been fairly honestly conducted.

When all is said and done a real moral weakness, and the lack of mutual confidence which results, effectively blocking every attempt at coöperation and consolidation of the various factions, is probably the fundamental cause of China's unfortunate position to-day *vis-a-vis* Japan and the world. It is a moral weakness which is regarded by believers in China not as an intrinsic part of Chinese character, but as the creation of centuries of pressure, of poverty and the rigid domination of an inherited system of thought and philosophy—a weakness that is possible of eradication with the rise of new generations trained in other standards. But today the real power behind the Government, which is protesting so loudly against Japanese injustice, is in the hands of the same men who have signed many of the most disastrous agreements with the Japanese Government, merely (if the general opinion is correct) in order to fortify themselves in the profitable jobs which they now hold.

We hear also much discussion of the comparative standards of various nations in the Far East in the discharge of their international obligations. It is





THE COTTON SHOP IS ALWAYS A POPULAR TRADING EMPORIUM IN CHINA

Cotton is the Staple Article of Dress in China. Cheap Cotton Material is One of China's Chief Imports. Although the Chinese Are Beginning to Erect Modern Textile Mills to Manufacture Their Own Fabrics

common to hear Japan very bitterly assailed for her unreliability in such matters, but here again it is necessary to consider the question calmly and to inquire how Japan's conduct in this respect compares with that of other countries. Until after the Russo-Japanese War there was little serious ground for criticism of Japan in this respect. As far as complaints from American citizens on account of

alleged violations of treaty rights were concerned, consular and diplomatic officials in Japan led a comparatively peaceful life. Astonishingly few cases came up locally that required reference to the Embassy for settlement. The contrast in this respect between conditions in China and Japan has been very striking, for the chancelleries of the several legations at Peking are even now full of cases re-



FIRST COME FIRST SERVED AT THE ANNUAL BASKET FAIR, SHANGHAI

Bargaining at the Outdoor Bazaar is More Exciting to the Chinese Woman Than a Monday Department Store Sale to Her American Sister. There Are All Kinds of Fairs Maintained by Different Trades



AN AMERICAN MOTOR CAR SIDE BY SIDE WITH TIME HONORED CAMEL TRANSPORT OF PEKING  
Eventually Good Roads Will be Built in China, and the Long Lines of Camels, Trading Softly Into the  
Shadows of the Walls of Peking from Mongolia, Will Be Replaced by More Proneic But at the Same Time  
More Efficient Means of Transportation

ferred by the consulates in the provinces, in which Chinese local officials are alleged to have violated their treaty obligations, or have endeavored to obstruct foreign merchants in carrying on legitimate trade. The reason for this difference is partly, no doubt, because in Japan the rights and obligations of the several nations and their citizens have been more clearly defined than in China; the superiority of the local administrative organization minimizes the occasions for friction, and the officials being better educated and having a better comprehension of world politics, make fewer mistakes. The unfortunate Chinese local official, often possessed only of an old-fashioned classical education, frequently feel himself at a loss in dealing with an unreasonable foreigner. He is aware of the foreign habit of taking an ell where only an inch was intended to be given and of stretching treaty provisions beyond all recognition. The only safe course seems to him to commit himself as little as possible and to refuse to consider any new proposition, regardless of the apparent bearing of the treaties upon it. This policy of obstructing all wishes of the foreigner, whether reasonable or not, naturally drives the foreign official to distraction and finally results in a serious situation, particularly when the foreign nation in question is not averse to using force in settlement of its claims.

In such cases China usually gets the worst of it, being obliged to yield even on those points in which she is right, whereas if she had yielded in the first place on those points in which she was clearly wrong the crisis would perhaps never have arisen. The failure of China to introduce such promised reforms as the liberalizing of her mining regulations and the abolition of internal taxes on goods in transit is well known. Russia set a conspicuously bad example in her disregard of pledges to maintain the principles of the open door and equal opportunity, nor did she hesitate to ignore her promises to evacuate Chinese territory. Unfortunately Japan, which went to war ostensibly to defend these principles, having once succeeded to the advantageous position of Russia in Manchuria, was tempted beyond her strength to follow Russia's example. The first conspicuous offense was the closing of the port of Dalny to foreign merchants for a whole year after the war came to an end, while Japanese merchants were given a chance to establish themselves without competition. Discrimination on the railway under Japanese control is not so easily established, but there is documentary evidence to prove that an elaborate scheme for discrimination in freight rates, warehousing and banking credits was worked up by a prominent Japanese trading company which has enjoyed an almost semi-official



BOUNDARY BETWEEN CHINESE SECTION OF CANTON AND FOREIGN CONCESSIONS

Canton, with the Exception of Macao, the Oldest Chinese City Opened to Foreign Commerce, Is a Bustling Oriental Port, Importing Cotton, Kerosene, Paper, Rice and Medicines, and Exporting Raw Silk, Matings, Ginger, Sandalwood, Earthenware, Precious Stones

standing and received the endorsement of the highest local civil official. Certainly the experiences of foreign firms brought them to the moral certainty that there was such discrimination, though allowance must be made for the fact that even under equal terms Japanese trade was bound to go ahead rapidly, and would thus have aroused the jealousy of foreign competitors. This factor, it must undoubtedly be admitted, has been partly responsible for Japanese unpopularity in China. The blocking of a perfectly legitimate railroad concession to Americans in Manchuria is another instance of Japanese violation of the open-door policy to which she has so often subscribed. The policy of discrimination against foreigners does not appear to have been abandoned by the Japanese Government. Even those foreign merchants in Japan who have been known as champions of the Japanese cause have been alienated and embittered by gross favoritism to Japanese traders in the assignment of space in the Japanese vessels during the war, when most of the British and American ships in Far Eastern trade were withdrawn to the Atlantic. Let us not forget, however, that our own Congress passed a law for discriminating dues on foreign shipping in the Panama Canal, apparently in violation of a treaty understanding, and that the repeal of that

discrimination was bitterly opposed. We should remember that in our Chinese immigration legislation we have disregarded plain provisions of our treaties with China, and that we have refused to Japanese in this country those equal rights with other foreigners that our treaties with Japan gave them every reason to expect. It is also well to remember that in the only part of the Orient which we control we abandoned in our customs tariff and navigation laws the principle of equal opportunity and established frank discrimination in favor of American goods and ships. Great Britain, which has a deservedly high reputation for liberal treatment of foreign merchants and for scrupulous observance of international obligations, has sometimes given just grounds for complaint, as, for example, in the purchase of supplies for her section of the Hukuang Railways, for which all the associated nations were supposed to be given an equal opportunity to tender, and in unreasonable obstruction of proposed railway construction in China by American interests.

The bearing of these factors of national character, tradition and personality in the East upon the practical problem of solving today's grave political situation in the Orient I shall discuss in a succeeding article.

# SIX MONTHS WITH LENIN

By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

I SAW Lenin first not in the flesh but in the minds and spirits of four young Bolsheviks. Able, alert and active party workers, they were part of the great tide of exiles flowing back into Petrograd in the summer of 1917. These men quietly assured me that in brains and character Lenin not only led all the Bolsheviks, but likewise everybody else in Russia, in Europe and in all the world.

For us who daily read in the papers of Lenin, the German agent, and daily heard the bourgeoisie outlaw him as a scoundrel, a traitor and an imbecile, this was indeed strange doctrine. It sounded fantastic and fanatical. But these men were neither fools nor sentimentalists. Knocking about the world had hammered all that out of them. Nor were they hero-worshippers. The Bolshevik movement was elemental and passionate, but it was scientific, realistic, uncongenial to hero-worship. Yet here was this quartet declaring that there was one Russian great in integrity and in intelligence, and his name was Nikolai Lenin. The more we saw of these young zealots the more we desired to see the man they acknowledged their master. Would they take us to his hiding place?

"Be patient for a little while," they would reply, laughing, "and you shall see him." At last we did see him, and under the most dramatic circumstances.

While a tumultuous, singing throng of peasants and soldiers, flushed with the triumph of the November revolution, went stamping into Smolny, while the guns of the Aurora were heralding the death of the old order and the birth of the new, and while the whole world was holding its breath, Lenin stepped upon the tribunal.

We had already formed our own image of him.

The chairman announced, "Comrade Lenin will now address the Congress."

From our seats at the reporters' table he was at first invisible. Amidst tremendous cheering, he crossed the platform, the demonstration rising to a climax as he stepped into the speaker's box not more than thirty feet away. Now we saw him clearly and our hearts fell. He was almost the opposite of the image we had made of him. Instead of looming up large and impressive, he appeared short and stocky. His beard and hair were rough and unkempt. In his voice there was a harsh, dry note rather than eloquence. Thrusting his thumbs in his vest at the arm-pits, he rocked back and forth on his heels. For an hour we

listened, hoping to discern the hidden magnetic qualities which would account for his hold on these free, young, sturdy spirits. But in vain.

He simply said, "We shall now take up the formation of the Socialist state," and went into an unimpassioned matter-of-fact discussion. The Bolsheviks by their sweep and daring had captured our imaginations; we expected their leader to do likewise. We wanted the head of the party to come before us, the embodiment of these qualities, an epitome of the whole movement, a sort of super-Bolshevik. We were disappointed.

So much for a first impression. Yet, starting from that first adverse estimate, I found myself six months later declaring that the first man and statesman of Europe was Nikolai Lenin. Incidentally, this was the verdict of Raymond Robins.

From the start, menaced by hunger, invasion and reaction, the Bolsheviks drove their measures through without ruth or hesitation, while their enemies ransacked the arsenals of invective for epithets to assail them. To the bourgeoisie Lenin was the high-handed, iron-fisted one. At this period they referred to him not as Premier Lenin, but as "the tyrant Lenin," "Lenin the Dictator."

At this time came the humorous incident of the peasant. It was the night when the Soviet of Peasants' Deputies, throwing its support to the new Soviet government, celebrated with a glorified love-feast in the halls of Smolny. The intelligentsia had spoken for the village, there was a demand that the village should speak for itself. An old fellow in peasant's smock came to the platform. His face showed rosy through his white beard; he had twinkling eyes, and spoke in the village dialect.

"*Tovarishche* (comrades), how happy I was tonight as we came over here with banners flying and music playing! I didn't come walking on the ground. I came flying through the air. I am one of the dark people, living in a dark village. You gave us the light. But we don't understand it all, so they sent me here to find out. But *tovarishche*, we are all happy over the wonderful changes. In the old days the *chinovniki* used to be very hard and beat us, but now they are very polite. In the old days we could look only at the outsides of the palaces, now we can walk right inside them. In the old days we only talked about the Tsar, but they tell me now, *tovarishche*, tomorrow I can shake hand with Tsar Lenin himself. God grant him long life!"

The audience exploded. Astounded at the roars

of laughter and applause the old peasant sat down. But the next day he was presented to Lenin, and later was the peasant's representative at Brest-Litovsk.

During these first weeks rigid order and discipline were appearing in all departments. One could note the stiffening of the morale of the workmen, a tightening up of the loose parts in the Soviet machinery. Now when the Soviet moved out into action, as for example in the seizure of the banking system, it struck hard and effectively. Lenin knew where to be precipitate in action, and when to go slow.

Once a delegation of workmen came to Lenin asking him if he could decree the nationalization of their factory.

"Yes," said Lenin, picking up a blank form. "All I have to do is to take these blanks and fill in the name of your factory in this space here and then sign my name in this space here and the name of the commissar here." The workmen were highly gratified and pronounced it "very good."

"But before I sign this blank," resumed Lenin, "let me ask you a few questions. First, do you know where the raw materials are obtained for your factory?" Reluctantly they admitted they did not.

"I presume," said Lenin, "you understand the keeping of accounts and have worked out a method for keeping up production."

The workmen said they were afraid they did not know very much about these minor matters.

"And finally, comrades," continued Lenin, "may I ask you whether you have found a market to sell your products?"

Again they answered no.

"Well, comrades," said the Premier, "you are unprepared to take over your factory now. Go back home and work over these matters; you will find it hard; you will make many blunders, but you will learn. Then come back in a few months and we can take up the nationalizing of your factory."

The same iron that Lenin was injecting into the social life he showed in his individual life. *Stches* and *bortsch*, slabs of black bread, tea and porridge made up the fare of the Smolny crowd. It was likewise the usual fare of Lenin, his wife and sister. For twelve and fifteen hours a day the revolutionists stuck to their posts. Eighteen and twenty hours was the regular stunt for Lenin. Immersed in his work, Lenin was dead to everything, even his own sustenance. Grasping her opportunity when Lenin was engaged in conversation, his wife would appear with a glass of tea, saying, "Here, *tovarishch*, you must not forget to drink this." Often the tea was sugarless, for Lenin went on the same ration as the rest of the population.



NIKOLAI LENIN, THE SOVIET LEADER

The Bourgeoisie Regard Him As a Tyrant, the Bolsheviks Look upon Him As a Hero

The Revolution was a great venture that they were all taking together. The soldiers and messengers slept on iron cots in the big bare barrack-like rooms. So did Lenin and his wife. Worn out, they flung themselves down on their rough couches, oftentimes without undressing, ready to rise to any emergency.

Despite the drain of this night and day ordeal, Lenin appeared constantly upon the platform, concise, alert, diagnosing the situation, prescribing the remedy and sending his listeners into action administering it. Emotionalism, as such, was absent, but in the response of his audience one could see the emotional value of logic and sheer intellectuality.

Only once did I see him miss fire. That was at the Mikhailovsky Maneje in December, as the first detachment of the new Red Army was leaving for the front. Flaring torches lit up the vast interior, turning the long line of armored cars into a group

of strange primeval monsters. Swarming through the great arena and clambering over the cars were the dark figures of the new recruits, poorly equipped in arms but strong in revolutionary ardor. To keep warm they danced and stamped their feet and to keep good cheer they sang their revolutionary hymns and the folk-songs of the villages. A great shout announced the arrival of Lenin. In the half darkness the throngs looked up and listened attentively. But they did not kindle to his words. He finished amidst an applause that was far from the customary ovation.

His speech that day was too casual to meet the mood of men going out to die. The ideas were commonplace and the expressions trite. There was reason enough for this deadness—overwork, preoccupation. But the fact remained, Lenin had met a significant occasion with an insignificant speech. And these workmen felt it. The Russian proletarians are not blind hero-worshippers.

When Lenin stepped down, Podvoisky announced, "An American comrade to address you." The crowd pricked up its ears as I climbed upon the big car.

"Oh, good—you speak in English," said Lenin. "Allow me to be your interpreter."

"No. I shall speak in Russian," I answered, heeding some reckless impulse.

I told them how inspiring was the sight of the working class that had always fought in the interests of other classes, now being out to battle in its own behalf. I wanted to tell them that if a great crisis came I should myself be glad to enlist in the ranks of the Red Army. I hesitated. The Russian word for "enlist" failed me. Lenin looked up and asked, "What word do you want?"

"Enlist," I answered.

"*Vstooptet*," he prompted.

Thereafter whenever I was stuck he would fling the word up to me and I would catch it and hurl it out into the audience, modified, of course, by my American accent. This, and the fact that I stood

in the flesh, a tangible symbol of the internationalism they had heard so much about, raised storms of laughter and thundering applause. In this Lenin joined heartily.

"Well, that's a beginning in Russian at any rate," he said. "But you must keep at it hard. And you," he said, turning to Bessie Beatty, "you must learn Russian, too. Just read, write and talk nothing but Russian. Don't talk with Americans—it won't do you any good, anyhow," he added humorously. "Next time I see you I'll examine you."

How nearly it came about that there was no next time! As the automobile with Lenin in it swung out from the Maneje there were three sharp reports and three bullets crashed through his car, one of them wounding Platten, the Swiss delegate, who sat in the seat with Lenin. Some assassin up a side street had tried and failed.

The Bolshevik leaders were of course in constant danger of their lives. The chief object of attention on the part of the bourgeois plotters was naturally Lenin. In his active brain, they said, were wrought the plans for their undoing. Oh, for a bullet to still that brain! That was the prayer that every day fervently went up from the altars of the bour-

geoisie, who wished the return of the old order.

In one such home in Moscow we were always welcomed with a lavish hospitality. The great table with its steaming samovar was loaded with fruits and nuts, a bewildering array of *zakuska*, and what Arthur Ransome called "sweets," his particular failing. The war had done very handsomely by this family. Speculation in all its branches, running goods by the underground route to Germany, and profiteering grand and petty had put this family upon the roof-garden. Now suddenly out of the darkness, knocking away the very foundations of the roof-garden, came the Bolsheviks. They wanted to put a stop to the war. Wild, unreasonable, these Bolsheviks wanted to put a stop to speculation, profiteering, everything! The only thing to do was



STAPLE OF LIFE

#### THE PEASANT IS THE BACKBONE OF RUSSIA

Under the Tsarist Regime There Was No Hope for the "Dark People of the Dark Villages." Will They Now Determine the Next Phase of the Revolution?



Pol. Arch. Photo Bureau

**THE MARKET PLACES OF RUSSIA AND EASTERN EUROPE HAVE BEEN MELANCHOLY TESTIMONIALS TO SLOW STARVATION DURING THE LAST FOUR YEARS**

The Long Queues Waited Endlessly and Patiently to Get Their Day's Ration of Wretched Bread. Lenin Shared the Meager Diet, But Was Undoubtedly under No Delusion That His Lieutenants Did Likewise

to put a stop to them. String them up! Shoot them down! Begin at the top with Lenin.

"I have a million roubles this minute for the man who will kill Lenin," this rising young Moscow broker informed me gravely. "And there are nineteen other men whom I can place my hands upon to-morrow, each with a million more for the cause."

But none of these risks worried Lenin. Along a path beset with mines and pitfalls he walked with the composure of a country gentleman, while crises that shook men's nerves and blanched their faces found him cool and untroubled.

The one historic session of the Constituent Assembly was a wild and turbulent scene as the two factions came to death-grips with each other. The delegates shouting battlecries and beating on the desks, the orators thundering out threats and challenges, and two thousand voices passionately singing the International and Revolutionary march, charged the atmosphere with electricity. As the night advanced one felt the voltage of the place going up and up. In the galleries we gripped the rails, jaws set and nerves on edge. Lenin sat in a front tier box, looking bored. At last he rose, and walking to the back of the tribunal he stretched himself upon the red carpeted stairs. He glanced casually around the vast concourse. Then he

propped his head on his hand and went to sleep. The eloquence of the orators and the roars of the audience rolled above his head, but peacefully he slumbered on. Once or twice, opening his eyes, he blinked about him, and nodded off again. Finally, rising, he stretched himself and strolled leisurely down to his place in the front tier box. Seeing our opening, Reed and I slipped down to question him about the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. He replied indifferently. He asked about the activities of the Propaganda Bureau. His face lightened up as we told him how the material was being printed by tons, that it was really getting across the trenches into the German army. But we found it hard to work in the German language.

"Ah!" he said with sudden animation, as he recalled my exploits on the armored car, "and how goes the Russian language? Can you understand all these speeches now? You must go at it systematically. Break the backbone of the language at the very outset. I'll tell you my method."

He leaned over the box, with sparkling eyes, and drove his words home with gesture. Our fellow reporters looked on enviously. They thought that Lenin was violently excoriating the crimes of the opposition, or divulging the secret plans of the Soviet, or spurring us to greater zeal for the Revo-

lution. In a crisis like this, surely only such themes could draw forth this burst of energy from the head of the great Russian state. But they were wrong. The Premier of Russia was merely giving an exposition of the learning of a foreign language and enjoying a little friendly conversation.

In the tension of great debates when his opponents were lashing him unmercifully, Lenin would sit in serene composure, even extracting humor from the situation.

Only once did I ever see him hurried or rushed. That was in February, when the Tauride palace was again the scene of a fevered conflict, the debate over war or peace with Germany. Suddenly he appeared and with quick vigorous strides was fairly hurtling himself down the long hall toward the platform entrance. Professor Charles Kuntz and I were lying in wait for him, and hailed him with "Just a minute, *Tovarishch* Lenin."

He checked his headlong flight and came to attention in almost military fashion, bowed very gravely, and said, "Will you be so good as to let me go this time, gentlemen, comrades? I haven't even so much as a second. They are awaiting me inside the hall. I beg you to excuse me this time, please." With another bow and a handshake he was off in a full stride again.

In fact at times he seemed over-courteous, exaggeratedly so. This may have been due to his use of English, lifting bodily from the books the elaborate forms of polite conversation. More probably it was part of his technic in social intercourse, for Lenin was highly efficient here as elsewhere. He refused to squander his time upon non-essential persons; he was not easily accessible. It was hard to get at Lenin, but once you did you had all there was of Lenin. All his faculties were converged upon one in a manner so acute as to be embarrassing. After a polite, almost an effusive, greeting, he drew up closer until his face was not more than a foot away. As the conversation went on he often came still closer, gazing into one's eyes as though he were searching out the inmost recesses of a man's brain and peering into his very soul. Only an extraordinary liar could withstand the steady impact of that gaze.

We often met a certain socialist who in 1905 had taken part in the Moscow uprising and had even fought well upon the barricades. A career and the comforts of life had weaned him from his first ardent devotion. He wore now an air of prosperity, acting as correspondent of an English newspaper syndicate and Plechanoff's *Eidenstvo*. Bourgeois correspondents were regarded by Lenin as wasters of time. But by playing up his past revolutionary record this man managed to secure an appointment with Lenin. He was in high spirits as he went away to meet it. Some hours later I

saw him in a state of perturbation. He explained:

"When I walked into the office I referred to my part in the 1905 revolution. Lenin came up to me and said, 'Yes, comrade, but what are you doing for *this* revolution?' His face was not more than six inches away and his eyes were looking straight into mine. I spoke of my old days in the Moscow barricades, and took a step backward. But Lenin took a step forward, not letting go my eyes and said again, 'Yes, comrade, but what are you doing for *this* revolution?' It was like an X-ray, as if he saw all my deeds of this last ten years. I couldn't stand it. I had to look down like a guilty child. I tried to talk, but it was no use. I had to come away."

A few days later this man threw in his lot with *this* revolution and became a worker for the Soviet.

Lenin was gratified, of course, with each accession to the ranks, but he would not enlist a single recruit by painting in roseate hues the conditions of service, or the future prospects. Rather he tended to paint things blacker than they were. The burden of many of Lenin's speeches was: "The goal the Bolsheviks are striving for is far away—further away than most of you dream of. We have led Russia along a rough road, but the course we follow will bring us more enemies—more hunger. Difficult as the past has been the future promises harder things—harder than you imagine." Not an alluring promise. Not the usual call to arms! Yet as the Italians rallied to Garibaldi, who came offering wounds, prison and death, the Russians rallied to Lenin. This was a little discomfiting to one expecting the leader to glorify his cause and to urge the prospective convert into joining it. Lenin left the urge to come from within. He regarded his task as finished when he had presented all the facts in the case.

And they were indeed all the facts. His lines of information ran out in every direction, bringing him multitudes of facts. These he weighed, sifted and assayed. Then he utilized them as a strategist, a master chemist working in social elements, a mathematician. When Lenin attacked a subject one came away at the end of the discussion with the feeling that the whole field had been covered and that he had the right to make his pronouncement with finality.

Prominent Bolshevik leaders like Kamineff and Zinovieff held that in the proposed November revolution it was impossible to succeed. Lenin said, "It is impossible to fail." The others held that though the Bolsheviks might take the power, they could not hold it. Lenin said, "Every day will bring us fresh strength." Trotsky pursued his tactics of juggling with the Germans, decoying them along, but refusing to sign the treaty. Lenin





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#### A POPULAR DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF ST. ISAAC'S CATHEDRAL, PETROGRAD

Throughout the Russian Revolution, the Great Squares before the Cathedrals Have Witnessed Scenes of Bloodshed, of Public Grief for Slain Heroes of the Hour, of Swift Epoch Making History

said, "Don't play with them. Sign the first treaty offered, however bad, or we shall have to sign a worse one." Not only in large affairs but in minor issues, later events had a faculty of vindicating his judgment. And while he spoke as one having authority, when he was in doubt he frankly said so.

In the usual outfit of the statesman-politician-bluff, glittering verbiage and success psychology, Lenin was lacking. One felt that he could not fool others even if he so desired, and for the same reasons that he could not fool himself. His scientific attitude of mind. His passion for the facts. In this glorification of the fact, bare, naked, there was something akin to brutality. It made him treat with caustic contempt the sentimentalist, the shouter of shibboleths, those taking refuge from reality in phraseology. He felt it his duty "to pour vinegar and bile into the sweetened water of revolutionary democratic eloquence."

When the Germans were making their drive upon the Red Capital a flood of telegrams poured in on Smolny from all over Russia, expressing amazement, horror and indignation. They ended with slogans like "Long live the invincible Russian proletariat," "Death to the imperialistic robbers," "With our last drop of blood we defend the Capital of the Revolution."

Lenin read them and then dispatched a telegram

to all the Soviets, asking them kindly not to send revolutionary phrases to Petrograd, but to send troops; also to state precisely the number of volunteers enrolled and to forward an exact report upon the arms, ammunition and food conditions. With the advance of the Germans came the flight of the foreigners. The Russians manifested mild surprise that all those who had so loudly cried to them, "Kill the Huns!" now fled precipitously when the Hun came within killing range. It would have been good to join the begira, but there was my pledge made upon the armored car. So I went to join the Red Army. Bukharin, the left-Bolshevik, insisted that I should see Lenin.

"My congratulations! My felicitations!" said Lenin. "It looks very bad for us just now. The old army will not fight. The new one is largely upon paper. Pskof has just been surrounded without resistance. That is a crime. The President of that Soviet ought to be shot. Our workers have great self-sacrifice and heroism. But no military training, no discipline."

In about twenty short sentences he summed up the situation, ending with, "All I can see is peace. Yet the Soviet may be for war. In any case my congratulations for joining the Revolutionary army." He ruminated a moment and added: "One foreigner can't do much fighting. Maybe you can find others." I told him that I

would try to form a full detachment immediately.

By night we had formed the International Legion and issued our call summoning all speaking foreign languages to enroll in the new company. But Lenin did not drop the matter there. He was not content merely with inaugurating something in the grand manner. He followed it up relentlessly and in detail. Twice he telephoned the Pravda office instructing them to print the call in Russian and in English. Then he telegraphed it through the country. Thus while opposing the war and particularly those who were intoxicating themselves with revolutionary phrases about it, Lenin was mobilizing every force to prepare for it. He sent an automobile with Red Guards to the fortress of Peter and Paul to fetch part of the counter-revolutionary staff imprisoned there.

"Gentlemen," said Lenin as the generals filed into his office, "I have brought you here for expert advice. Petrograd is in danger. Will you be good enough to work out the military tactics for its defense?" They assented.

"Here are our forces," resumed Lenin, indicating upon the map the location of the Red troops, munitions and reserves. "And here are our latest reports upon the number and disposition of the enemy troops. Anything else the generals desire they will call for."

They set to work and toward evening handed him the result of their deliberations. "Now," said the generals ingratiatingly. "Will the Premier be good enough to allow us more comfortable quarters?"

"My exceeding regrets," replied Lenin. "Some time, but not just now. Your quarters, gentlemen, may not be comfortable, but they have the merit of being very safe." The staff was returned to the fortress of Peter and Paul.

Lenin deferred not only to the military expert, but to the expert in every realm. If Karl Marx was for him the authority in revolutionary tactics, so Taylor was the authority on efficiency production. In his address to the Soviet he recommended that the proletariat turn its attention to the teachings of the latter as well as of the former and guide its action by the dictates of one as of the other. American technicians, engineers and administrators Lenin held particularly in high esteem. He wanted 5000 of them, he wanted them at once, and was ready to pay them the highest salaries.

It may be said that for two opposite classes Lenin had something that amounted to a passion. His enthusiasm went out to these: the highly trained and educated on the one hand, and on the other hand, the great masses of the untrained and uncultured. The former furnished the skill and technique to make the revolution a success, the latter furnished the drive to make it possible.

The workingmen and poorer peasants are the people to whom this man directs all his appeals. In his philosophy a new world can come only through them because in them alone is to be found the resoluteness, the faith, the heroism and self-sacrifice requisite for the task. From the upper classes he expects nothing at all. By the very nature of the society in which they find themselves they are driven to action cruel, selfish, imperialistic.

"If you are going back to America," said Lenin to me in April, 1918, "you should start very soon, or the American army will meet you in Siberia."

That was an amazing statement, as at that time in Moscow we had come to believe that America was cherishing only the greatest good will toward the new Russia. "That is impossible," I protested. "Why, Raymond Robins thinks there is even a possibility of recognition of the Soviets."

"Yes," said Lenin, "but Robins represents the liberal bourgeoisie of America. They do not decide the policy of America. Finance—capital does. So presently you may expect your compatriots in Siberia. The German may then move upon Moscow and Petrograd. If they do we shall be driven into the Urals, a precarious position. But if the revolution really comes to our workers and peasants we can be saved."

Lenin explained. The spectacular episode of November 1917, the masses crashing up against the old order and initiating a new one, that was not the revolution. But these masses, becoming conscious of their historic mission, voluntarily passing into discipline and orderly work, and bringing into the field their great creative and constructive forces, that would be the Revolution.

"And as yet," said Lenin, "the revolution is only skin deep. The masses are inactive. And reason enough. They are war-weary, hungry and exhausted. But with the rest, a big psychological change will come. If it comes in time the Soviet Republic is saved."

Lenin was never certain that the Soviet Republic was saved. "Ten days more!" he exclaimed, "And we shall have lasted as long as the Paris Commune."

In opening his address to the Third All-Russian Congress in Petrograd, he said, "Comrades, consider the Commune of Paris. It held out for seventy days. We have already lasted two more days than that."

More than seven times seventy days the great Russian Commune has held out against a world of enemies. In their tenacity, their perseverance, their capacity to endure suffering, in their economic, military and cultural achievements, Lenin finds ample vindication for his zealous belief in the proletarians.

# EMANCIPATED WOMEN OF BURMA

By ELIZABETH COOPER

PASSING from India to Burma is in many ways like going from darkness to sunlight, from tears to laughter. India is a land of tragedy, Burma is a land of joy. In India you see faces sad, worried, harassed, and life seems a bitter struggle for the great masses in their endeavor to keep the hungry wolf from the door. But in Burma you are greeted with smiles, no one is serious, and no one except the Chinese seems to be really working. The women in the little booths within the bazaars, smoking their long cheroots, gossiping with their neighbors and flirting with the youth passing by, give the impression that they are far more interested in passing a few hours with their friends than in devoting themselves sternly to their business.

The dress also shows the difference in the temperaments of the two people. In India the women's *sari* are dark red, dark blue and heavy purple. In Burma the colors are light and gay; you rarely see anyone in sombre clothes. The long piece of silk wound tightly round the woman's body is light blue, pink, yellow, or else a gay check composed of all three colors. Her loose cotton or linen jacket is spotlessly white. Around the neck is thrown carelessly a piece of silk or a handkerchief that contrasts in color with the skirt.

The ebony black hair is well oiled, twisted high upon the head and entwined with flowers. Their toes are tucked into heelless slippers which take a certain amount of dexterity to keep in place; but all young girls learn early in life to give that flirtatious outward jerk of the heels which keeps the slipper from falling off and at the same time prevents the folds of the skirt from opening in front. Before the city belle fares forth from her house she is very careful to powder her nose and touch her lips with carmine, and she sails out boldly to claim the admiration of all—a butterfly contrast to the Indian woman, compelled to hide her charms behind a fold of her sari.

The women of Burma have unlimited freedom in comparison to the women of other eastern lands. Unlike the women of India, China or Egypt, they may choose their own husbands and indulge in a period of courtship such as we of the western world so thoroughly understand. From the time of the first great event in a young girl's life, the boring of her ears, which announces to the world that she is no longer a child but a woman, until her betrothal, the Burmese girl looks forward to the search for a husband as the one aim and ambition of her life. Until her ears are bored she is a child



A BURMESE LADY WITH HER SERVANTS

The Women of Burma Have More Freedom Than Those of Any Other Oriental Country

and runs and plays freely with her brothers upon the village street. Finally the day arrives when her friends and relatives bring with them the ear-borer and the soothsayer, and the frightened girl must pay the price of gaining maidenhood. Her cries are drowned by the music and the talk and laughter that seem so heartless; but the pain is soon over, and she herself will make the hole larger by every means in her power, because until the hole is large enough to receive the great round tube, nearly half an inch in diameter, she does not feel that she is indeed a woman. This initiation of the girl into womanhood compares to the entrance of her brother into the monastery or the tattooing of his legs, the sign that he is no longer a boy, but may sit with men and chew betel-nut and discuss the affairs of the world with wondrous wisdom. After the ear-boring ceremony each man our maiden sees may be a possible husband, and she copies the coquettish sway of the hips that is so effective in her older sister, as she walks down the street with mother, aunt, or married friend, who



THE GIRL OF BURMA IS A CHARMING COQUETTE  
After the Ear Boring Ceremony Initiating Her Into  
Womanhood, She Uses Every Art to Attract a Husband

carefully guards her from all improprieties now that she has arrived at marriageable age.

When all these seductive feminine arts have produced the desired effect and the roving eye of the young girl has focussed upon the man of her choice, she enters into her season of courtship. She can meet her sweetheart at *picnics*, those festive parties that seem to take place every night in Burma. Here the Burmese girl in search of a husband establishes herself at a stall for selling tobacco, long cheroots, or flowers. It is not considered at all degrading for a woman to keep a stall. In fact, any number of well-to-do women set them up at places where crowds are liable to congregate, as it is said a stall, shop or booth is the quickest way of attracting a desirable husband. In the smaller towns there is scarcely a house where the women have not arranged a small shop for the sale of betel-nut, coconuts, looking glasses, toilet articles, or cotton goods from Manchester. The profits of this little trade are pin money for the wives or daughters. The English say that the Burmese woman is a better business man than her husband, and that in driving a sharp bargain she is far more

successful than her much less aggressive husband.

Pagoda feasts offer exceptional opportunities for lovelorn swains, and many young couples have found their future happiness when gazing into Buddha's eyes. Even-time is courting time the world over, especially in this country, which is too hot during the day to permit any useless expenditure of energy, even by an ardent lover. They also say that the men of Burma are influenced by the proverb:

"In the morning the women are cross and peevish, in the middle of the day they are testy and quarrelsome, but at night they are sweet and amiable."

There is no love making as we know it in a Burmese courtship; no kissing and holding of hands and embracing. This would be most shocking to the modest instincts of the Burmese maiden. Yet love has, in Burma, as in all the rest of the world, its own signs. Finally the father's and mother's consent is asked, the dowry fixed, and the astrologer consulted, who will tell them whether a boy born on Monday and a girl on Wednesday may wed. No matter how ardently the match is desired by the interested parties, some unions, judged according to birthdays, would be most unlucky. As each day of the week is guarded by an animal, it naturally follows that a man born on a day ruled by a serpent and a woman on a day ruled by a mongoose, the serpent's deadly enemy, could not possibly live happily together.

If the parents' consent is given, the combination of birthdays lucky, the dowry satisfactory to all concerned, then the propitious day for the wedding must be determined by the horoscope. During June, July, August and September, the Buddhist Lent, all marriages are barred to the followers of Buddha, and it would be a very unregenerate son or daughter who would shock his old father and mother by daring to ask permission to marry during this time. Marriage is a very precarious proceeding, because if it takes place in certain months the couple will be rich, in other months they will always love each other, while there are unfortunate months that bring sickness and death to those tempting Hymen. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all the obstacles that seem to be placed in the way of marriage, there are few spinsters in Burma and virtually every man over twenty years of age has a wife.

No religious rite enters into the marriage ceremony, which is a strictly civil affair. The friends meet at the house of the bride's parents, where a great feast has been prepared at the expense of the bridegroom's father, and the eating and drinking and the publicity of the affair make the marriage as binding as are any marriages in Burma, where divorce is very prevalent. The law is not as one-sided as in most eastern countries, because the wife

shares in this prerogative. Manu, the ancient law-maker, allowed women to divorce their husbands if they were too poor to support them; if they would not work; or if they were incapacitated because of old age or became cripples after marriage. The husband may send his wife away if she bears him no male children; if she is not loving, or if she is disobedient. Divorce is purely a personal affair, and the marriage tie may be dissolved without calling in priest or lawyer at any time the parties concerned think fit. There are very definite provisions in the laws regarding the property of the separating couple. In the event of divorce each party takes with him the property brought by him to the new home. Whatever has been accumulated since marriage is either divided by mutual agreement or by a decision of the village elders who sanction the separation. Divorce is not so common as one would believe, considering the ease with which it may be secured. The Burman is a very easy-going man, the Burmese wife a clever woman who makes it her business to understand her lord and master. Consequently she generally rules him.

"Burma is the land of henpecked husbands," one Burman told me. "All the world knows our shame,"—and then he laughed.

Contrary to all eastern customs, the young married couple in Burma take up their abode with the bride's parents instead of going to the family of the groom, as is the custom in India, China and Japan. If the home roof is too small to shelter the new family, they may build a new home for themselves. This is not an expensive affair, as the houses are extremely simple—practically all one story high because of the Burman's aversion to any one walking over his head. The house is built on posts that raise the floor seven or eight feet from the ground—a form of construction that is very desirable in wet weather. It consists of two or three rooms and an open balcony, where the family sit of an evening or where the daughter of the house may receive her lover and not interrupt the slumbers of father and mother, who have spread their sleeping mats upon the floor of the main living room.

In the rainy season the cooking is done in one of the rooms, but during the long dry months the yard at the back of the house serves as kitchen. In the smaller towns the roofs are thatched with palm-leaves or grass, but in the cities ugly iron roofs are now seen, with here and there a more pretentious roof of tiling. There is little furniture in a Burmese home. A few rush mats, serving as beds, some rugs and blankets, which during the day are rolled up and placed in an unused corner of the room, a cooking range, which is simply a square box filled with earth on which the fire is lighted, some earthen pots for the cooking of rice and curries, a



EVERYBODY SMOKES IN BURMA  
Men, Women and Children Puff "Whacking White  
Cheroots," Eight inches Long and an Inch in Diameter

water jar, ladles fashioned out of the half of a coconut placed on a handle, a huge round lacquer tray which serves as table, and bowls for rice.

Nearly every house, no matter how small, has a yard filled with flowers, if the wife is inclined to love the beautiful; but if she is more practically inclined, chickens hold sway within the small domain. These Burmese roosters can take the place of clocks, as it is said they crow regularly four times a day—at sunrise, noon—sundown and at midnight. The story goes that in the olden time there was a great fire made of books that contained unlawful teaching, among which were those of a famous astrologer. After the fire the cocks came and ate the ashes, thus taking into their very being the knowledge of the stars and the action of the sun.

Everyone smokes in Burma, father, mother, children. It is said that baby learns while at his mother's breast to take the long cigar from between her lips and puff it between alternate draughts at nature's font, but the Burmese deny this most indignantly and say that smoking is forbidden the children until they have learned to walk. I can quite believe this, because it would take a strong

baby to manage the enormous cheroot smoked by all Burmans, although they are so mild that they would not affect the nerves even of a child. The cigar, six to eight inches in length and about an inch in diameter, is made from the pith of a plant mixed with chopped tobacco leaves, wrapped in the leaf of a teak tree. The ends are tucked in and tied with a piece of red silk and stiff pieces of the pith keep the loose tobacco from the mouth. The cheroot splut-



BURMA IS A "LAND OF HENPECKED HUSBANDS"

The Woman, Who Is a Better Business Man Than Her Husband, Can Get a Divorce If She Tires of the Man of Her Choice

ters and scatters its fine fire, and when smoked by an amateur is a danger to all about him.

Judging from appearances the Burmese woman is deeply religious. On days of festival the Pagoda is thronged with gaily dressed women, and at the greatest of all Pagoda feasts, that of the Shwé Dagon in Rangoon, woman pilgrims from every part of Burma come to lay their tribute before the greatest shrine in Buddha-land. They come by train and boat and bullock cart, and to many it is the most important event of the whole year. Girls look forward to this opportunity to show off their charms to the male world, old ladies count on meeting friends, and to all it offers a chance to lay up merit and advance themselves on the long road that leads to Nirvana. Near the temples are marionette

shows. Not only theatrical companies, but merchants, sellers of incense, candles, flowers and offerings for the different shrines reap their richest harvest at these festivals. Yet over the whole joyous occasion, which would strike the casual observer as simply a holiday for these happy people, is thrown the veil of a deep religious motive. In the fascination of the secular gaieties around them these women do not forget the real object of their pilgrimage, and the prayers and prostrations before the altars, and the constant booming of the deep-toned bells, show that praise of the Lord of Lords is not forgotten amidst the excitement and pleasures of the world outside.

Whether or not the Burmese woman goes to the Pagoda on the four duty days of each month depends solely upon her piety or her love of companionship; but deeply ingrained within her soul is a daily duty that no Burman neglects—the propitiation of the *nats*, those spirits inhabiting the air, the ground, the water, and all things, both animate and inanimate. Even the stones along the roadside may be the homes of spirits who are likely to prove destructive or hostile at any time. This belief in spirits leads to many evils, and in consequence the woman's life is one of constant fear for herself and her loved ones. In time of trouble she naturally consults those who have a knowledge of spirit lore, or who have power to control spirits. Burma abounds in astrologers, necromancers, wizards and doctors, who impose upon the fears of the women to a marvelous extent.

Superstition dominates the life of the Burman woman as much as it does that of her Indian sister. In fact, she is ruled by signs and omens from her birth to her death. When the little black butterfly, as they call the spirit or soul, leaves the body, and the Burman woman is gathered to her fathers, rules and traditions even govern her laying away in the last resting place. A death in a family means elaborate preparations and feasting from the time that the breath has left the body and the coin is put into the mouth to pay the ferryman for the last journey over the lonely river until the seven days of mourning are over. Yet this period can scarcely be described as a time of mourning, for music, dancing before the bier and the feasting in the home lead the onlooker at a Burmese funeral to believe that he is witnessing a marriage festival instead of a scene of sorrow.

Education is coming more slowly to the Burmese woman than to the Indian or the Egyptian. She has not seen its need and consequently has not demanded it. It will come in time, of course, and the intellectual broadening will free her from superstitions that now surround her and control nearly every act of her daily life, but all who know her hope it will not deprive her of her present charm.

# WALKING THE TOKAIDO IN A RICKSHAW

By FREDERICK STARR

*Illustrations from Hiroshige's "Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido"*

**I**N Japan, beyond all other lands, the whole world goes outing. Wherever the traveler wanders he meets crowds of people on the highways. These people fall into three well marked classes. Everywhere one sees school children on excursion. There may be a half dozen with one teacher or there may be hundreds with their teachers. They are out to view the landscape, to see places famous in the national history, to visit the scenes of old legends, to examine in detail the various processes of art industries. It is considered as important a part of the school curriculum that the children should see things and become acquainted with nature, with national history and with the practical sources of wealth as it is that they should know arithmetic, grammar, or history. They are out for an hour, a day, a week, or a vacation period. When I first visited Miyajima I met a group of forty school boys with two teachers, who had already been two weeks on their excursion and had seen many interesting things on their way to the exposition at Fukuoka, in the southern island. The night before they had been traveling until after midnight and now they had before them a journey which would keep them up until the early hours of the morning; although they were so tired that they could hardly stand they were full of enthusiastic anticipation for the experiences that lay ahead. The Japanese are very wise in making these excursions an important feature of their school system.

The flower-viewers also frequent the highways. They begin their floral pilgrimages in February with the plum blossoms and follow through the year with cherry blossoms, azalea, wistaria, peonies and other favorites. In late summer crowds turn out in the early mornings to see the lotus buds burst open, and in the late fall thousands view the chrysanthemums in their bewildering variety of size, color, form and suggestive nomenclature. Nor does enjoyment end in November with the chrysanthemums and maple leaves; the Japanese, considering the fresh-fallen snow in all its purity as much a flower as the plum blossom or lotus, go out to view the snow upon the pine and the bamboo.

In the pilgrim season hundreds of thousands in Japan are on the roads. They are seen at all times of the year, but particularly in the summer months. One meets the lone pilgrim, pursuing his journey on foot, the little family of man, wife and baby, the groups of half a dozen, or the crowd of hundreds. They may be visiting a neighboring shrine, or per-

haps they are journeying for weeks, covering great distances. In northern Japan we were once overtaken at evening by a party of some two hundred young, lusty fellows, who had been on a pilgrimage to Miyajima; they had been out for many days and were just returning to their home town; we do not know that they had gone the entire distance on foot, but if they had, they had plodded twelve hundred weary miles on the highways. Dressed in the simple pilgrim costume of white cotton, with the broad palm hats and pilgrims' staffs and bells, they were filled with joy at the prospect of sleeping that night in their own houses.

Pilgrim bands are usually well organized bodies. They are not accidental aggregations of individuals who have been brought together merely by the common desire to travel. The organizations, with their regularly selected officials and definite funds contributed by the membership may date back hundreds of years. The entire organization is never on pilgrimage at one time, but each season some are selected to make the pilgrimage, and others must wait their turn until another year. Each group with its distinctive name and emblem has its plans well laid beforehand and sets out under definite leadership. They carry with them cotton towels—we would call them banners or flags—bearing the name, the emblem and other facts relating to the organization, and often presenting interesting artistic or symbolic details. These towel-flags are left as mementos of the visit at tea-houses, inns and shrines or temples on the pilgrimage.

The most famous highway of Japan is the Tokaido, with its three hundred and thirty miles of road and its celebrated fifty-three stations. It extends from the city of Kyoto, the old capital of the Mikado, to the city of Tokyo, the present capital, known as Yedo until the Revolution and the establishment of the new Japan in 1868. Around the Tokaido clusters much of the romance of old Japan. Until recently every Japanese school boy would have been able to name the fifty-three stations from Kyoto to Yedo. In the olden days the Tokaido throbbed with life. It was the artery through which the life blood of the nation pulsed. At Kyoto dwelt the Emperor and his court of faineant nobles; at Yedo the Shogun maintained his retinue of well drilled military leaders. According to the crafty politics of Iyeyasu the great Daimyos were required to spend a part of every year at Yedo in order that they might be under the eye of the Shogun. As a

result the old highway was constantly traversed by splendid processions of those great nobles with their retainers. Lords, like those of Satsuma and Choshu, lent all the color of mediaeval pageantry to the road with their hundreds of followers, banners, equipment and uniforms. When common people met these knightly cavalcades, they shrank back and prostrated themselves at the side of the highway and even the nobles with their retainers were

kind. Yajirobei, or Yaji, the elder of the two, a man of the common people, not lacking in a certain keenness, and his younger companion, commonly called Kida, a marvel of stupidity, had a series of exciting and ridiculous adventures. Jippensha Ikku's book appeared in parts between the years 1802 and 1822. The book is still well known to Japanese readers and every man and boy in Japan is familiar with the side-splitting adventures of

Yaji and Kida, who were also popular with the old color print artists. Even at the present time scenes from their pilgrimages are reproduced in the tableaux made of figures constructed of living plants and flowers exhibited at the chrysanthemum shows. On one of our visits to Japan the "Noanatsukai," our fuda fraternity, arranged in our honor a welcome meeting at which a whole series of color print fuda, commemorating our trip over the Tokaido, was distributed. For inspiration the perpetrators drew upon the ancient designs. The new Yaji and Kida—Ofuda Ha-



Drying Cloth at NARUMI



TRAVELING ACROSS AT CHIRU

obliged to give preference to the more important lords. But it was not only Daimly processions that thronged the highway in those great days. Farmers, bringing field products to the towns, merchants with stores for sale, purchasers on their way to market, pilgrim-parties, religious processions, mountebanks, traveling showmen and crowds of beggars made up a scene of rich interest and variety.

Much of the history and tradition of the country centers about the Tokaido. Battlefields, sites of romantic incidents, and the places where traditional heroes made their reputation are scattered along its course. Famous writers have used it as a scene for their narratives. The Tokaido is the background of the most amusing of Japan's many humorous writings; over that great highroad journeyed the heroes of Jippensha Ikku's *Hizakurige*, a story of Yajirobei and Kidahachi, two worthies who made the journey on foot from Yedo westward. This tale which is to the Japanese what *Innocents Abroad* is to us is filled with humor of the broadest

kind. Yajirobei, or Yaji, the elder of the two, a man of the common people, not lacking in a certain keenness, and his younger companion, commonly called Kida, a marvel of stupidity, had a series of exciting and ridiculous adventures. Jippensha Ikku's book appeared in parts between the years 1802 and 1822. The book is still well known to Japanese readers and every man and boy in Japan is familiar with the side-splitting adventures of

*kushi* and the faithful Hanzo—figure in the same misadventures as their prototypes, meet the same snake, are terrified by the same scarecrow. It is something to be immortalized in art, even though the immortality come by way of caricature! The Tokaido forms a background not only for history and legend but for poems as well. Every one of the fifty-three stations has been the subject of *haikai* by famous and unknown poets, which fill entire volumes. Artists, too, have been inspired by the Tokaido. Hokusai made many pictures of the old highroad, but the artist who devoted himself to its representation is Hiroshige, famous for his mastery of wind and storm, of cloud and rain, of mist and snow.

The famous highway has been neglected since the introduction of the iron-road. The modern railroad, however, runs closely parallel to it; most of the fifty-three stations of the old highroad at which the old Daimly processions found food, noon-day rest and night lodging, are today stations on the railroad. From the train one often sees gnarled



and ancient pine trees which in former times bordered both sides of the old highroad. Every time I saw these trees, with their memories of the past, on my various visits to Japan, I was filled with the desire of making a pilgrimage on foot over the Tokaido. Yet year after year passed and the plan was not achieved. In 1915, however, I decided that it was then or never. Accordingly when we were met as usual upon our arrival in Yokohama by a swarm of newspaper reporters, we stated, in answer to their inquiry, that our first interest was to make the journey over the old highroad. This was announced with a great flourish in the next morning's papers.

It is my custom in Japan to wear only Japanese dress. As soon as I am settled in my inn in Tokyo I always don *kimono*, *hakama*, *tabi*, *geta* and *haori*, and no matter what the occasion, a Japanese function or a foreign appointment, I wear nothing else until I have boarded the steamer and left the Japanese shore behind. Following my usual practice, I went from Yokohama to Tokyo, took possession of the room I always occupied there and began to feel at home in my Japanese surroundings. As usual, many Japanese friends came to welcome me upon my return to the Land of the Rising Sun. Early on the morning after my arrival I was visited by an acquaintance of several years' standing, editor of a popular magazine for young people. After the proper greetings, he said:

"I had intended to sleep, as I was out late last evening, but as soon as the morning paper came, my wife called me, saying, 'The Professor has come!' I rose at once and came as soon as I had taken tea, to greet you."

After a few minutes' conversation he told me, with much delight, that the newspapers had given me a new



PILGRIMS ON MOUNTAIN PATH AT OKASE

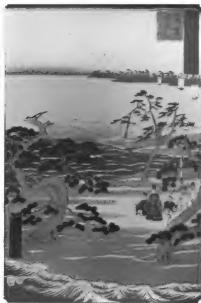
nickname, "*Ofuda Hakushi*." *Hakushi* means a doctor, or the third and highest literary degree; *fuda* is a placard or printed bit of paper; *O* is an honorific, meaning the honorable or respectable. My new name, then, meant "the doctor of honorable placards." The honorific goes with the placards and not with the doctor. The name does not mean the honorable doctor of placards, but the doctor of honorable placards—a nickname that has been more valuable to me in Japan than anything that ever happened to me there.

I had not realized in telling the newspaper men that I was planning to go over the Tokaido that I had dealt a master-stroke of policy. I had thought of it as an unimportant matter of little popular interest, but before I was ready to start it was known throughout Japan that Ofuda Hakushi was taking to the great highroad. In order to compare the present with the past we carried with us a series of Hiroshige's Tokaido prints that might identify the fifty-three stations that are the theme of his pictures. Of Hiroshige's many series of pictures of the fifty-three stations of the Tokaido, the finest, artistically, was his first series, published in 1834—full-sized, horizontal color prints, in which scenic beauty and interest are the central thought. He made other full-sized series, both horizontal and vertical, also quarter-sized and intermediates. We took with us the well-known quarter-sized series which, from the art standpoint is by no means the best, although, as Ficke says, "Some of the views are charming." At most places we had no trouble in recognizing the exact scene of his prints; sometimes we were able to identify individual buildings, and even rooms.

The Tokaido begins at the famous Nihombashi (Bridge) in Yedo (now Tokyo) and ends at Sanjōbashi in Kyoto. We started from Nihombashi and



JEANES JOURNED AT GUYA NEAR YOKOHAMA



NORIKWEN ADMIRING PINES ON ZANA BEACH. TODAY GNARLED AND ANCIENT TREES ALONG THE TORANBO RECALL ITS HISTORIC PART



TRAVELER IN SNOW APPROACHING VILLAGE OF YAMANAKA-SO-SATO

intended to make the journey on foot so far as it was pleasant and convenient, taking *kuruma*, however, when it seemed more desirable. To our surprise when we reached Nihombashi a crowd that included reporters from all the newspapers had gathered to witness our departure. The party consisted of myself and my little interpreter-photographer, Hanzo Maebashi; but three of our young friends, one, the clerk from our hotel, the second, a student from Keio University and the third a student from Waseda, met us at the bridge in order to accompany us a little distance on our way. These three boys I have seen grow up from little fellows. Two of the reporters also insisted on making the first stage of our journey with us. Amid the *banzai* of the friendly crowd we started. Our three companions dropped off shortly, but the two reporters accompanied us until almost the beginning of Shinagawa. Here they startled me by begging for farewell poems for their journals. Explaining that Americans are not so prone to drop into poetry as Japanese, I finally yielded to their desires so far as to give them a statement in prose.

We had been late in starting and also delayed somewhat by the crowd, our friends and the reporters; the result was that when we reached Shinagawa, the first of the "stations," it was already afternoon. We were invited to take lunch that day with friends at Oimachi, the location of which was a little vague in our consciousness, and we feared that we should be extremely late in keeping our appointment. Shinagawa seemed—as it really is—enormously long; accordingly it was judged best to take *kuruma* in order to reach our friends in time. It was, of course, humiliating; it was also a great mistake. As a matter of fact, Kaianji, a temple

which we planned to visit en route, was immediately beyond Shinagawa, and Oimachi was just past Kaianji. We really saved little time by taking *kuruma*. It would have been much better to have kept along on foot. However, we found our friends somewhat anxious over our delay, and luncheon waiting. We had a charming visit, and as our plan was to go no further than Kawasaki, we were in no haste. Shortly after lunch, however, it began to rain and when we were ready for our departure the rain was coming down pitilessly. The prospect of walking to Kawasaki was not at all attractive. Consequently we called *kuruma* again and rode comfortably to Kawasaki, where we lodged for the night at a charming, ancient inn with a garden famous for its splendid gnarled old pine tree.

We really had intended to walk over the entire highway. When morning came, however, the road was muddy and it seemed far more agreeable to hire *kuruma*. So our second day of journeying was done in ease and comfort. The third day we were suffering from heavy colds, with the result that again we took *kuruma*. By the fourth day it had become chronic, and we may as well confess quite frankly that the greater part of the three hundred and thirty miles was done in *kuruma* and not on foot.

We believed that once out of Tokyo we would no longer be a matter of public interest. However, in reality we never were out of reach of the insatiable reporter. On the second day as we were lunching at Kanagawa, we were informed that a representative of the Yokohama paper wished an interview. We gave him the interview and when we came out from lunch, found that he had kindled the enthusiasm of the town and crowds of people gathered to see us start on our way. Among them was one man much the worse for *saké*; as we passed him he threw up his arms in vast enthusiasm, crying out, "*Banzai*." One evening when we reached Seki—a little town with a most insignificant station on the railroad—tired with our day's journey, I said to Hanzo, "Tonight we will surely not be troubled with interviews." No sooner, however, had we finished supper than we were told that a reporter from the *Shinichi* of Nagoya wished to see us. We consented to the interview, but were surprised to find that the reporter was a lady. The new woman is as evident in Japan as in other countries.

Everywhere along the road, strangers recognized us as the Tokaido pilgrims. A moment after, they were sure to mention the newspaper which had made us known; next to come to mind would be the fact that I was *hakushi*, then Chicago University, then, last of all, and naturally least frequently, my name, Starr-san. This order of association was invariable. One day, we had gone up a hill near Shirozuya and our *kurumaya* were a little winded and were going slowly when I noticed that a young fellow about nineteen years of age was talking with Hanzo. He was named Tanaka, a printer's boy in Tokyo, and he was making the Tokaido on foot, stimulated by the announcements of our journey. He had played fair, however, and had made the entire distance, so far, on foot; he told us that the third day out he was very lame and tired and thought of taking an electric car, but had resisted the tempta-



FORDING THE OI RIVER TO A RANGE OF HILLS. DISTINGUISHED TRAVELERS CROSSED THE RIVERS IN *RYUBAI* CARRIED ON THE SHOULDERS OF THEIR RETAINERS



A DAIMYO ARRIVING AT SEKI, ONE OF THE TOKAIDO STATIONS

tion. He started a week after we did and probably reached Kyoto at least three days before us. In the old days every boy and man in central Japan planned to go over the Tokaido. In these degenerate days such a journey is the exception. But the publicity given to our trip revived a general interest and hundreds of men and boys have gone over the Tokaido since November, 1915, because we did so.

We had been told that at Kakegawa we would surely find nothing fit to eat and were advised to make arrangements for luncheon elsewhere. As a matter of fact we fared better nowhere else on the journey. The inn was clean and neat, the food was good, the service was excellent and the welcome hearty. Since our trip was made at the very time of the Coronation ceremonies in Kyoto, almost all the towns and villages through which we passed were decorated in honor of the celebration and in many places public festivities were in progress. On our way through the long passages and halls at Kakegawa we met a party of twelve or fifteen young fellows who were celebrating the Coronation. They had already been drinking and were waiting for their dinner to be served. As we passed, one of them who knew a little English bawled out, "Good morning, Sir, it is very hot." I replied, "Good morning, yes, it is hot," and we passed on up to our room. Luncheon was promptly served and when it was almost finished the screen was pushed aside and the servant came in upon his knees, pushing a tray before him on which was an opened fan. It was a simple white fan on which were written words of greeting to the Tokaido travelers. It came from the young fellows down below.

The nicest inn at which we stopped was certainly at Minaguchi. Everything connected with it was all that could be desired and the view from our rooms over the purple and crimson maples was a thing to be remembered. When we had finished dinner here we heard the old, old story—a reporter to see you. This time it proved to be a man from the Osaka *Asahi*—one of the most influential papers in Japan. Osaka is not on the Tokaido, but lies on beyond Kyoto. This man had come a long distance to see us and since he had made a mistake in locating us he traveled many miles more than necessary. He was not out for a simple story, but charged with a special errand. One of the readers of the *Asahi*, living in Osaka, reading of our journey, had desired to express his pleasure and appreciation. He had two volumes of color prints by Hiroshige—the thirty-six views of Fuji and the thirty-six famous places of Yedo. These had belonged to his grandfather, who had bought them when they first appeared and mounted them in scrap books. He had sent them to the *Asahi* with the request that they should be delivered to me as

a present from him. I hesitated about accepting them, for not only have Hiroshige's pictures a money value, but there was here the association that his grandfather had owned them—a thing which would mean more to Japanese than to us. The bearer, however, insisted that they should be accepted and I finally received them. Hanzo wrote a letter of thanks for me to the donor in which I suggested that I would be happy to have a writing from him to paste in the books. In due course of time I received the papers with poems written by him expressing his pleasure and satisfaction that a stranger who loved his country should accept the pictures. I should have prized the gift in any event; they are doubly prized, however, from the fact that I later learned something of the giver. Weeks afterward when we were in Osaka we hunted for his home, which was in the most crowded and poorest section of that great, industrial city. It was a poor, mean house in a part of the city where cloth was manufactured and dyeing done. When we called for our friend, who was a dyer by trade, he came from the vats with his arms and legs dripping with the colored dyes to receive our thanks for his gift.

Our last day's journey was from Otsu to Kyoto. It was a lovely ride on a beautiful morning. When we had traveled half the distance we saw a man in European clothes waiting on the road ahead of us with kuruma. He was an emissary from the Osaka *Asahi*. He had with him kuruma gaily decorated with banners, sent by the great newspaper to bring us in triumph and glory to our journey's end. It was in vain that we stated that we already had our kuruma and needed no assistance. For some time we resisted his entreaties; but, at last, when we had traveled on a little distance and the first envoy was reinforced by a second sent from the same paper, we accepted their courtesy and entered the old capital in their kuruma as their guests of honor. Nihombashi had been crowded with friends to see us depart. Sanjobashi was crowded with friends to welcome our arrival. The newspaper reporter and the reportorial photographer were both on hand. We had traveled the full length of the old highroad.

We had come in touch with old Japan and we had also come into close contact with the new Japan. We had not appreciated how genuinely the Japanese spirit would be stirred by our pilgrimage, but there were thousands who were pleased and gratified that a traveler from the West should care to know the old highway. Through three hundred and thirty miles we met unfailing courtesy, appreciation and affection; and, throughout the journey we felt constantly the affection and regard of Dai Nippon, not only for *Ofuda Hakushi* as an individual, but as an American.

# THE RISING ASIATIC TIDE

By H. M. HYNDMAN

I SAW Chinese immigration close at hand when it occasioned most alarm, both in the United States and in Australia. As I have personally always liked the Chinese whom I have met, whether belonging to the coolie or to the merchant and trader class, and have found them, so far as my experience of employing them went, a straightforward, trustworthy and capable folk, my view on the matter of Chinese immigration and Chinese competition is certainly not prejudiced against this great Asiatic people. I have, in fact, much admiration for them, and I have never ceased to wonder at the cool, matter-of-fact way in which they adapted themselves, without in any way giving up their nationality, or changing their own dress or customs, to the very different civilization down into the midst of which they had plumped themselves.

I have seen them at work in Australia on gold-fields wholly abandoned by white diggers, but which they continued by endless toil to work at a profit. I have witnessed their admirable assiduity in supplying mining camps and even considerable towns and cities with excellent vegetables, that, but for their market gardening, would have been destitute of any food of the kind. I have observed their excellent service as laundrymen, domestic servants and cooks when there were no whites at hand who would devote themselves to these avocations; and thus, having watched all this going on, I cannot shut my eyes to the truth that, in what are called new countries, the Chinese are exceedingly useful and worthy people. To denounce their method of life when we leave our own disgusting piggeries of slums unremedied in London and Glasgow, New York and Chicago, appeared to me the height of hypocrisy. No cities in Europe or America could turn out skilled and unskilled artisans and workmen by the thousand, educated, capable, industrious and self-respecting, as the coast cities of China did in the 'sixties and 'seventies of the last century.

A barque put into Nandi Bay, in what was then a remote part of Fiji, in 1869. The few whites who were then settled in the neighborhood went quickly to the shore to find out who the newcomers were and what was their object in coming. The barque was bound for the principal settlement, Levuka, and was out of its course. In the first boat to touch land was a Chinaman, whose pidgin English was just intelligible. I asked him what he was doing in the vessel, for he had no appearance of a seaman about him. It struck me the moment I had put the question that he might just as well have inquired the same thing of me—for how I

had got where I then was I scarcely knew. However, his answer was that some 3,000 of his countrymen were "out of their time," as indentured laborers in Tahiti, and he had come out in this vessel to see if there was any opening for them in the Fiji Islands. I met "John" again later, in Sydney. He saw there was nothing to be done in the Fijis for his coolies and was then casting about for a passage back to Tahiti in another craft.

A few months after this, I went up from Auckland, New Zealand, to the Sandwich Islands. That group was then full of Chinese, and I seem to remember that I got more than one excellent dinner cooked by a Chinaman at Honolulu on my way to San Francisco. There again the Chinese question loomed large, and Bret Harte, whom I called upon and got to know, had just written his famous ironical stanzas about the Heathen Chinee. Chinatown, afterwards so largely used in novels and sketches of California life and adventure, was then by no means so extensive, or possessed of such remarkable underground and aboveground residences, as in years to come. But it was an extraordinary Asiatic quarter for an occidental city even then—a bit of China growing up, with its theatres, opium dens, restaurants and bitter factions, in the heart of San Francisco. It was obvious that the inhabitants had "come to stay" until, having made enough money to satisfy them, they returned to China and were replaced by others of their countrymen.

Under the conditions then existing, the Chinese, I felt sure, would soon pervade the whole of California and possibly spread further inland. That was the general opinion, though here, as in Australia, the immigration had only just begun. From San Francisco across the continent by rail was my next journey. There were the Chinese again. The Central Pacific Railroad had only just been completed and linked up with the other sections of the great transcontinental line. At one of the highest stations, in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, a large number of Chinese railway navvies were collected on the platform.

I have recalled these personal incidents because I feel confident that sooner or later, if the existing competitive, capitalist, wage-paying social system continues, this matter of Chinese immigration and Chinese competition will become again a very serious question indeed in the United States of America and in the English Colonies. There are already some 9,000,000 Chinese out of China; and in the Malay Straits Settlement and elsewhere they

do very well under the English flag. But an emigration of 9,000,000 must be, of course, a mere bagatelle to China. The really important fact is that, ere long, as white men feared nearly fifty years ago, further millions may insist upon trying their fortunes again in countries already partially peopled, not by Malays or other Asiatics, but by men of European race.

Now, I have satisfied myself that, should this be so, the white workers cannot hold their own permanently against Chinese competition in the labor market. The lower standard of life, the greater persistence, the superior education of the Chinese will beat them, and will continue to beat them—always to the advantage of the capitalists. That was the reason why, in 1879, the further importation of Chinese into the United States, and shortly after into Australia, was forbidden by law, and heavy penalties were enacted against its infringement. The exclusion remains legally in force today.

Japanese emigration came about under very different circumstances from that of the Chinese. The exclusion law of 1879 did not directly apply to them. So they rapidly took the place of the Chinese in the Sandwich Islands, and a few years later began to occupy the same position in California. But, when her countrymen were brutally attacked in California, when their shops and places of business were destroyed and their lives placed in jeopardy—when, in short, the old methods used against the Chinese to intimidate them and to compel the United States Government to exclude them were put in force against the Japanese, a very different situation arose. The Japanese had a perfect right to settle in California and elsewhere in America. Their presence was protected by treaty, and the various objections formulated against the Chinese did not apply to these clean, quiet, capable Asiatics. They had, therefore, every ground to complain of the treatment of their emigrants and, what was much more important, they had the means of defending them, if necessary, by force.

Here the race prejudice, which plays a very much greater part in social and political America than is generally known in Europe, comes in very strongly indeed. This was the second great motive of the hostility to the Chinese: the economic competition in the wage market being the first. Both reasons applied to the Japanese and quite as forcibly. The Japanese were formidable in the labor market, were even in some respects perhaps more objectionable than the Chinese. For one thing, the Japanese brought their women with them, and to all appearance intended to take root in the country. This the Chinese, being in the main birds of passage, were not likely to do.

It was at the time of the Japanese school crisis in California that I received a letter from my friend

Dr. Sen Katayama, the leader of the Socialist group in Japan. Katayama had been forced to leave his country and to settle in California, owing to the relentless persecution, followed by numerous condemnations to death and long imprisonment, set on foot against Socialists in Japan by the Japanese authorities. Katayama is well known to the Socialists of Europe. He was present at the great International Socialist Congress of Amsterdam, which was held in the middle of the Russo-Japanese War. One of the most dramatic incidents of that Congress, which did not lack for stirring episodes, was when Katayama, as delegate and leader of the Japanese Social Democrats, and Plechanoff, holding the same position in respect to the Russian Social Democrats, came forward on the platform and shook hands amid vehement applause. The whole of the hundreds of delegates present rose in their places and cheered. It was a striking scene.

Here is Katayama's letter:

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., U. S. A.  
December 12, 1914.

"Dr. H. HYNDMAN.

"Dear Sir:—It is very, very sad thing that your prediction became now fulfilled in Europe. But to you, dear Doctor, an honor of your farsighted judgment must be bestowed by the world. Those who ridiculed or buffeted at your wise prediction are fighting on both sides and are given their principles of international socialism up to the misguided patriotism, and apparently reasonable pretext for national defence!

"I left now some three months ago Japan for this country and now I am working among the Japanese in the Pacific coasts. Japan does, as you know, still persecute socialists and does not permit them to agitate for the cause of socialism, nay more the Japanese authorities do not allow us to work for the laboring class interest even in the line of pure and simple trades unionism. I am really driven out of my country because of socialism, financially it was impossible for me to get living in Japan, even then I could devote my life for the interest of the working classes. I would suffered every privation and poverty but I could do nothing. I was too well known to the authorities to work in disguise, I was utterly hopeless for the rest of my life in Japan, so I decided to leave my country. first I intended to be at Vienna Socialist Congress but it was impossible as you know it, so I could come here for my own and my family's sake.

"Now dear Doctor there are some one hundred and sixty thousand Japanese in the U. S. A. They are mostly workers unskilled or farm laborers. With exception of Hawaii the Japanese are all living amidst of anti-Jap movement which has been ever growing and ever far reaching in the U. S. A. The anti-Japanese movement has been headed by influential men of two political parties, such as ex-President Roosevelt, Hearst and Johnson, together with Gompers and Berger. The mass of the Americans are ignorant of the real situation. They judge the matter by the newspapers and world's map, a tiny little map compared with the America—and they think it is nonsense to think of America going to war with Japan. This ignoring the situation by the mass of American workers is very dangerous and liable to cause the war between Japan and the U. S. A. As you know Japanese workers are not organized and easily misled by the Jingo party. But the problem is still more pressing for nearly two hundred thousand Japanese are today in American soil, and they are almost all persecuted by the white people simply because they are of yellow color skin. Since the European war began the Japanese in America became stricken with fear and anxiety for they read from day to day about persecuting or shooting down the peaceful and non-fighting population by both sides, especially by Germans. It is only nationality that cause even such a hatred and enmity resulting in brutal persecution and butchering innocent women and children there. The Japanese in America fear and dread, I think not unreasonably, of the possible war between Japan and America and their consequent lot that might be far more horrible than those of Germans in French soil or English in Germany at the present



time, for they are entirely different race from the people in this country.

"Now it is not a question which side shall win in the coming conflict, if such a conflict came to be true, no. Whichever side may get the final victory in the supposed conflict, that would be not much consequence actually to the laboring classes of both countries; they shall suffer equally in the war just as they are suffering in Europe today.

"It is too complicated to deal with the relation between two countries in question, but I am trying to find out some ways to avert the future conflict of two nations and moreover, I am endeavoring to find out what shall be the best attitude that the Japanese in America should assume under such a condition. You might think it best way for both if the Japanese shall leave the U. S. A. and get their home. Now no Jap. immigrant comes nowadays from Japan under the gentlemen's agreement, and it is not easy matter for all the Japanese of two hundred thousands shall leave their abodes in America. Many of them are now ten, twenty and even thirty years in this country.

"Dear Dr. Will you kindly tell me what shall I advice my own countrymen workers here that will be the best on the situation. Anti-Japanese movement now in the U. S. A. is not against those Japanese who might come here after. It is anti-Japanese who are already here, yes, they are here, coming under then the most favorable circumstances, many of them come here and to Hawaii because they were called for by the true Americans namely the sugar planters and railroad kings! And they are now persecuted socially and financially and losing one after another the privileges that they have enjoyed equally in the past with Americans or those other nationalities!

"I am intending to publish a little paper for the interest of the Japanese in America so I wish you write me an advice to the Japanese in America as to their future what is the best.

"I remain yours,

SEN KATAYAMA."

\*I am not, I regret to say, a Dr. of any branch of learning or science.—H. M. H.

I do not think there is any doubt whatever that when he wrote, his alarm was genuine and entirely warranted. The Japanese had been abominably treated by the Americans of California and the Pacific Slope generally. The Colonists of British Columbia had joined in the outcry, notwithstanding the succession of Treaties 1902, 1905 and 1911, between the mother country and Japan. There was, therefore, quite a possibility that in the event of war between the United States and the Island Empire something of the kind anticipated by Katayama might have taken place. On the other hand, the Japanese, though scattered, were not defenceless, and a great number of them were trained soldiers. Happily, the Japanese Government, with that cool, far-seeing policy which so far has always distinguished its great Council of Foreign Affairs, decided not to push matters to an extremity. They even withdrew their just claims and undertook to restrict Japanese emigration to the United States as far as possible.

It is well, however, for the sake of the United States and the British Colonies, that the full truth about the Japanese as colonists should be thoroughly understood. The matter should be examined and considered wholly without prejudice. Whatever may be the drawbacks from the point of view of competition on a lower standard of life, these obstacles are speedily overcome. To begin with, Miss Brown's statements about them that "The Japanese are peaceable, law-abiding, tirelessly industrious, home-seeking, moral, temperate,

grateful and generous. They require no policing, there are no disturbances; no woman has ever been molested," are confirmed by the special Commission appointed by the United States Government. But they are also well educated, quick to learn English, and ambitious. This latter quality in particular the Americans dislike.

Professor Millis, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Kansas, after twelve years of investigation, speaks of them in the very highest terms in every respect. Their cleanliness is remarkable; drunkenness and opium smoking are almost unknown. He also entirely agrees with the good opinion expressed of them in other respects. In everything except color, creed and race they are most desirable members of the community. Moreover, they are extremely anxious to get out of the wage-earning class, where their competition, undoubtedly, is difficult for white laborers to meet. Most of the immigrants into California are agriculturists. Directly they are able to do so they take up land. Such admirable cultivators are they that they can pay their way and thrive upon land under such heavy rents as were never before known. Where possible they purchase land and settle down to a comfortable, and in every manner respectable, family life.

In fact, from every point of view the Japanese in the West of America are reputed to be an admirable people. Yet laws have been passed not only preventing them from acquiring land by purchase but from allowing them to lease land for more than three years. There can be no dispute about the truth of the contention that they have been and still are badly treated by local American authorities simply and solely because they are Japanese and because what they might do in the way of competition is greatly feared. They inherit the prejudice against the Chinese of thirty-five and forty years ago—a prejudice which was then possibly justifiable. But the Japanese, unlike the Chinese, settle in the country permanently, if they are allowed to do so; they admirably till the land they take up; their wives work with them on their holdings, and their children grow up to be as industrious, as capable, as self-respecting as they are, and even better educated. They are beginning to demand full rights of nationalization as American citizens. There seems no reason whatever why these rights should not be conceded. There is nothing but race and religious antagonism against it, provided always that, by a reasonable and friendly arrangement with the Japanese themselves, the numbers of the immigrants be limited within given periods. This, it appears, the Japanese Government is willing to concede.

But the same position has arisen with regard to British Columbia and Australia. It cannot be dealt

with, in my opinion, by permanent exclusion, if Japan insists upon her rights as a civilized power.

Those who imagine, therefore, that the whole question of Asiatic emigration to North America and Australia has been more than temporarily settled are, in my judgment, deceiving themselves altogether. It is possible, of course, that the internal development of Japan, and behind her of China, may afford a full outlet for the ill-paid labor of the industrious millions in Japan and the tens of millions of China. But this does not seem in the least likely for many a long year to come. When, consequently, the vast populations of Eastern Asia move in earnest towards a peaceful colonization of the European settlements bordering on the Pacific Ocean, and when they do this with the support and under the leadership of the Governments of Japan and China, it is difficult to see how their demand for free access to such sparsely-peopled territories as Southern California, British Columbia and Western Australia can be effectively resisted.

Nor, when they have once landed, is it easy to understand how they are to be prevented from competing vigorously with white labor. It is as certain as anything can be that socialism, or the general organization of industry upon the basis of coöperation instead of competition, will not make head fast enough to handle this economic and social problem before it is forced upon the world on a vast scale. The tendency even of European nations to resort to Chinese labor at a pinch has been shown during the war by the French, as well as the British. This tendency may increase in time to come.

The subject of emigration and immigration was brought up more than once at International Socialist Congresses, and special commissions, on which I served myself, were appointed to deal with the question. But the ignorance of the matter displayed by the majority of the members of the commissions was so great, and their disinclination to look facts in the face, which in any way conflicted with their universal humanitarian theories, was so strong, that the reports presented were practically valueless. No attempt was really made to treat the serious complications involved. European workers in short are not, as yet, competent to handle the whole of this immigration problem, and American and Australasian workers are, for the most part, bitterly prejudiced.

Emigration from India, being directly controlled by the Indian Government, does not present the same features, or create the same difficulties, that have arisen and will almost inevitably arise again in connection with the outflow from China and Japan. But the economic antagonism to the Aryan Hindoos is as strong on the part of the whites as their objection to the Mongol Asiatics. This has

been manifested of late years by the legislation against them in Australia, already mentioned, and more recently in South Africa and British Columbia. They are hated not only as workers who compete with white laborers, but as small traders who outbid and undersell European traffickers. Their claim to British citizenship has not protected them from most unjust and shameful treatment by their fellow subjects of the British Empire. This cannot go on safely. As Asia begins to assert herself and to take her rightful place in the world, India, like other portions of that great continent, will demand that her people should cease to be treated as inferior beings, when brought into contact with those whose interests they have helped to defend on the battlefields of Europe.

There can be little doubt that in the near future this whole matter of race competition in the industrial sphere outside Asia itself will be forced upon the consideration of the British Empire and the United States in particular. The sooner, therefore, the subject is discussed without prejudice and some reasonable decision reached, the better. Japan and China, together or separately, are very different powers from what they were in 1879, or even, relative speaking, in 1911.

It is of the utmost importance also that England and America and the white races generally should form a serious judgment upon the course they intend to pursue towards China and the Chinese. England and America, especially, are allowing matters to drift after a fashion that can scarcely fail to be dangerous. While both are crying aloud for the "open door" and proclaiming the necessity for Chinese independence, neither the British Empire nor the United States is taking any definite steps to secure either the one or the other. At the same time, the British Empire, by the action of its colonies in Australia and British Columbia, and the United States by its surrender to the old agitation in California, are putting themselves completely in the wrong by their policy of excluding the civilized Mongolians from their respective countries. Especially is this policy untenable when both powers are demanding the fullest rights of entry and settlement in China itself against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. In my opinion it will be impossible in the near future to keep the yellow races permanently out of British and American territory, should they continue to wish to immigrate and settle there. But it is most important that, if this is really the case, the two nations most directly concerned in the attempted solution of this difficult problem of Asiatic emigration and immigration should hold close conference on the question. To drift is to move towards war, as we have seen recently in European affairs.



# LIVING PAGES FROM THE EAST

By V. C. SCOTT O'CONNOR

**E**VEN in the midst of the world devastation of the past four years there have been moments, at least, when the mind has been obliged to seek its necessary rest. For some there is no repose like the repose of a great library upon which time has laid its wisdom and its benediction. These precious and ultimate things are bound to return again; and if Louvain and other old and mellow places have gone forever, one may still hope once more to sit of a summer afternoon by the great window of the Bodleian, overlooking the peace of a secluded garden; or enjoy the ordered quiet of that old library in a French cathedral town that I knew in my youth.

Meanwhile the flux of life has recently brought the writer into fellowship with a library remote from Europe and its troubles; into a world of vanished men and vanished things. Here, in Patna upon the edge of a great Indian river, there are gathered together, as into a safe harborage at last, the remnants of a once mighty fleet that put its sails of purple, and vermillion and gold to the breeze of a sultan's pleasure and enshrined the pride of emperors, more splendid in their day than any the world has known. There is nothing in the world that surpasses the exquisite calligraphy, the enameled gold, the priceless miniatures, the colors of lapis lazuli and vermillion, of indigo and scarlet, green, purple, cinnabar and saffron, of some of these illuminated pages; nothing more touching in its way than the simplicity with which they are lodged; more human than the vicissitudes through which they have borne their part.

Of the formal history of this collection there is this to tell. At the close of the eighteenth and in the early years of the nineteenth century, when the Mogul Empire had fallen into the dust and the British peace was settling upon the land, there lived in North Bihar a Moslem gentleman of the name of Muhammad Baksh, of a family given to letters and the law. In the leisure moments of his career as an advocate he devoted himself to the acquisition of oriental books of which he left a brave company of fifteen hundred to his son, Khuda Baksh, the founder of this library. It was his last request to his son, made upon his death-bed, that these should not be dispersed but that they should become the nucleus of a great collection that might foster the cause of oriental learning in his city of Patna. The son, with no other patrimony than these volumes, fulfilled his father's wish. In the pursuit of his career as an advocate and judge, he met many men and traveled exten-

sively over India. The great cities of Delhi, of Hyderabad, of Lucknow, were familiar to him; his fame as a collector spread among the owners of treasured books.

There is little doubt that many of the manuscripts in this library were stolen. However that may be, the volumes are here and they are an admirable collection—the glory of the city of Patna. It is a fact that their last owner died a poor man, that he lavished his fortune upon their acquisition and upon the beautiful building in which they are stored, and left them as a gift to his countrymen.

The librarian, we are told, was visited by angels who communed with him in his dreams and directed his labors; and upon a signal occasion, the Library was, he believed, visited by the Prophet of God himself.

"One night," said Khuda Baksh, "I dreamt that the lane near the Library was filled with a dense crowd of people. When I came out of my house, they cried out, 'The Prophet is on a visit to your Library, and you are not there to show him round.'"

"I hastened to the manuscript room and found him gone. But there were two manuscripts of the *Hadis* (Traditions) lying open upon the table. These, the people said, had been read by the Prophet."

Khuda Baksh was buried within the precincts of the Library, in a little open space crossed by the corridor that connects the two separate buildings of which it is composed. The will of the founder requires that under no circumstances shall the Library be removed from its present habitation; and there is a fitness in his resting place, for the man loved his books. This tomb is a silent plea to those who may come hereafter to spare the dead man's request.

With the help of the catalogs that have been in preparation since 1904, and of the volumes displayed before me, I shall endeavor to expose their rarity, their beauty, their strange and even terrible vicissitudes; their profound human interest and charm.

Here then, for it is as unique as it is opulent and superb, is the *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriah*, or history of the Timurid family, to which the great Moguls belonged. As a contribution to the history of the family there does not seem to be very much here that is new, but as a work of art this volume is almost priceless. It is embellished with no less than one hundred and twelve illuminated folio pages, the work of the most notable painters of Akbar's time. Each of the pictures in this vol-



**BABER'S REJOICING AT THE BIRTH OF HUMAYUN**

The Emperor is surrounded by his Courtiers, Who Are Celebrating the Royal Birth with Feasting and Wine

time is crowded with incident and feeling, enameled in gold, and exquisite with color, the work of men to whom time was as nothing, to whom the approval of their master was all in all.

Here is a picture of Timur's campaign against Bagdad, A. D. 1400. The Emperor is established upon the bridge that spans the Tigris, the governor and his daughter, whose form is faintly visible behind, are seen upon a boat, trying to make their escape. The archers of the Emperor rush upon them, they fling themselves into the water and are drowned. The boatmen bring to the victor the dead body of Faraj, the governor. Timur, relentless as any Hun, orders the sack of the city.

A superbly illuminated page depicts the festivities at the birth of Baber's son, Humayun. The Emperor is seated upon a throne under a canopy brilliant with gold and colors. With the grace and urbanity of a gentleman, he is leaning forward toward his companions who are seated about him in a semi-circle, upon a Persian carpet, with wine before them, while attendants come up with trays and basins of sumptuous fare. A peacock suns his jeweled plumage upon a neighboring wall. Outside the castle gate there is a clamor of trumpets and drums and a frenzy of rejoicing among all the lesser people, to whom alms and food are being distributed under the stern eye of the major domo. It is a scene from Central Asia, not from India.

An event even more celebrated than this is chronicled in the famous scene that depicts the birth of Akbar. Here is the whole tale of a woman's travail and of a man's grave rejoicing told in simple yet magnificent terms. The mother in her plain green robe lies exhausted upon her couch—she was little more than a child herself. The infant in swaddling clothes is surrounded by eager attendants, and in the corner of the picture is a cradle. Outside the chamber women are expressing their jubilation by singing and dancing. Humayun is seen within his tent, seated upon a throne that is laid upon a superb carpet, outwardly tranquil and self-contained, yet deeply interested in the words of his minister, Tardi Beg, whose coat, like that of the emperor, provides the illuminator with an extraordinary opportunity for the display of his art.

There is a splendid page that records Humayun's capture of the castle of Champanir. The Emperor is shown upon the walls in his rich armor. He is accompanied by his great minister Bairam, the Bismarck of the dynasty. His armored knights on horse-back, his footmen with swords and shields, are rushing to the attack through the great gate of the castle. It is a scene from the Middle Ages, and with less splendor, one that was common in the Europe of an earlier day—the Europe of Froissart and of Muntaner.

Finally to take but one more of the hundred and twelve pages of color that are the glory of this volume, there is Akbar in his prime at the siege of Chitor; a magnificent picture of the proud city of the Sisodia in that critical hour when the Emperor shot dead upon the opposing walls the heroic

Jaimal, who was the life and soul of the defense. The Rajput chief lies dying under a canopy upon which the illuminator has lavished his art. Outside, the great guns of the besiegers are belching their shots at the castle, the elephants and horsemen crowd to the attack, and there is all the briskness of a mediæval siege added to the magnificence and opulence of the East.

Scenes such as these carry one into the very heart of a life that has vanished from the continent of India. For Chitor now broods mournfully amidst the scenes of her former greatness and the Mogul is but the faint echo of a once-resounding name.

The volume in which these things are contained bears an inscription in the handwriting of Shah Jahan in which he states that this history of Timur and his descendants was composed in the time of Shah Baba, the affectionate name by which as a child he addressed his grandfather. Seals confirm the authenticity of the volume, which was one of the nine principal manuscripts illuminated for the Emperor Akbar. It is recorded that the volume was laid before the King-Emperor on the occasion of his visit to Delhi, a circumstance to which His Majesty's signature bears witness.

Next to this in splendor, though in a later style, is the *Padishahnamah*, the history of Shah Jahan's reign, whose illustrations, enriched with the infinite toil of the painters, reveal to us at a glance the change that had come into the blood of the Moguls; for those who are here depicted, amidst the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind, are no longer of the type of Baber, Humayun and Akbar, but of a race that by intermarriage and climate has become Indian. One can see it clearly in their faces; the joyous note of the Mongol, the lively air of the knight-errant who swam every river in Hindustan in the course of his adventures after empire, give way here to the magnificence of the Indian Emperor. There is a grave melancholy in the features of Shah Jahan, and luxurious ceremonial, in the place of scenes of war and hardihood.

Here, to turn away from the purely Indian scenes—is a volume, the *Shakinsah-Namah*—that carries one into the field with the Osmanli Sultans. Written at the close of the sixteenth century this superb volume is dedicated to the Sultan Mohamed the Third, for whom it was written at Constantinople, and in whose royal library it was preserved, until by some unrecorded exodus it reached



HUMAYUN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHAMPANIR

Picture of the Emperor on the Walls, with Knights and Footmen Attacking the Castle Gate, is Like a Page from Froissart

India in the days of Shah Jahan. It bears upon it, among other seals and autographs of the princes of the time, one that is reckoned very rare, that of the devoted Jahanara, daughter of the Lady of Taj, who eased the captivity of the great emperor in his last declining years, and whose grave near Delhi is marked with a marble headstone bearing the famous inscription:

"Let none place over my grave aught but the green grass, for it best becomes the sepulchre of one who was of humble mind."

No other copy of this work is known to exist, and it is regarded as one of the greatest treasures of the Library.

Next to it we may fittingly place another magnificent folio—the *Shah-Namah* of Firdausi. The poem itself is one of the world's epics; and the story of its origin, of the survival of its materials from the chances of fate and of its competition after the labor of thirty-five years in the poet's eightieth year, is of the very fabric of romance. Commissioned by Mahmud of Gazni, who enriched himself with the spoils of India in the course of a dozen expeditions, it was not paid for in full by the parsimonious Sultan until the poet lay upon his death-bed, and the royal messengers with their bags of gold entered the poet's city of Tus, only to meet his body being carried to the grave. The poet's daughter, we are told, proudly declined to accept the Sultan's gift. The manuscript in this library was presented to the Emperor Shah Jahan by the great Persian nobleman, Ali Mardan Khan, the designer of the Mogul canals. The volume, embellished with a series of the most beautiful Persian miniatures and written in firm clear Nastaliq with four gold-ruled columns, is truly a princely thing, and has an enchantment about it that carries it back 260 years to the day it was offered in open court to the most splendid prince who ever sat upon a throne.

I turn to the works of one who came long after Firdausi—of Jami, the last great classical poet of Persia. The Library is especially rich in fine copies of Jami's works; and no less than thirty-two pages of the closely-printed catalogs are needed to set forth their merits. This collection of his poems rivals that for which Petrograd was famed before the war.

Leaving for a moment these volumes, that dazzle the eyes by their magnificence, let us look to another that has no external beauties beyond its fine penmanship: a slim little volume, brown and mellowed by time, but a very rare thing, not only in itself but also from its remarkable association with some of the great emperors. This is a volume of the lyrics of Hafiz, which was consulted by Humayun and Jahangir upon many a critical occasion, when their own lives and fortunes and those of others were at stake. The marginal notes recorded by emperors set forth the circumstances under which the little book was used to plumb the secrets of fate. Here is one by Humayun opposite a verse relating to Joseph, which makes one realize how much the Emperor, who almost lost his throne through the disloyalty of his brothers, suffered from their unkindness. His grandson Jahangir also frequently consulted this volume in times of perplexity or trouble. One does not need to be an expert in handwriting to distinguish at once the clear round hand of Humayun and the large voluptuous style of Shah Jahan from the fugitive, erratic, yet artistic penmanship of Jahangir, who was so often in his cups that his hand trembled when he wrote. Akbar, who

came between Humayun and Jahangir, must have possessed, and may, if his strong mind ever permitted him to seek such aid, have used the precious little volume; but there is no written trace of his ownership upon it, or upon any other of these superb volumes inscribed with the Imperial names, for Akbar, the greatest of them all and perhaps the greatest prince and statesman whom India has produced, could neither read nor write.

The tragic fortunes of princes are yet more vividly recalled by the only original copy extant of the *Diwan* of Kamran, the son of Baber, the erring brother of Humayun, who after forgiving him upon numberless occasions was at last compelled for his own safety and that of the throne to put out his eyes. The story has been told by Gulbadan Begam—the rose-bodied Princess, daughter of Baber, whose memoirs of Humayun open the door of a woman's vision on the lives of these restless and warring men.

"All the assembled Khans and Sultans," she says, "high and low, plebeian and noble, soldiers and the rest, all who bore the mark of Mirza Kamran's hand with one voice represented to His Majesty: 'Brotherly custom has nothing to do with ruling and reigning. If you wish to act as a brother, abandon the throne. If you wish to be King, put aside brotherly sentiment. This is no brother. This is your Majesty's foe. It is well to lower the head of the breacher of a kingdom.'"

"His Majesty answered, 'Though my head inclines to your words, my heart does not,' but he gave the order to blind Mirza Kamran in both eyes.

"After receiving his command," the story goes, "we returned to the Prince, and Ghulam Ali represented to him in a respectful and condoling manner that he had received positive orders to blind him. The Prince replies, 'I would rather you killed me at once.' Ghulam Ali said, 'We dare not exceed our orders.' He then twisted a handkerchief up as a ball for thrusting into the mouth and he with the *farash* seizing the Prince by the hands pulled him out of the tent, laid him down and thrust a lancet into his eyes (such was the will of God). This they repeated at least fifty times, but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him.

"'Why,' he said, 'do you sit upon my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?'

"This was all he said, and he acted with great courage, till they squeezed some lemon juice and salt in the sockets of his eyes. He then could not forbear, and called out:

"'O Lord! O Lord my God, whatever sins I may have committed have been amply punished in this world; have compassion upon me in the next.'"

The blind man became a pilgrim and went to

Mecca, where he died some four years later.

One gladly turns from these painful memories to columns whose exquisite perfection of color and craft yield no other feeling but one of the purest enjoyment.

Here, for example, are several fine manuscripts of the poems of Sadi, who lived in the thirteenth century. One of these manuscripts, a series of selections from the *Bustan*, is richly embellished. The whole of the double page of its *unwan*, or frontispiece, is illuminated in gold and in colors like a Persian carpet of the palace. Even more lovely is its concluding page, with its mingled blue and crimson, its yellow, its grey, its green; while each of the poem headings is emblazoned with minute flowers upon a terrain of gold.

Another volume of Sadi's poems, containing the text of the *Gulistan* and the *Bustan* together, prose and verse intermingled, captivates the attention with its miniatures. One of these shows Sadi as a dervish—an old man with a fresh face and a white beard, in a blue *gelabieh* with long sleeves, dancing round a cypress tree with musicians and other dancers for company. The miniatures in this volume and in the *Hamiah-i-Haydari*, a poetical account of the Prophet and the early Caliphs, another book of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, display an evident decline in taste and a falling away from the delicate beauty of the Persian school. It is an Indian style and here it is an inferior one. Not only was the impulse of Persian art losing its force at this time, but the Empire itself was hastening towards its decline.

This transition is also observed in a volume of the *Lives of the Great Mystics and Lovers*, by one Sultan Husain, the last of the Timurides of Persia (842-911 A.H.). In the blue and gold *unwan* you have the original perfection on the right, and a poor copy of it on the left, to replace the leaf that was lost or stolen. There is all the difference here between the beauty of exquisite line and color and its base imitation. But the rest of the volume is of the old style. Its calligraphy is by a penman of Shiraz, its full-page miniatures are of great interest and charm. The people and the costumes depicted in these pages are interesting. The suggestion that lingers is one of beautiful gardens, rich carpets, encaustic walls and emblazoned portals. The early Chinese influence from which the Persian miniaturists drew their technique is clearly apparent.

If these Persian volumes carry us into the society



AKBAR HUNTING WILD ASSES AT NAGORE

The Scenes illustrated in These Rare Volumes Carry One Back to a Life That Vanished from India with the Moguls

of princes and of poets, of those who loved and were loved, of statesmen and of warriors, and picture to us all the simple beauty of flowers and the voluptuous elegance of courts; those that are in Arabic lead us for the most part to graver themes—to the sacred Koran, to the commentaries of learned divines, to austere treatises on medicine and surgery, on philosophy and on science, at a time when Arab culture surpassed and illuminated that of the dark ages of European civilization.

Of the four volumes of the catalog of the Library that have hitherto been published, three relate to its Persian manuscripts and one to its Arabic works on medicine alone. The first of these is an old and rare copy of the *Kitab-ul-Mushaffar* of Ibn Masa-



AKBAR AT THE SIEGE OF CHITOR

The Attacking Guns, the Elephants and Horsemen Provide the Briskness of a Mediaeval Siege Added to Eastern Opulence

way, in which, after stating the general rules of the medical art, the author describes in detail each of the diseases known to the profession in his time. A Syrian Christian, he was appointed by the Caliph Haroun-al-Rashid, to superintend the translation of ancient works, including many from the Greek.

Then there is the *Kitab-al-Mansuri* of Ali Razi, the most eminent of the Arabian physicians, the Rhazes of European writers, of whom it is said that when in his old age he suffered from cataract and was asked to have his blindness removed by an operation, replied:

"I have seen so much of the world that I am weary of it."

Of whom also it is said that when called upon

to select a site for a hospital in Bagdad, he caused pieces of meat to be suspended in various localities, and chose that in which, after a given time, the meat showed least putrefaction, thus anticipating the knowledge of microbial infection. To him it is said that we owe the oldest account extant of small-pox and measles.

Austere as these Arabian manuscripts are, the Korans among them offer a superb exception, and indeed there are one or two here which to some eyes might well seem the greatest of all the treasures of the Library. I would draw attention in particular to a copy by Yagut-ul-Mustasim, with his autograph at the close, and the date 668 of the Prophet's Flight—1254 of our era. On each page of this volume the words are written in three styles of penmanship, *naakh*, *rai-han* and *suds*, the first of which was invented by the scribe himself. I find it difficult to imagine a more exquisite example of the beauty of letters. It is further embellished with gold and the most delicate floral traceries, the heading of each *sura* being in letters of gold. There is a beautiful blue and gold front piece in *tughra*, the great decorative style that is inlaid upon the Taj and other famous monuments; and in the illuminated autograph the scribe, who was of Bagdad in the time of the Caliph Mustasim Billah, asks for the forgiveness of his sins.

For sheer splendor, though not in exquisite craftsmanship, this copy of the Koran is surpassed by another of the most princely magnificence, a large folio with a Persian commentary inscribed in letters of blue upon its spacious margins. Nothing more sumptuous than this in the way of a book can be imagined. Each chapter here begins with a double-page, superbly illuminated in blue and gold; in lapis-lazuli, turquoise and ultramarine; in hues of scarlet and vermillion; and each of these double pages is of an individuality distinct from the text. The heading of each chapter is written in white letters; the beginning of each *sura* in white letters upon a dark-blue ground. There is a series of borders, in which the previous words are enclosed, as if to seclude them still further from the common world. There is the commentary with its corner scrolls of a floral pattern in plain gold, each of which upon each page is different from its neighbor. There are minute floral designs in color; an inch margin embellished in white and gold; each of the full stops is a sun of gold, and finally there is the holy text

in large bold letters in black. In this volume you perceive the difference between the hand of the gifted artist—his eye and brain and heart behind each page and letter—and the dull uniformity, the soulless mechanism of the printing machine. The paper has the polish and lightness of fine silk; yet the weight of the majestic volume, laden as it is with refined gold, cannot be less than twenty pounds.

Beside it, there lies before me as I write, a small duodecimo, dark with time, whose only ornament consists of little simple flower traceries, one or two upon the margin of each page. It is enclosed within an old worm-eaten cover of leather, and the binding has given way. From the absence of dots over the Arabic letters, it is attributed to the third century of the Mohammedan era; and it is the oldest volume in the Library. Splendid or simple, these Korans contain all that can guide the footsteps of the pious Mussulman through the troubled ways of this world into the presence of Allah.

In addition to the Koran itself there are almost numberless volumes of the *Hadis*, or Traditions, of the deepest interest to the Moslem scholar. One of these, written in the year of the Prophet 911, at Iqdalah near Dacca, for the Sultan Hussein Shah of Bengal, is a fine quarto in three volumes, written in a beautiful naskh, an example to those who use a pen, of extreme patience, neatness and skill. Each *para* is marked by a circular gold medallion upon the margin, with illuminated rays, and in the text itself the chapter headings are written in delicate letters of gold; the beginning of each Hadis in red, the words of the Koran in blue. Large full stops in gold are a further embellishment of this princely volume. How did it come here? It seems that after many vicissitudes, when Sultans had ceased to reign in Bengal, it passed into the keeping of a distinguished Arabic scholar and landowner, of the Wahabi sect, whose doctrines brought him into conflict with the state. His lands were confiscated and this among others of his possessions passed into other hands and finally into the common treasury of the Library.

Another, and older, but less opulent volume on the same theme, the *Musnud-u-Abi-u-Wanah*, was but recently acquired from an itinerant scholar, who traveled from the northwest frontier to see this Library of which he had heard and left this volume behind him, in exchange for one hundred rupees. Possibly he stole it from some other library. The books contain the autographs of eminent Arabian scholars, who lived with it and wrote in it from century to century.

There is another book of the same kind, presented to the Royal Library at Damascus, by the calligraphist himself, one Shams-ud-din bin Ala-ud-Din, a scholar of that city in the year 870 A. H.

An illuminated page records this gift with the condition that it is never to be removed from the Library, and the donor calls upon God to punish him who might be guilty of the sacrilege of disregarding his bequest. It is a small octavo volume, bound in an old brown leather cover, stamped in the kind of arabesque design you will find upon tiles and mural decorations in Moorish Spain. It is loose in its cover and worm-eaten in places. No one knows how it got here; but we may suspect the hand of the Arab book-hunter who traveled so far afield for the good of his patron and of Mohammedan letters at Patna.

The *Sawât Ilhâm* is a commentary on the Koran by the celebrated Faizi, the brother of Abul Fazl, the intimate friend and servant of Akbar, the extraordinary feature of which is that the author deprived himself of the use of all letters of the Persian alphabet (more than half of the total number) which have points. The exquisite page is therefore free from these familiar dots, save in the case of those words that are quoted from the Koran. Notwithstanding this singular abstention, the language of the writer is not lacking either in style or in distinction. The book is a feat of mental contortion—a monument to the superfluous labors of a man who was one of the most eminent and industrious scholars of his time. Indeed, he is considered one of the most voluminous of Indian writers; and one can only stand amazed at the patience and the eccentricity of toil that led him into its construction. The present volume is a finely written copy of the original in red and blue, with an illuminated frontispiece in blue and gold. All these volumes and many more, so diversified, so fascinating in their historical background, so exquisite in their art, concentrate in this rich storehouse the mingled aroma of beauty and romance.

\* \* \* \*

To enter this Library, then, is to pass from out of the common world of the bazaar into the society of princes and divines—from a world that has been shaken to its foundations by the terrific events of the hour, into a world that was no less troubled in its day, but is now at peace. Here the passing of empires is like a little picture on a screen: one can see how they came into being, how they grew and how they passed away. One is glad to meet this company of books in their quiet hours, even though one realizes that their enjoyment is but for a season like the great rivers which swell and diminish: glad to profit by the devotion of those who made them, the love of the craftsman, the passion of the poet, the urbanity of the great prince, who in the midst of wars and tumults and the clashing of arms had yet the heart to water his garden of culture and help man out upon his difficult road.



# ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

LABOR AND INDUSTRY IN AUSTRALIA, from the First Settlement in 1788 to the Establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901, by T. A. Coghlan. The Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1918, 4 volumes, 2449 pp.

Two thousand four hundred and forty-nine pages would have, if they had nothing else, the virtue of thoroughness. If then the author can still add thirty-five years of literary and executive connections to his credit, he is convincing almost before being read. One settles down, however, to this study by Sir Timothy Augustine Coghlan with gratitude for the tremendous amount of research he has done for us and for that personal touch his intimate knowledge of the subject affords.

Precursive to this monumental work Sir Coghlan issued a dozen books on his country's economic, geographic and social conditions, so that no one seems more fitted for the task of bringing before the world Australia's experiences in immigration and labor politics.

The author disclaims having written a history of Australia, but considering that nowhere has the problem of the worker been more closely allied with government, it is obvious that such a study involves a historical survey of the country as a whole. Consequently we here have as comprehensive a collection of vital facts and figures as are necessary to a thorough grasp of the situation. The author has shaken and dusted the records, making them new and fresh and real.

This was no easy task. He has had to drag before the world facts about which Australians are extremely sensitive, such as early convict settlement. And he has done so with frankness, with sympathy and with dignity. Besides, the unformed state of prevailing labor-politics complicates the problem even more. The author lessens his difficulties by assuming a most impartial attitude. He sends forth his facts like a machine-gun operator, and here and there utters a bit of comment of his own. But though the facts fly, one feels the human sympathy back of the historical machine.

The problems Australia has tried to solve are world problems. Today more than ever before their solution is pressing us. We are face to face with the great readjustment of peoples to places. Up to the middle of last century communication was so limited that races had to remain content within their own crowded borders; now no country need remain over-crowded, and the shifting of peoples has become an engrossing problem. How will it be solved? By internal readjustment or by an attempt at stav-

ing off the tides of immigration? The answer cannot yet be given, but no country in the world has shown a more defined and consistent attitude than Australia, and the history of that effort may guide the world.

The books are arranged in sections comprising periods of various lengths each of which confines itself to a discussion of much the same phases and subjects which kept coming up and being solved in recurring waves of endeavor.

The most vital problem Australia has had to face has of course been that of immigration. At one time regarded by British officialism as worthy only of the worst, of convicts and cast-offs, Australia fought against this human drift directly and indirectly. At another time she was flooded with gold-hunters who had a "home" to which they always thought to return. Little wonder that the incursion of the yellow-races frightened her. The question of Asiatic immigration in Australia is one of race mixed with a confusion of economic situations. Sorely in need of labor, in the grip of labor, it is fighting labor. The Chinese, Sir Coghlan points out, were not an undesirable element except in so far as their thrift and industry threatened the less industrious and less thrifty white rovers. As many as 25,000 were at one time in the colony. In the gold regions they found gold where the more erratic white man left it unmined, and in their gardens they virtually saved the white man. But these very traits, instead of winning the sympathy of the whites, aroused their ire. Race war followed. The author assures us that as workers, the Chinese are as good as the whites and that "taking employment as a whole it was not in any sense true that the presence of Chinese in Australia tended to depress wages and cause unemployment amongst the European workmen." Even the question of their morality and the condition of their quarters, exaggerated accounts of which we constantly hear, are the results of "an unreasoning imagination akin to the foreign devil of the Chinese themselves." Yet the colonists were ready to defy their Home Government and threatened open rebellion rather than abide by the Treaty with China.

We are forced to conclude that labor in Australia has little to justify its attitude. Labor cannot claim to have solved the problem of its existence merely by shutting its doors in the faces of its more unfortunate fellow-beings. If wages are to be stabilized the wages of Chinese should also be stabilized. Occidental labor should make the conditions of their oriental competitors their concern, and all legislation should aim to include the

Chinese and Japanese in its benefits.

Throughout the four volumes the heading, "Immigration," stares us in the face over and over again. Labor found that if it was to achieve any success it must do so by making politics and government its immediate concern. And this, Sir Coghlan shows us, Australian labor determined to do when it found itself beaten in the strike of 1890.

Thus, after 1900 pages on the beginnings of Australia we come to the formation of the Labor Party. The ideals which stimulated early labor politics, it is seen, were socialist and ethical. He gives us a close and intimate view of the personnel of the early agitators, the influences by which they were guided, the manner in which they behaved as labor agitators and later as labor politicians, and the reactions of these on the part of the masses who "regarded the anarchy and outrage attending the great strikes as the direct and necessary outcome of the advocacy by Lane of 'Socialism in our time' and the bulk of the people . . . congratulated themselves on their escape . . ." though it does not seem, to judge from present-day situation in Australia, that there was any such thing as escape. What escape is possible for a nation half of which is running one way and the other half another? We then see how the Labor Party later became tame in its speeches and avoided all radical terms. This attitude threatened the opposing forces, so they on their part began deliberately to connect it up with the most radical views. And thus the Australian ship of state wavers from one side to the other, guided by whatever sailor has been placed at the helm for his two-hour watch.

In the whole accumulation of material covering the one hundred and twenty-five years of the life of this small nation there is entirely too much to be judged closely in a review.

The point of contact between ourselves and Australia is in the question of the geographical distribution of stirring populations. Australia's sparsity; Asia's congestion; America's somewhat happy medium. How can Asia turn about and clear itself of over-population; how Australia of under-population? It has become too obvious that mere prejudice and exclusion fail.

The author closes his study at the time of the Establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901, but whoever knows the Australia of today knows well enough that at that time Australia had not yet reached the climax in the drama of Labor and Industry.

S. G.

(Continued on page 794)



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A PILGRIM IN PALESTINE, by John Finley. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1919, 251 pp.

Though this is the story of a modern pilgrim's progress, there is an aloofness about it that carries the reader back to scenes of entrancing memory and luminous nights. The spirit of detachment is sustained chiefly through the author's unconcern with the life of the native villagers; even the Ghourka guard becomes symbolical of something Biblical, and the Arab lad, with his cupfuls of delicious water and his plaintive songs, is described as a Christ-soul boy, living in the olive-groves that sheltered David in one of his flights from Saul.

In short, Dr. Finley's travels through Palestine—the first American pilgrim after General Allenby's recovery of the Holy Land—are fundamentally a subjective experience. He has long been a student of the history of this "religious homestead of Christian and Jew, of Catholic and Protestant alike." It was first built on the prairie horizon of his boyhood, and this later actual contact with bare hills and lonely roads, broken fountains and tinselled sepulchres, huddled villages and burden-bearers, concretes and clarifies the vision and the dream.

And yet the ambulances and lorries do furnish a setting for his experiences as Red Cross Commissioner to Palestine. He saw General Allenby during the eventful days when his cavalry was at "Armageddon" and in all that memorable Galilee landscape the Deliverer of Palestine was always in the foreground. Scarcely less vivid is the pen picture he draws of the gentle scholar, Colonel Lawrence, who in his Arab costume had for the years of the war been the Allied leader of the forces of the King of the Hedjaz.

In conclusion, Dr. Finley voices a hope that this holy land might be made an international "reservation holy unto the cause of the human brotherhood proclaimed there two thousand years ago . . . a reservation so small that its beautifying . . . would be of no greater financial burden for the nations gathered at the Peace Conference than is the maintenance of Central Park with its Natural History and Art Museums . . . or of the Lake Front parks of Chicago with their buildings devoted to art and science . . ."

With however much sympathy we may regard the author's purpose, we cannot refrain from a gentle protest that from a Red Cross Commissioner we would have preferred more detail of his immediate tasks and accomplishments. But it would hardly be fair to criticize the author for not writing a book obviously outside his intentions. A. L. O.

THE HOMELY DIARY OF A DIPLOMAT IN THE EAST, 1897-1899, by Thomas Skelton Harrison. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1917, 364 pp.

That the writing of diaries may prove tedious now and then is suggested by an amusing entry in this delightfully informal volume of Mr. Harrison's, former diplomatic agent and consul-general of the United States to the Khedivial Court of Cairo, Egypt. After a succession of days begun with his favorite pastime of "donkeying," he writes: "Saturday, February 4. 'Donkeyed' with Jack. This information is becoming monotonous, but having begun to write it, my effort now is to see how long I can continue to write it without losing my mind!" And so strong is the power of habit that on March 7 he gives us this illuminating bit of news: "Did not 'donkey'!" A few days later, with a note of self-criticism, he explains that he is about to abandon his diary, since it involves too much repetition of events—calls, breakfasts, dinners, soirees.

Every diary is burdened with monotony, to be sure, but Mr. and Mrs. Harrison were unusually fortunate in having the routine of their days taken up not only with pomp and glitter but with visits from men and women of enduring personality from all parts of the world. The rebuilding of the great dam at Assuan brought important men to the consulate during his charge. They were received frequently at the court of the Khedive, and there met his brother, the Prince Mehemet Ali, also the King of Siam, Slatin Pasha, Ghazi Mukhtar and many others; while their official duties brought them in close touch with Lord and Lady Cromer, General (Lord) Kitchener, Major-General Sir Francis and Lady Grenfell, Sir Edwin and Lady Palmer and Sir William Garstin.

Mr. Harrison pays many tributes to his beautiful wife, who died before the diary was prepared for publication. All his private life centered around her, and these entries must be a source of much personal satisfaction to him now. They both loved Cairo very much indeed.

However, entries concerning political and diplomatic affairs are rare. Instead, we read of state dinners where the soup that should have been hot was cold but where the table was almost always animated and gay. The description of an Arab wedding in the gardens of the Abdin Palace is diverting, though the wedding had not cost forty thousand dollars as had one given a month before. Quite unintentionally on the part of the author, this volume leaves the impression that the Harrisons were scarcely less clever and hospitable and delightful than the numerous distinguished guests whom they entertained. A. L. O.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN JAPAN, by Sen Katayama. Charles H. Kerr and Company, Chicago, 1918, 147 pp.

We here see Japanese life from an angle not found in the usual histories of the country. It is a very simple statement of the development of labor organizations from feudalism to modern industrialism. The facts are well placed and lead us on to the present attempt at forming effective organizations along western lines.

The chapter on the "Period of Success" is most illuminating, but, were it not so pathetic one would be amused at calling such an "abortion" a success. We learn that several of the industries developed a "labor consciousness," but this was promptly suppressed by both employers and Government.

So far there is nothing unique in the history of labor in Japan. But what one feels from the brief survey is a timid seeking on the part of a working class in the midst of a national atmosphere dead to all democratic consciousness. Throughout the little volume the bare statement of fact is pathetic. Each of these individuals seems so detached. When one knows the history of Japan and its present conditions, one wonders at the simplicity of these workers who spoke "dangerous thoughts" with the innocence of the child playing with fire. That they were suppressed is not surprising; more so is their ever having dared to think so directly.

Dr. Katayama tells of having organized a meeting to which 50,000 workingmen applied for admission at 20 sen each, but the government prohibited it, finally consenting to allow only five thousand to attend. The Government's plea was that it had only five thousand police to spare. The innocence of the Government is as amusing as that of the subjects, though one sees something dark in that wood-pile. One policeman armed with a man's sword to every innocent commoner. Dangerous indeed are men with "dangerous thoughts," and the Government is up day and night devising schemes for their suppression.

One of the main results of the suppression of the Labor Movement in Japan, Dr. Katayama leads us to conclude, is riot. And the government met these riots with executions. Because these propagandists used the courts and the trials to spread their beliefs, the Government resorted to trials in camera. And thus the leader, Kotoku, with thirteen others, was excused.

This in brief is the story of the labor movement in Japan. Dr. Sen Katayama is now an exile from his country, in California, where he has devoted himself to the labor organization among his fellow-countrymen. S. G.

# ASIA

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#### H. F. KUNG AND T. S. HSU, SHANGHAI DELEGATES TO PARIS

Mr. Hsu, President of the Shantung Assembly, recently stated in an address before the Chinese Society of America that the Shantung decision of the Peace Conference was merely a bribe to Japan to join the League of Nations in order that permanent peace might be established in the world. It was Mr. Hsu's firm conviction, however, that the seeds for another war have been sown in this decision. Dr. H. F. Kung, another one of the delegates, is the seventy-fifth descendant of the great Chinese teacher and philosopher, Confucius. Dr. Kung is quoted as saying: "China has been a democracy in fact, and since America entered the war to make democracy safe, we cannot believe that America will abandon us in the saving of China for republicanism. It is the great single thing to be won by the war in the Far East."



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#### JAPANESE DELEGATES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE

The successful recognition of Japanese claims at the Peace Conference may be credited to the skilful diplomacy of her delegates at Paris. The photograph here reproduced, taken in the conference room at the Hotel Bristol, shows, from left to right, General Nara, Ambassador Matsui, Ambassador Ijuin, Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda. These gentlemen insisted on Japan's right to take over the German lease of Kinschou, with certain economic privileges in Shantung, and in spite of China's bitter opposition and her refusal to sign the Peace Treaty embodying this provision, considered by the Chinese as detrimental to their territorial and political integrity, the Japanese have succeeded in winning their point.



ARABS AND SCOTCHMEN FRATERNIZING AT AKABA

Akaba, the Most Important Turkish Base on the Western Coast of the Arabian Peninsula, Was Captured by the "Irregular" Army under the Command of Colonel Lawrence



# THOMAS LAWRENCE-PRINCE OF MECCA

By LOWELL THOMAS

*Photographs by the Author*

ONE day, not long after General Allenby had captured Jerusalem, I happened to be in front of a bazar on Christian Street remonstrating with a fat old Turkish shopkeeper who was attempting to charge twenty *piasters* for a handful of dates. My attention was drawn to a group of Arabs walking in the direction of the Damascus Gate. The fact that they were Arabs was not what caused me to drop my tirade against the high cost of dates, because Palestine is inhabited by a far greater number of Arabs than Jews. My curiosity was excited by a single Bedouin, who stood out in sharp relief from all his companions. He was wearing an *agal*, *kuffieh* and *abba* such as are worn in the Near East only by native rulers. In his belt was fastened the short curved gold sword of a prince of Mecca, insignia that marked him as a descendant of the Prophet.

Christian Street is one of the most picturesque and kaleidoscopic thoroughfares in all Asia Minor. Russian Jews, Greek priests in tall black hats and flowing robes, desert nomads in goat skin coats like those worn in the time of Abraham, Turks with red tarbooshes, Arab merchants lending a brilliant note with their gay turbans and gowns—all rub elbows in that narrow lane of bazars and shops and coffee houses that leads to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Jerusalem is not a melting pot. It is an uncompromising meeting place of East and West. Here are accentuated, as if sharply outlined in black and white by the desert sun, the racial peculiarities of Christian, Jewish and Mohammedan peoples. A stranger must, indeed, have something extraordinary about him to attract attention on the streets of the Holy City. But as this young Bedouin passed by in his magnificent royal robes the crowds in front of the bazars turned to look at him.

It was not merely his costume. It was not the majesty with which he carried his five-feet-three, marking him every inch a king; or at least a caliph in disguise, who had stepped down out of the pages of the Arabian Nights to examine the latest improvements in warfare. The striking fact was that the mysterious prince of Mecca looked no more like a son of Ishmael than an Abyssinian looks like one of Steffanson's esquimaux. Bedouins, although of the Caucasian race, have had their skins scorched by the relentless desert sun until their complexions are the color of lava. But this chap was as blond as a Scandinavian, in whose veins flows Viking blood and the cool tradition of fjords and sagas. The nomadic sons of Ishmael all wear flowing

beards, as their ancestors did in the time of Abraham. The youth with the curved gold sword was clean shaven. He walked rapidly with his hands folded. His blue eyes, oblivious to his surroundings, were wrapped in some inner contemplation. My first thought, as I glanced at his face, was that he might be one of the youngest of the apostles returned to life. His expression was serene, almost saintly, in its selflessness and repose.

"Who is he?" I turned eagerly to the Turkish shopkeeper, who could manipulate a little tourist English. He only shrugged his shoulders.

Who could he be? I was certain of getting some information about him from General Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of the Holy City; so I strolled over in the direction of his palace, just outside the old wall near the quarries of King Solomon. General Storrs was oriental secretary to the High Commissioner of Egypt before the fall of Jerusalem, and always kept in intimate touch with the peoples of Palestine. He speaks Hebrew, Arabic, Greek and Latin with much the same fluency and charm that he speaks English. I knew he could tell me something about my blond Bedouin.

"Who is the blue-eyed youth with the curved sword of a prince of—"

The General did not even let me finish the question. He quietly opened the door of an adjoining room. There, seated in a comfortable morris chair with his feet disrespectfully planted on the same table where the German general, Falkenhayn, worked out his unsuccessful plan for defeating Allenby, was the Bedouin prince who had passed me on Christian Street earlier in the afternoon. He was deeply absorbed in a ponderous tome on archeology.

In introducing us General Storrs said, "I want you to meet Colonel Lawrence, the uncrowned king of Arabia."

He shook hands courteously, but shyly, and with a certain air of aloofness, as if his mind was on buried treasures and not on the affairs of this immediate world of campaigns and warfare.

And that was how I first made the acquaintance of one of the most unique and picturesque personalities of modern times, a man who will be blazoned on the romantic pages of history with Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Drake, Lord Clive, Chinese Gordon and Kitchener of Khartoum. During the last five years of epic events, among others, two remarkable figures have appeared. The dashing adventures and anecdotes of their careers will

furnish golden themes to the writers of the future, as the lives of Ulysses, King Arthur and Richard the Lion Hearted to the poets, troubadours and chroniclers of other days. One is a massive, towering, square-jawed six-footer—that smashing British cavalry leader, Sir Edmund H. H. Allenby, Commander of the Twentieth Century Crusaders, who has gained world fame because of his exploit in driving the Turks from the Holy Land, downing the Crescent and raising the Cross over Jerusalem. The other is the undersized, beardless youth whom I first saw absorbed in a technical treatise on the cuneiform inscriptions discovered on the bricks of ancient Babylon.

The spectacular achievements of Thomas Lawrence, the young Oxford graduate, are still unknown except to a handful of his associates. Yet quietly, without any theatrical headlines or fanfare of trumpets, he brought the disunited nomadic tribes of Arabia into a unified campaign against their Turkish oppressors—a difficult and splendid stroke of policy, which caliphs, statesmen and sultans had been unable to accomplish in centuries of effort. Thomas Lawrence placed himself at the head of the Bedouin army of the King of the Hejaz, drove the Turks from Arabia and restored the caliphate to the descendants of the Prophet. Allenby liberated Palestine, the holy land of Jews and Christians; Lawrence freed Arabia, the holy land of millions of Mohammedans.

I had heard of the mysterious Lawrence many times during the months I was in Palestine with



THOMAS LAWRENCE, PRINCE OF MECCA

The Young English Archeologist, More at Home in Arabian Than Western Clothes, Who Became Commander-in-Chief of the Arabian Army. Will Go Down in History As One of the Most Romantic Figures of the War

General Allenby. On my way from Italy to Egypt, one of the officers on the cruiser told me that an Englishman was supposed to be in command of an army of wild Bedouins somewhere in the trackless deserts of the far-off land of the Arabian Nights. This was the first rumor that reached me of Lawrence's exploits. In Egypt and Palestine I heard fantastic tales of his exploits. And always his name was mentioned in solemn hushed tones because at this time the Arabian affair was supposed to be a secret. Lawrence became to me a new oriental legend of the war in the making, and until the day I met him in the palace of the Governor of Jerusalem I had been unable to picture him as a real person. Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, Bagdad, in fact all the cities of the Near East, are so full of color and ro-

mance that the mere mention of them is sufficient to stimulate the imagination of matter-of-fact westerners, who are suddenly spirited away on the magic carpet of memory to scenes familiar through the fairy story books of childhood. So I had come to the conclusion that Lawrence was the product only of western imagination overheated by exuberant contact with the East. But the myth turned out to be very much of a reality. The five-foot-three Englishman standing before me in his brown camel's hair gown, over which hung his kuffieh or head-dress of heavy white brocaded silk covered with gold embroidery, underneath a snow white robe tied with a gold embroidered belt in which he carried the curved sword of a prince of Mecca, all set off regally by the agal, the head band of heavy



LAWRENCE AND HIS BODYGUARD IN THE TRACKLESS DESERT OF ARABY

The Germans and the Turks Put a Price of Five Hundred Thousand Dollars on Lawrence's Head When They Learned Through Spies That It Was He Who Was the Guiding Spirit of the Arabian Revolution, but the Bedouins Would Not Have Betrayed Their Idolized Leader for All the Gold in the Fabled Mines of Solomon

cords wrapped with silver and gold threads that held the kuffieh in place—was the real ruler of Arabia. He was the commander-in-chief of an army of more than 200,000 Bedouins mounted on racing camels and fleet Arabian horses. He was the terror of the Turks. Destiny had never played a stranger prank than when it selected as the man to play the major role in the liberation of Arabia an Oxford graduate whose life ambition was to dig in the ruins of antiquity and uncover and study long-forgotten cities.

I was greatly impressed with Lawrence from the first. Realizing that he was a man destined to occupy a prominent position in history and not knowing at the time that it would be my good fortune to join him later in Arabia as the only person given the opportunity of recording his almost unbelievable achievements, I spent a good deal of time with him during the following days in Jerusalem before he returned to his Arabian army. When Lawrence was in the company of officers who were more or less strangers to him, he usually sat in a corner, listening intently to everything that was being said, but contributing nothing to the conversation himself. After we became better acquainted through his discovery that archeology held a fascination for me also, he would invariably, when we were alone, get up from his chair and squat on the floor Bedouin fashion. He had lived

so long in the desert that it was more natural for him to act like an Arab nomad than a European. I made many unsuccessful attempts to induce him to tell something of his life, but he always adroitly changed the subject. Even concerning his connection with the Arabian army, he would say nothing except to give the credit for everything that had happened in the desert campaigns to the Arab leaders. The only subjects on which I could persuade him to talk in other than monosyllables were archeology and Near Eastern politics.

So carefully did he keep his intimate life out of his work that, although I asked everyone I met about his past, no one seemed to know anything about him. Later, I met at the British headquarters in Cairo a Commander David George Hogarth, a well known professor at Oxford and an Arabian explorer and geographer, who was Lawrence's most intimate friend. But Commander Hogarth was very much the same type as Lawrence. They both were inclined to be hermits, and Hogarth guarded Lawrence more jealously than the young British leader of Arabs did himself. However, little by little, I picked up before I left the East odd bits of information about Lawrence. His home is in Oxford and his family belong to the middle class intellectual type. During his university career at Oxford he was noted

for being a recluse. Frequently he would disappear most unexpectedly from the university for long tramps across England and Scotland. Before he finished his university work, he urged his parents to allow him to go to the Near East because of his interest in the archeology of Asia

little incident that illustrated Lawrence's keen sense of humor. At that time, in 1914, just before the outbreak of the war, the German engineers were working feverishly along the road of the proposed Berlin to Bagdad Railway. Lawrence and his brother, who was later killed on the western



BEDOUIN CAVALRY READY FOR SERIOUS BUSINESS

If the Traditional Small Band of Armed and Mounted Bedawi Has Struck Terror to the Hearts of Travelers in Arabia, It Is Not Difficult to Understand Why the Turks Fled before a United Arabian Army

Minor. His family finally gave him permission and two hundred dollars, fully expecting that he would spend it all in a flying Cook's tour of Palestine and Syria, and then return home glad to settle down and forget the Orient. But he scorned tourist comforts and the beaten track. As soon as he arrived in Syria he adopted native costume and tramped barefoot over hundreds of miles of unknown desert country, living with the various Bedouin tribes through whose villages he passed. He returned to England merely to finish his archeological studies that he might return better equipped in his specialty to the East.

The outbreak of the great war found him excavating Hittite ruins in the valley of the Euphrates. Lawrence had been for some time aware of the seriousness of the situation in the Near East, and realized that a crash was imminent. A Captain Young who had known Lawrence in Mesopotamia before he entered the British army, told me a

front, were excavating ruins in the hills above the railway route. He would frequently mount sections of drainage pipe on small mounds of sand on top of the hills. When the German engineers observed the innocent pipes through their field glasses they mistook them for British cannon. On at least two occasions they wired to Constantinople and to Berlin that the British were fortifying the most commanding positions in the country. The young archeologist was laughing up his sleeve, but, seriously, he was disappointed because he felt that his own Government had gone to sleep and allowed the Germans to acquire almost complete control of the territory between the Bavarian border and the Persian Gulf. In 1912 England, Germany, Russia, France and Turkey signed a treaty that gave the Germans the right to go ahead with the Berlin to Bagdad line, and what was even more significant, gave them control of Alexandretta, perhaps the most strategical point in the Near East.

As soon as Lawrence learned the outcome of that conference, he rushed to Cairo to see Lord Kitchener and asked him why England had permitted Germany to get control of Alexandretta. Kitchener replied, "I warned our foreign office constantly that their policy would be a fatal one, but they failed to heed me. Within two years there will be a world war. We can't stop it, so run along, young man, and sell your papers."

Lawrence went back to his ancient ruins and toiled lovingly over inscriptions that unlocked the secrets of civilizations that flourished and crumbled to dust thousands of years ago. But with many other scientists and scholars, he was called back to Cairo by the British military authorities in August, 1914. At that time he was twenty-six years old. He had already spent seven years wandering through Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia and acquired a more intimate knowledge of the peoples of Aleppo, Beirut, Jerusalem, Damascus, Baghdad and Basrah, than any other European.

Because the military authorities knew that Lawrence had lived among Arabs, Kurds and Turks and that from his exploration expeditions he might be expected to have a fairly good knowledge of the unfamiliar regions of the Near East, he was given a commission as second lieutenant in the map department. The British generals spent many hours pouring over maps and discussing the possibilities of different plans for breaking up the Turkish Empire. Frequently they would outline a scheme for a campaign and then ask the young lieutenant if he had any suggestions to make. He would often reply, "There are many good points in your plan, but I believe it is fundamentally wrong. I think the campaign should be carried out as follows." And he would point, by way of explanation, to short cuts across valleys, which he alone knew from his years of barefoot traveling. The most staid old regular army officer on the staff put their confidence in this junior lieutenant who did not know the A B C's of army tactics. His suggestions were adopted. In a short time he had established a considerable reputation for himself at headquarters and became known to all the command-



DRUSES FROM THE HAURAN EAST OF GALILEE

*These People Are Not Mohammedans, But Have a Secret Faith in Which the Worship of a Mad Dead Caliph of Egypt, Believed to Be an Incarnation of God, Plays a Central Part. That the Druses Adhered to the Cause of Arabia Was Significant Proof of the Attitude Toward Turkey*

ing officers of the British forces in the East. Later on, in Arabia, Lawrence frequently outwitted the Turks because of his superior knowledge of the topography of the country. Whenever he attacked the enemy he tried to outflank them in the rear when they were not expecting an attack, as at the battles of Akaba and Abael Lissan. Although he had never had previous military experience, he was a born strategist and outthought and outwitted the Turkish and German commanders in practically every engagement from the time he captured the seaport of El-Wijh until he swept into Damascus.

Not long after Lawrence had been called to Cairo, the Arabs broke out in revolt against the Turks in the country of the Hejaz, which is that part of Arabia between the forbidden city of Mecca and the southern end of the Dead Sea. Because

of the scarcity of arms and ammunition in the desert, the revolutionary Arabs ran out of supplies after their first success. It would have been impossible for them to go on, if the Allies—Great Britain in particular—had not come to their rescue. The British not only sent supplies to the Arabs, but gave them more important military encouragement; they sent a number of their most brilliant young officers to cooperate with the Arabs and offer them suggestions. At the time of the Arab revolt, General Sir Archibald Murray, commander-in-chief of the British forces in the East, and all the members of his staff, were unanimous in the opinion that Lieutenant Lawrence should be one of the men sent into the desert.

In order to understand the complicated problem Lawrence faced and the overwhelming odds against him, it is necessary to take a swift retrospective glance at the history of Arabia. The Arabian Peninsula is larger than the whole region of the United States lying east of the Mississippi. The distance from Damascus to Aleppo alone is greater than the distance from New York to Birmingham, Alabama, and great sweeps of desert separate nearly all the important points. For thousands of years this country has been inhabited by wandering tribes of Bedouins and Arab villagers. Although there is a population of over twenty million people in Arabia, the inhabitants have been only loosely held together by travel alliances, something like those that existed among American Indians a century ago. For centuries no one had been able to bring these peoples together in one unified movement. Scores of generals, statesmen and Sultans had struggled with the almost impossible mission. How this young British lieutenant, who had never had a day of military drill in his life, succeeded in creating an army of 200,000 mounted Bedouins, how he swept the Turks from the Arabian Peninsula and built these mosaic peoples into a homogeneous nation, is a story that I should have hesitated to believe had I not actually been with him in the desert.

The inhabitants of Arabia belong to the Semitic race and are of the same general family as the Jews. Some authorities say that Kahtan, the son of Abeis, the son of Shalah, the son of Arfakhshad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, was the first person to speak the Arabic language. I know of no way of refuting that grave charge against Kahtan, but I do know that after my experience in Arabia I wished he might have used better judgment and selected Eskimo or some other simple language instead. Mohammed, the camel boy of Mecca, was the first person to bind together in any sort of unity the peoples of Arabia. He was able to accomplish this through his religious teachings and evangelization. That was more than a

thousand years ago. After the death of Mohammed, Abu Bekr and Ali carried Mohammedanism throughout nearly the whole world as it was known at that time. Their armies swept across the Near East, southeastern Europe, Africa and Spain. The Arabian Empire attained its zenith in the seventh century of this era, and its decline began after the defeat of the Moslem armies at the Battle of Tours in A. D. 732 by Charles Martel. As the power and influence of the Arabs slipped away from them it was usurped by the Ottomans who swept down out of Central Asia. For five hundred years the Turks have governed the Arabs as though they were an inferior race. At almost any time in those five centuries the desert peoples could have freed themselves had they been able to unite. But from the reign of Harun-al-Rashid down to the present time no one appeared in the Near East strong enough to bring the Arabs together. It remained for young Thomas Lawrence, the British archeologist, to go into holy Arabia and lead the Arabs through the spectacular and triumphant campaign which broke the backbone of the Turkish Empire and the Pan-German dream of world empire.

During all those centuries of oppression, whenever enlightened Arabs objected strongly to the tyrannical rule of the Turks, the Sultan would invite them to take up their residence in Constantinople, where they would either be held as prisoners or would be quietly put out of the way. Abdul Hamid, the last great Sultan of Turkey, was an expert in following the private policy of his predecessors. Among the prominent Arabs whom he found it advisable to have near him at the Sublime Porte was Shereef Hussein of Mecca, the oldest living descendant of Mohammed, and the man really entitled to the Caliphate, since the title of Caliph was originally given to the successors of Mohammed both as spiritual and temporal rulers, and later was usurped by the Turkish masters of Arabia. Shereef Hussein is the sixty-eighth ruler of the Hejaz in the Ottoman period. No people in the world take more pride in their ancestry than the Arabs. The births in all the leading princely families are recorded in Mecca at the holy Kaaba, a mosque built around a black meteoric stone, the most sacred spot in the world to millions of Moslems. Here on the roll of parchment on which each ruling Emir of Mecca has written his title, is inscribed the name of Hussein Ibn Ali, recording the pure and direct descent of the Shereef from the prophet of Islam. For eighteen years, Shereef Hussein, the rightful Keeper of the Holy Places, was forced to live with his family on the Bosphorus, virtually prisoners, under the wary eye of the Red Sultan.

In the Young Turk movement the Arabs thought they saw the dawn of a new era of freedom and



A BEDOUIN SHEIK MOUNTED ON HIS METTLED THOROUGHBRED  
In Spite of His Fleetness and His Adaptation to the Desert Sands, the Horse Was Forced to Yield to the Camel for Usefulness in the Campaigns Conducted in This Part of the World. It Was Because Thomas Lawrence Was "One of the Finest Camel Drivers That Ever Trekked Across the Desert" That the Arabs Gave Him Their Devoted Allegiance

liberty. In fact, they played an important part in the revolution which resulted in the overthrow of Abdul Hamid. At that time all Arabian, Armenian, Kurd, Greek, Syrian and Jewish political prisoners who had been held in Constantinople were released. But the Arabs soon discovered that the Young Turk leaders were more tyrannical oppressors than bloody old Abdul himself, who now seemed quite respectable in comparison with Enver, Talaat and Djemal. Shereef Hussein and other patriotic Arabs despaired of seeing a happier day for their country, when suddenly the world war pulled Turkey into the maelstrom with Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy pitted against her. It was the hour of opportunity for Arabia. The Arabian nationalist leaders immediately took advantage of it. With all the pent up fury and hatred of five hundred years of slavery and dishonor, they leaped at the throats of their villainous masters. From all parts of the desert came the swarthy, lean, picturesque sons of Ishmael to avenge and free themselves at last.

Shereef Hussein and his four sons had worked out a plan for the revolution which they kept secret until a few weeks before they touched off the fuse.

They did not even dare trust their close associates, because in Turkish territory plots were usually discovered before they matured and no man knew whom he might trust. Not only were there spies, but innumerable spies on spies, and at this time the Young Turks were watching the Arabs as a cat watches a mouse.

Early in June, 1918, when Lawrence was establishing his reputation as an authority on the geography of the Near East at the British headquarters in Cairo, Shereef Hussein sent word to all the tribes of holy Arabia to be ready to rise at a moment's notice. Then, on July 13, he gave the signal. Simultaneous attacks were launched against Mecca, a city holier than Jerusalem to more than 200,000,000 human beings, and Medina, the second holiest Mohammedan city, where the great Prophet is buried. Hussein's sons, Ali and Feisal, were in command of the forces at Medina. Hussein himself supervised the attack on Mecca.

The details regarding the origin of the Shereefian Revolt, as it was called, have never been made public before. The following facts, given to me by Emir Feisal and his lieutenants, were later verified by Lawrence.



AN ARAB BATTERY IN ACTION NEAR DAMASCUS

One of the Most Successful Operations of the War Was the Campaign in the Near East, in Which the Arabs under Lawrence and the British Forces under Marshall in Mesopotamia and Allenby in Palestine Converged to Smash the Turkish Resistance

According to the Emir's story, the Sultan of Turkey had about 20,000 picked troops in Medina, the northernmost of the two holy Arabian cities and the terminus of what is known as the Hejaz Railway, which runs south from Damascus through the desert east of the Jordan River, the Dead Sea and the hills of Moab. Although the Bedouins swarmed down in clouds, the Turks drove them off with their heavy artillery at Medina.

Shereef Hussein was more successful at Mecca. The capture of Mecca will go down in Mohammedan history as one of the four or five great events of all time. It was my privilege to be the first to make public the details of that historic battle, as they were given to me by the Arab chieftains who captured the city and by Mohammed Said el Sak-kaf, Arabian Ambassador to Abyssinia, with whom I cruised across the Red Sea.

Not more than a dozen Christians have succeeded in getting to Mecca, disguised as Mohammedans, and have lived to tell the tale. The most famous of these, of course, was Sir Richard Burton, the British traveler and explorer who translated *The Thousand and One Nights*. Mecca is situated on the edge of rough mountainous country in a deep narrow valley, completely hidden on the side toward the Red Sea. It is surrounded by high rocky cliffs, three of which were crowned with forts garrisoned by the Sultan's most faithful Circassian mercenaries and Turkish troops. On July 13, the day of the attack, the Arabs swept into the city and captured the main bazar, residential section

and also the Mosque of the holy Kaaba. Then for eight days the battle raged around the two smaller forts, which were finally taken. All during the fighting the aged Shereef remained in his palace, although it was hit by over 300 8-inch shells from the Turkish forts.

The Turks undoubtedly would have been able to hold out for many months longer had it not been for their own folly. The Ottoman is a Mohammedan in theory only. He adheres to the ritual but not to the spirit of the Koran. For instance, the Prophet admonished all the Faithful to abstain from the use of intoxicants, and his Arabian followers were never known to drink wines or other liquors. But all the Turks of my acquaintance did. The soldiers in the fort, heedless of the deepest religious feelings of their enemies and co-religionists, suddenly began to bombard the mosque of the Kaaba, the secret shrine built over the famous black stone which has been kissed by millions of pious Moslems. One shell actually struck the rock, burning a hole in the holy carpet and killing nine people who were kneeling in prayer. The Arabs were so enraged at this impious act that they swarmed over the walls of the great fort and captured it after desperate hand to hand fighting with daggers and knives. Thus, twenty-one days after the revolution had broken out, they were in undisputed possession of Mecca. With the possible exception of the combined capture by Allenby of Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut and Aleppo, this is the most disastrous event in modern Turkish



history, because with the fall of Mecca the Ottomans lost the holy Mohammedan city, the control of which had enabled them to usurp the leadership of Islam.

Then came a long pause. The Arabs were unable to go on with their revolution because they had expended all their ammunition. Sherief Hussein sent an appeal to the Allies. At this critical moment young Lawrence appeared on the Arabian stage.

The British General Staff ordered Lawrence to Arabia merely because they knew that he could speak the several languages of the country fluently and seemed to know something about the customs of the people. They expected him only to keep them posted on the progress of events in the Hejaz. At the same time he was given enough freedom of action to make it possible for him to show what he could do to assist the Arabs.

Lawrence's arrival in Arabia was unheralded. His exploits there first became known when he quietly stepped up to General Allenby at Ismailia in Egypt, on the arrival of the great general in the East to take command of the Palestine expeditionary forces, and informed the new commander-in-chief of the capture of Akaba, one of the most important strategic points in the Near East. The incident was dramatic in its simplicity. General Allenby had just been sent out from London to take the place of the previous British commander who had been relieved from his position because results in the East had not been satisfactory. Allenby was standing at the railway station surrounded by officers and throngs of vociferous natives who were welcoming him, when out of the mob stepped an undersized barefooted, fair-faced man in Bedouin garb. He saluted General Allenby and in even low tones without any more expression on his face than if he were extending an invitation from the Sherief for dinner, reported that the Arabs had captured the seaport at the head of the Gulf of Akaba where the great fleet of King Solomon rode at anchor nearly three thousand years ago. Lawrence gave all the credit of the victory to the Arabs and made no reference whatever to the part he had played in the affair. He conveyed the impression that he was acting as a courier, although, as a matter of fact, the capture of that very important point was due almost entirely to his leadership and strategical genius. The most important Turkish base on the western coast of the Arabian Peninsula was at Akaba,

where one of the largest Turkish garrisons in the Near East was stationed. Before the Arabian army could advance north and unite with the British forces under Allenby in the campaign to liberate northern Palestine and Syria, it was necessary for them to capture Akaba. As a result of Lawrence's visit to Egypt the British decided to cooperate more actively with the Arabs than they had done before. Lawrence was sent back to Arabia with unlimited power and resources. In less than seven months he attained such unexpected success that the British raised him in rank from a lieutenant to a colonel, although he had never had a day's military experience in his life and did not even know the difference between "squads right" and "present arms."

During the days I spent with Lawrence in Jerusalem, he wore nothing but Bedouin garb. He



ONE OF LAWRENCE'S "IRREGULARS"

The Mohammedan Soldier Had to Be Provided with a German Mauser Rifle, in Which the Barrel is Made of Nickel Barrel Steel and Does Not Have to Be Cleaned for Two Years. Mohammedans May Not Use Grease in Any Form, Even for Cleaning

never seemed aware of the curiosity excited by his costume on the streets of the Holy City, for he was always engrossed in his own thoughts hundreds of miles or hundreds of centuries away. In Arabia he was never known to wear anything except the native costume. Occasionally when he went to Cairo or Jerusalem to make a report to General Allenby, he wore the uniform of a British officer, but even after he attained the rank of colonel, he preferred the uniform of second lieutenant, usually without insignia of any kind. I have seen him on the streets of Cairo without belt, barracks cap or polished boots—negligence next to high treason in the British army. To my knowledge he was the only British officer in the war who so completely disregarded all the little precisions and military formalities for which the British are famous. Lawrence rarely saluted and when he did, it was simply with a wave of the hand, as though he were saying, "Hello, old top," to a pal. I never saw him stand at attention, and doubt if he would have done so in the presence of all the Allied rulers. He especially disliked the title of colonel. From general to private, he was known as plain "Lawrence." Many times when we were trekking across the desert he told me that he thoroughly disliked war and everything that savored of the military, and that as soon as the war was over he intended to leave the army and go back to archeology.

Lawrence was no parlor conversationalist. He never said anything to anyone unless it was necessary to give instructions, or ask advice, or answer some direct question. Even in the heat of the Arabian campaign he sought solitude. Frequently

I found him in his tent reading an archeological quarterly when the rest of the camp was worked up to fever pitch over the plan of attack for the night. He was so shy that when General Storrs or some other officer tried to compliment him on one of his wild expeditions into the desert he would get as red as a school girl and look down at his feet. Although he had been cited for nearly every decoration that the British and French Governments had to offer, he sedulously ran away from them by camel, aeroplane or any available method of swift transportation. The Duke of Connaught came out to Palestine to confer the Grand Cross of the Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on General Allenby. He intended to give a decoration to Lawrence as well. The young leader of the Arabian army happened, at the time, to be out in the "blue" on a secret expedition blowing up Turkish trains; so General Allenby sent a fleet of aeroplanes across the Dead Sea into the desert to find him. Messages were dropped from the planes on every Arab camp over which they flew, requesting that if anyone saw Shereef Lawrence, he should ask him to report to Jerusalem at once. So one fine day Lawrence came strolling in on foot through the Turkish lines, to show his utter scorn of the enemy. In the meantime the ceremony in Jerusalem had already taken place and the Duke of Connaught had gone to Egypt. Knowing Lawrence's peculiar aversion to the acceptance of medals or military honors of any kind, the British officials succeeded in getting him down to Cairo only by inventing some plausible pretext. Upon his arrival, a subaltern who was not acquainted with



PRINCE FEISAL, SON OF KING HUSSEIN BEN ALI, WITH HIS STAFF AT AKABA

Feisal is Seated in a Chair at the Extreme Right. Squatting Next to Him, Chin in Hand, is Colonel Lawrence



THE FRONDED PALMS OF AKABA WITH BRITISH SHIPS LYING IN THE GULF BEYOND

This Arabian Village, with its Stone Houses Roofed with Cloth of Camels' Hair and Goat Skins, Had to Be Captured from the Turks Before the Arabian Army Could Advance North to Unite with the British Forces under Allenby. It Was Due to Lawrence's Leadership and Strategic Genius That It Fell

Lawrence's eccentricities inadvertently tipped him off to the fine affair that was to be staged for his benefit. Without stopping to pick up his uniform and kit at Shepherd's Hotel, Lawrence hurried to the headquarters of the Royal Flying Corps at the oasis of Heliopolis a few miles from Cairo, jumped into an aeroplane and taxied back to Arabia.

Little did Lawrence dream when he was studying Hittite ruins that it was his destiny to build a new empire instead of piecing together for a scholar's thesis, the fragments of a dead and buried kingdom. Yet he gained the confidence of the Shereef of Mecca (King Hussein of the Hejaz) to such an extent that he was permitted to sign the King's name to state papers. Out of gratitude for his services to their country, the Arab leaders made him an emir and prince of Mecca, an honor unparalleled in Arabian history. King Hussein himself presented his British commander with the curved gold sword, worn only by direct descendants of Mohammed.

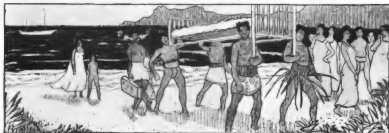
Auda Abu Tyi, always sincere in his judgments of people, once said to me: "I have never seen a man who has such a great capacity for work as Lawrence. He is one of the finest camel drivers

that ever trekked across the desert." A Bedouin can pay no nobler compliment.

Lawrence won the admiration and undying devotion of the Arabs because of his understanding of them, through his proficiency in their dialects and his rare knowledge of their religion, an inestimable factor in settling disputes between antagonistic factions, and even more, perhaps, because of his fearlessness and reckless courage, his ability to outdo them in nearly everything in which they themselves excelled. Rarely did he take them on an expedition that failed but if, by some mischance, things did go wrong, he promptly took the same organization of Arabs on another expedition to convince them that there was no such thing as defeat. And in going into action against the Turks, Lawrence always charged at the head of his troops and was in the thick of every fight. The Germans and Turks were not long in discovering that there was a mysterious power giving inspiration to the Arabs. Through their spies they learned that Lawrence was the guiding spirit of the whole Arabian Revolution. They offered a reward of \$500,000 for him, dead or alive. But the Bedouins would not have betrayed their idolized leader for all the gold in the fabled mines of Solomon.

# ATUONA GOES TO CHURCH

By FREDERICK O'BRIEN and ROSE WILDER LANE



A TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF NATIVE CHIEFS BEARING THE MARVELLOUS GOLDEN BED FROM ATUONA BEACH UP THE VALLEY ROAD TO BE INSTALLED IN ITS NEW QUARTERS AT THE HOUSE OF APPHO

**I**N the first tropic dawn of a bright Sunday morning I landed on Atuona beach for the second time, prepared to remain for a year among the cannibal peoples of Bloody-Hive-Oe, capital of the southern group of the Marquesas Islands.

Slowly the schooner *Morning Star* had crept from the wide, empty seas into the Bay of Traitors and felt its way to anchorage in a long, narrow passage between spray-dashed walls of granite lashed fiercely by the sea. All along the cliffs were coconut palms, magnificent, waving their green fronds in the breeze. Darker green, the mountains towered above them, and far on the higher slopes we saw wild goats leaping from crag to crag and wild horses running in the upper valleys. A score or more of white ribbons depended from the lofty heights, and through the binoculars I saw them to be waterfalls. They were like silver cords swaying in the wind, but when brought nearer by the glasses some of them were revealed as heavy torrents, while others, gauzy as wisps of chiffon, hardly veiled the black walls behind them. The whole island dripped. The air was saturated, the decks were wet, and along the shelves of basalt that jutted from the cliffs a hundred blow-holes spouted and roared.

There upon the deck I determined not to leave until I had lived for a time amid these wild scenes. My intention had been to voyage with the *Morning Star*, returning with her to Tahiti, but a mysterious voice called to me from the dusky valleys. I could not depart without penetrating into those abrupt and melancholy depths of forest, without endeavoring, though ever so feebly, to stir the cold brew of legend and tale, fast disappearing under stupor and forgetfulness.

Lying Bill, the captain, protested volubly. Gedge, the shrewd, unscrupulous trader, joined him in

serious opposition to the plan, urging that there was no hotel, club, lodging or food for a stranger. But I was determined to stay, though I must sleep beneath a breadfruit tree.

"Well, if you will stay," said Gedge, and the trader's look came into his eyes, "I've got just the thing you want. You don't want to lie on a mat where the thousand-legs can get you—and when they get you, you die. You want to live right. Now listen to me. I got the best brass bed ever a king slept on. Double thickness, heavy brass bed; looks like solid gold. Springs that would hold the schooner, double-thick mattress, sheets and pillows all embroidered like it belonged to a duchess. Fellow that I bought it for was going to be married, but now he's lying up there on the mountain in a bed they dug for him. I'll let you have it cheap—three hundred francs. It's worth double. What do you say?"

A brass bed, a golden bed in the cannibal islands! "It's a go," I said.

On the deck of the *Morning Star* I beheld the packing-cases brought up from the hold and my new purchase, with all its parts and appurtenances, loaded in a ship's boat with the box that held my gold. So I arrived in Atuona for the second time, high astride the sewed-up mattress on top of the metal parts, and so deftly did the Tahitians handle the oars that, though we rode the surf right up to the creeping jungle flowers that met the tide on Atuona beach, I was not wet except by spray.

Our arrival was watched by a score of Marquesan chiefs, who hastened down to the shore. Their curiosity could not be restrained. A score of eager hands stripped the coverings from the brass bed and exposed the glittering head and foot pieces in the brilliant sunlight. Exclamations of amazement

and delight greeted the marvel. This was another wonder from the white man's isles, indicative of wealth and royal taste. From all sides, other natives came hastening. My brass bed and I were the center of a gesticulating circle, dark eyes rolled with excitement and naked shoulder jostled shoulder. Three chiefs, tattooed and haughty, personally erected the bed, and then I disclosed the purpose of the mattress and placed it in position. Every woman present now pushed forward and begged the honor of being allowed to bounce upon it. This became a diversion attended with high honor. Controversies meantime raged about the bed. Many voices estimated the number of mats that would be required to equal the thickness of the mattress, but none found a comparison worthy of its softness and elasticity.

In the midst of the *mêlée* one woman, whose eyes and facial contour betrayed Chinese blood, pushed forward and, pointing to the glittering center of attraction, repeated over and over, "Kiaskiiskissa? Kiaskiiskissa?" For the moment I was disposed to credit her with a sudden affection for me, but soon resolved her query into the French, "*Qu'est-ce que c'est que ça? What is that?*"

She was Apporo, wife of Puhei, Great Fern, she said, and she owned a house in which her father, a Chinese, had recently died. This house she earnestly desired to give me in exchange for the golden bed, and we struck a bargain. I was to live in the house of Apporo and, on departing, to leave her the bed. Great Fern, her husband, was called to seal the compact. He was a giant in stature, dark skinned, with a serene countenance and crisp hair. They agreed to clean the house thoroughly and to give me possession at once. They were really mad to have the bed, and could hardly give over examining it, crawling beneath it, smoothing the mattress and fingering the springs. They shook it, poked it, patted it, and finally Apporo, filled with feminine pride, arrogated to herself the sole privilege of bouncing upon it.

Lam Kai Oo, an aged Chinese, meantime attached himself to me and sang the praises of an abandoned bake-shop of his own.

"You savee thlat Apporo house belong lep'," he argued earnestly. "My sto'e littee dirty, but I fix-um. You go thlat lep' house, bimeby flinger dlop, toe dlop, nose he go." He grimaced frightfully, and indicated in pantomime the ravages of leprosy upon the human form.

His appeal was in vain. The Golden Bed, upraised on the shoulders of four stalwart chiefs, began its triumphal progress up the valley road. Behind it officiously walked my newly acquired valet, Exploding Eggs, puffed up with importance, regarded on all sides with respect as *Tueni Oki Kiki*, Keeper of the Golden Bed, but jostled for posi-

tion by Apporo, envied of women. Behind them up the rough road hastened the rest of the village, eager to see the installation of the marvel in its new quarters, and I leisurely followed the barbaric procession.

My new residence was a mile from the beach, and off the main thoroughfare, though this mattered little. The roads built decades ago by the French are so ruined by neglect that not a thousand feet of them remain in all the Marquesas. No wheel supports a vehicle, not even a wheelbarrow. Trails thread the valleys and climb the hills, and traffic is by horse and human. The Golden Bed, lurching precariously in the narrow path, led me through tangled jungle growth to my new home, a small house painted bright blue and roofed with corrugated iron. Set in the midst of the forest, it was raised from the ground on a *paepae*, a great platform made of basalt stones, black, smooth and big, the very flesh of the Marquesas Islands. Every house built by a native since their time began has been set on a *paepae*, and mine had been erected in days before the memory of any living man. It was fifty feet broad, and as long, raised eight feet from the earth, and was reached by worn steps.

Above the small blue-walled house the rocky peak of Temetiu rose steeply four thousand feet into the air, its lower reaches clothed with jungle vines and trees, its summit dark green under a clear sky, but black when the sun was hidden. Most of the hours of the day it was but a dim shadow above a belt of white clouds, but up to its mysterious heights a broken ridge climbed sheer from the valley, and upon it browsed the wild boar and the crag-loving goat. Beside the house a river brawled through a greenwood of breadfruit, coconut, *vi*-apple and mango trees. The tropical heat distilled from their leaves a drowsy woodland odor which filled the two small whitewashed rooms, and the shadows of the trees, falling through the wide unglassed windows, made a sun-flecked pattern on the black stone floor. Here my Golden Bed was set down, and a still awe-struck assemblage gazed at it and at Apporo, enthroned upon it, while the chiefs rolled their tattooed eyes wistfully and murmured "*Namu? Rum?*" Here and there empty coconut shells appeared as by magic, and attention was divided between the splendor of the bed and the possible promise of my bags, which certain thoughtful ones had carried up the trail unasked.

Through the crystal air the mission bells were ringing faintly clear from the valley below, an admonition disregarded while the watered rum went round. Conscience reasserted itself with the re-locking of the bag, however, and wistful-eyed guests remembered their church duties. They departed, lingering each for one more look at the glittering royal couch. Exploding Eggs and I soon

followed them, leaving Apporo to rejoice alone in my future home, now rechristened the House of the Golden Bed.

Opposite the spacious mission grounds the worshippers were gathered beneath two gnarled banyan groves whose twisted fantastic boughs and grotesque roots made grottos of shade. Behind them a long hedge of bananas bordered the coconut plantations of the church, and across the narrow road rose the chapel, the priest's residence and the nuns' house, with several school buildings now empty because of the French anti-clerical law. Suddenly, as I passed the waiting savages, I caught a sight that transfixed me. In the shadow of the



APPORO ENJOYING HER SOLE PRIVILEGE OF BOUNCING  
UPON THE GOLDEN BED

church I saw the Christ upon the cross on Calvary. The sublime figure was in the agony of expiration, and at the foot of the cross stood the ever faithful mother and the loving John in attitudes of amazement and grief. The reality was startling; for a moment I forgot all about me. Over the bronze figures and white cross hung the branches of a lofty breadfruit tree, a congruous canopy for such a group. The Bread of Life, in truth.

"The *tiki* of the true god," said a Marquesan woman, observing my gaze, and crossed herself with the fervor of a believer in a charm.

On the roof a score of doves were cooing as we fled into the church. Bas-reliefs of cherubs and seraphim were set over the doorway, fat distorted bodies with wings awry, yet with a celestial vision

showing through the crude workmanship. A loop-holed buttress on either side of the façade spoke of the day when the forethought of the builders planned for defense should the congregation attack the Christian fathers. Inside the doorway a French nun in blue robes tugged at a rope depending from the belfry, and above us the bells rang out from two tiny towers. She looked curiously at me and at Exploding Eggs, my companion, her pale peasant's face hard, homely, unhealthy; then she kicked at a big dog that was trying to drink the holy water from a clam-shell beside the door. "*Allez, Satan!*" she said.

The *bénitier*, large enough to immerse an infant, was fixed to a board, a fascinating old bracket carved with the instruments of torture, the nails, the spear, the scourge and thorns. Ivory and pearl, stained by a century or more, were inlaid. As I dipped my hand in the shell a huge lizard that made his home in the hollow of the bracket ran across my knuckles.

Within, there were seats with kneeling planks, hewed out of hard wood and still bearing the marks of the adze. Upon them the congregation soon assembled, the men on one side, the women on the other. As they entered the door the women put on their hats, native weaves in semi-sailor style, decorated with Chinese silk shawls or brightly colored handkerchiefs, and each cast an eye upon the garments of her neighbors, red or yellow cotton gowns of the hideous night-gown pattern introduced by the missionaries. All were barefooted; the older women were tattooed in scrolls on ears and neck, and their lips were marked in faint stripes of the blue *ama*-ink. The old men, their eyes ringed with tattooing, or half their faces uniformly blue with it, wore earrings and necklaces of whale's teeth.

The church was painted white, with frescoes and dados of gaudy hues and windows of crudely colored glass. Outside the altar railing was a charming Child in the Manger, lying on real straw, surrounded by the Virgin, Joseph, the Magi, the shepherds and the kings, all in bright-hued robes, and pleasant-looking cows and asses with red eyes and green tails.

The singing began before the priest came from the sacristy. The men sang alone and the women followed in an alternating chant that at times rose into a wail and again had the nasal sound of the bagpipe. The Catholic chant sung thus in Marquesan took on a wild, barbaric rhythm that thrilled the blood and made the hair tingle on the scalp. Bishop David le Cadre appeared in elegant vestments, his eyes grave above a foot-long white beard, and the mass began. The acolyte was very agile in a short red cassock, beneath which showed his naked legs and bare feet. The people responded often through the mass, rising, sitting down and

kneeling obediently. Ah Kee Au, an aged Chinese, was the sole communicant at the rail. No cloth was spread, but the bell announced the mystery of trans-substantiation, and all bowed their heads while Ah Kee Au reverently offered his communion to the welfare of Napoleon, his grandson, who had accidentally shot himself.

The service over, the people poured from the church into the brilliant sunshine of the road, and Ah Kee Au said to me, "You savee that communico' bleed b'long my place. My son makes for pliest." Lam Kai Oo, pressing forward, offered the communicant a draught of fiery rum he had obtained by the governor's permission. He had been told that to give a glass of water to a communicant, who must have fasted and abstained from any liquid since midnight according to the law of the Church, was a holy act which brought the giver a blessing, and so the subtle Chinese thought to make the blessing greater by offering a drink better than water. Ah Kee Au drank with fervor.

"Me makee holy thliss morn," he said gladly. "Makee Napoleon more happy."

Sincerity is not concerned with broken English or a drink of rum; the poor old grandfather of the Little Corporal's namesake believed earnestly that Napoleon would improve by his sacramental offering. He, like most Marquesans, took the white man's religion with little understanding. It is new magic to them, occupation, entertainment. But who understands the mystery of the human soul?

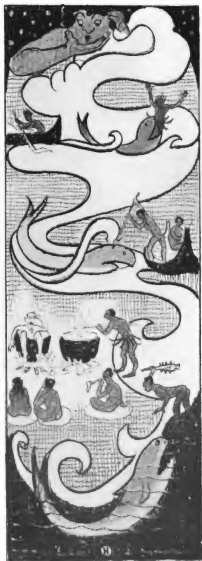
That afternoon my neighbors gathered from far and near to lounge the sunny hours away in conversation on my paepae. Squatted on the mats, they engaged in serious discussion of the puzzles of religion, appealing to me for explanations.

Their native tongue has no word for religion. Bishop Dordillon was obliged to translate it, "*Te mea e hahatika me te mea e hana mea kaoha toitoi*

*i te Etna*," which might be rendered, "Belief in the works and love of a just God." Etna, often spelled Atua, was the name of Divinity among all Maori peoples, but religion was so associated with natural things, the phenomena of nature, of the heavens and the sea, that it was part of natural life and needed no word to distinguish it. Never was a people less able to comprehend the creeds and formulae in which the religious beliefs of white men are clothed. Marquesans are not deep thinkers. In fact, they have a word, *takoa*, which means "A headache from thinking." Ten years of nobly self-



THE MARQUESAN WOMEN ATTENDING MASS ARE DRESS IN RED OR YELLOW COTTON NIGHT-GOWNS WHILE THE MEN, THOUGH THEY WEAR LITTLE CLOTHING, ARE GENERALLY TATTOOED AND HAVE EARRINGS AND WHALE-TOOTH NECKLACES



THE PERPLEXITIES OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AFFECT THE MARQUESANS WITH "TAHOA" HEADACHE FROM THINKING

sacrificing work by missionaries left the islands with not a single soul converted. It was not until the chiefs began to set the seal of their approval on the new outlandish faiths that the people flocked to the standard of the cross. And when they did begin to meditate upon the doctrines preached to them as necessary beliefs in order to win salvation, their heads ached indeed.

Even after years of faithful church-going many of my friends still struggled with their doubts, and when they were propounded to me I was fain to wrinkle my own brow and ponder deeply.

The burning question as to the color of Adam and Eve had long been settled: Adam and Eve were brown, like themselves. But if, as the priests said was most probable, Adam and Eve had received pardon and were in heaven, why had their guilt stained all mankind?

Also, would Satan have been able to tempt Eve if God had not made the Tree of Knowledge *tapu*? Was not knowledge a good thing? What motive had led the Maker and Knower of all things to do this deed?

What made the angels fall? Pride, said the priests. Then how did it get into Heaven? demanded the perplexed.

The resurrection of the body at the last judgment horrified them. This fact, said Great Fern, had led to the abandonment of the old manner of burying corpses in a sitting posture, the face between the knees and the hands under the thighs, the whole bound round with cords. Obviously, a man buried in such a position would rise deformed. Their dead, in the cemetery on the heights, slept now in long coffins of wood, their limbs at ease. But other and less premeditated interments still befell the unwary islander. What would God do in cases where a shark had eaten a Marquesan? And what, when the same shark had then been killed by other Marquesans? And in the case of the early Christian fathers, who were eaten by men of other tribes, and afterward the cannibals eaten in retaliation, and then the last feaster eaten by sharks? *Aue!* There was a headache query!

At this point in the discussion an aged stranger from the valley of Taaoa, a withered man whose naked chest was covered with intricate tattooing, laid down his pipe and artlessly revealed his idea of the communion service. It was, he thought, a religious cannibalism, no more. And he was puzzled that his people should be told that it was wrong to feed on the flesh of a fellow human creature when they were urged to "eat the body and drink the blood" of *Ietu Kirito* Himself.

Many years later, in that far-away America so incomprehensible to my simple savage friends, I read beneath the light of an electric lamp a paragraph in *Folkways*, by William Graham Sumner



of Yale: "Language used in communion about eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ refers to nothing in our mores and appeals to nothing in our experience. It comes down from very remote ages; very probably from cannibalism." The printed page vanished, and before my eyes rose a vision of my paepae among the breadfruit trees, the ring of squatting dusky figures in flickering sun-lit leaf-shade, Kake in her red tunic with the babe at her breast, Exploding Eggs standing by with a half-eaten coconut, and the many dark eyes in their circles of ink fixed upon the shriveled face of the aged cannibal whose head ached with the mysteries of the white man's religion.

None too soon for me, the talk turned upon history, whose tales in my guests' minds were confused with those of the saints. Great Fern insisted that if the English roasted Joan of Arc they ate her, because no man would apply live coals, which pain exceedingly, to any living person, and fire was never placed upon a human body save to cook it for food. This theory seemed reasonable to most of the listeners, for since such cruelty as the Marquesans practised in their native state was thoughtless and never intentional, the idea of torture was incomprehensible to their simple minds.

Malicious Gossip, a comely savage of twenty-five with false coffee-leaves in her hair, declared that the Governor had told her the English roasted Joan of Arc because she was a heretic. The statement was received with startled protests by those who had themselves recently incurred the heresy charge.

"Exploding Eggs," said I hastily, "make tea for all." Every shade vanished from shining eyes when I produced the bottle of rum and added a spoonful of flavor to each brimming shellful. All perplexing questions were forgotten and simple social pleasure reigned once more on my paepae, while Great Fern explained to me his idea of the devil.

The Marquesan deity of darkness was Po, a vague and elemental spirit. But the *kuhane anera moana* of the new religion had definite and fearful attributes explained by the priests. So Great Fern conceived him as a kind of cross between a man and a boar, with a tail forked like that of a shark, running through the forests with a bunch of lighted candlenuts and setting fire to the homes of the wicked. And the wicked? Morals, as white man knows them, had nothing to do with sin in Great Fern's mind. The wicked were the unkind, those cruel to children, wives who made bad popoi, and whites with rum privileges who forgot hospitality.

Non-Christians may grin at the efforts of missionaries among heathens. But the missionaries are the one influence for good in the Marquesas since the white man came; they are the only force striving to mitigate the misery and ruin brought by the white man's system of trade. The extension

of civilized commerce has crushed every natural impulse towards brotherliness, kindness and generosity, destroyed every good and clean custom of these children of nature. Whatever the errors of the men of God, they have given their lives day by day in unrelenting, self-sacrificing toil, suffering much to give these despoiled people a faith in a better world hereafter. In so far as they have failed, they have failed because they have lacked what proselytizing religion has always lacked—a joy in life that seeks to make this mundane exist-



PO, THE MARQUESEAN SPIRIT OF DARKNESS, WITH HIS BOAR'S FACE AND FORKED TAIL

ence more endurable, humor and a broad simplicity.

The Marquesans had a joyful religion, full of humor and abandon, dances and chants, exaltation of Nature and of the greatness of their race, a worship that was, despite its ghastly rites of human sacrifice, a stimulus to life. The efforts of missionaries have killed the joy of living as they have crushed out the old barbarities, uprooting everything, both good and bad, that religion meant to the native. They have given him instead rites that mystify him, imponderable dogmas, and a little comfort in the miseries brought upon him by trade.

Upon this people, sparklingly alive, spirited as wild horses, not depressed as were their conquerors by a heritage of thousands of years of submission to masters, religion has been at best a narcotic, easing a little the death of a race by whose murder the white man's civilization has gained a small trade profit.

# THE CASE OF CHINA AND JAPAN

By "AMERICUS"

(Second Paper)

**I**N a previous article I have attempted an impartial discussion of certain national traits of Chinese and Japanese character bearing on any solution to the grave political situation of the present moment. I shall now continue the discussion, with particular reference to the historical evolution of Japan's political point of view.

Why is it that even old friends of the Japanese are now asking themselves what is the matter with Japan? How is it that this country, which only lately was so weak and suffered so many humiliations at the hands of western nations, seems deliberately to have set herself to persecute her helpless neighbor, interfering in China's domestic affairs in a way that foreigners never attempted in Japan, demanding privileges and concessions that no western power ever demanded of Japan in her days of weakness, and more far reaching than even the most extravagant of the many unjust demands enforced on China by the powers of Western Europe?

One explanation would seem to be that Japan has been for a generation in the grip of a military clique, entrenched in the prestige of two successful wars, that has viewed nearly every question of domestic and international politics from a militaristic and mediaeval point of view. In domestic affairs these men have felt that it was important above all things to maintain the prestige of the throne and of the official hierarchy to which they belonged. To ensure the loyalty of the people they have done their best to develop and maintain the idea of the sovereign as a semi-divine personage, whose very name must be considered so sacred that to use it in ordinary conversation is a serious breach of etiquette. In accordance with this program the school books have contained, under the guise of serious history, legendary accounts of the divine origin of the dynasty, which are on a par with the *Nibelungen Lied*, or Livy's tales of the origin of the Roman kingdom. Not content with this, they have tied the hands of all conscientious historical investigators into early Japanese history, knowing that the result of such researches would be convincing proof that the unification of Japan and the founding of the imperial house came at a much later date, and in a much less awe-inspiring manner than would appear from the traditional accounts.

Now it may well be that to the common people, who have sincerely believed these tales, no great harm has been done. Indeed, there is much that

one cannot help admiring in the deep respect and self-sacrificing loyalty felt by the people for the sovereign. But the deliberate propagation by the ruling class of a lie in which they themselves are no longer able to believe has had in recent years a pernicious effect on the members of that class and has done much to give them those qualities of insincerity and artificiality of which their enemies complain, for there is no denying that they are constantly playing a part and on certain subjects feel always obliged to withhold their real opinions. Naturally this habit of mind also tends to govern their attitude on other questions, even such as are only remotely or not at all connected with the position of the reigning house. A part of this same policy has been the building up of an exclusive and privileged office-holding class, admission to which is based on a severely competitive system of education and examination, though in subsequent advancement personal influence plays an important rôle. The teachers who train the future office-holders are themselves officials, and if one quality more than any other can be said to characterize this class it is probably a cautious stand-pat attitude on every potentially dangerous question, in order not to imperil a profitable and hard-earned official position, with its little share of artificial glory reflected from the throne. It is not strange that with such a system few really straightforward and independent officials are turned out. There are in Japan many free and courageous spirits who do not hesitate to criticize the government very severely, but they do not thrive in official circles. Probably because they realize, even though only sub-consciously, the moral weakness of the foundation they have laid for their imperial government, the dominant group exhibits an almost amusing fear of open discussion of socialistic or even democratic doctrines. The latest demonstration of this has been the cool reception given the offer of an American friend to endow a chair of American history in the Imperial University at Tokyo.

In spite of their success in conducting their wars with China and Russia, the military leaders of Japan are not as a rule men of broad education, nor have they any adequate conception of conditions outside their own country. Few of the older and more influential men can speak or even read any foreign languages with ease, and since they have not traveled extensively their horizon is limited. Accustomed as they are to an exaggerated



Richard Ward Steadley

#### THE BUND AT CANTON, THE FIRST CHINESE PORT OPENED TO FOREIGN TRADE

The Chinese Say "Everything New Originates in Canton," and it is True That the Cantonese Have Traveled More and Come in Contact with More Outside Influences Than the People of Any Other Chinese City

degree of deference from their subordinates and the general public, they would be almost more than human if they succeeded in maintaining a proper sense of proportion on matters involving the interests and policies of their class. Naturally their ideas of what constitutes national strength and national advantage in foreign affairs have a strong mediaeval tinge, for their older leaders still seem to be dominated by a common oriental theory—a theory held with particular fervor by the Chinese and one that seriously impedes most schemes for the development of China—that a given transaction cannot be profitable to both parties, but that the gain of one is the other's loss. They are quite incapable of realizing that a strong and prosperous China would add tremendously to the wealth and prosperity of Japan, for they can see only that if China were strong they would have to abandon their policy of freely taking from her whatever they want, subject only to such limitations as their own powers of digestion and the potential interference of western countries may impose.

It hardly seems necessary to argue the point that Japan is pursuing an unjustly aggressive policy towards China. For evidence it should be sufficient to cite the treaty embodying the final demands of 1915. By this treaty Japan secured

certain privileges, including such concrete advantages as extension of railway franchises and valuable mining concessions, some of which constitute very grave encroachments upon the sovereignty of China. For all this astonishing business there was not the slightest pretense of giving anything in return to China. These favors were secured by an ultimatum allowing China only two days in which to make up her mind and submit a favorable reply. The "negotiations," conducted in secrecy at a time when the western powers were concentrating all their energies against Germany, are, perhaps, next to the violation of the constantly repeated pledges to respect the independence of Korea, the most serious blot on the reputation of Japan. A Japanese friend, discussing the incident at the time, said that many of his countrymen felt that the Government had done Japan a great wrong by putting her before the world in the position of a *kaji-dorobo*, a thief who takes advantage of a conflagration, while the police are busy elsewhere, to rob his unfortunate victims. All during the war Japan has been busy trying to extend her political control in China and, apparently as a means thereto, doing what she could to keep at the boiling point the Chinese pot of domestic disturbances. Money and munitions have been supplied freely to the



POSTER ADVERTISING JAPANESE GOODS AT CHINESE STORE

*Japanese Business with China Depends on Chinese Good Will. The Japanese Fail to See That a Prosperous China Would Add to the Wealth of Japan*

warring factions; the area of the railway lines controlled by Japan, instead of contributing to the pacification of the country, has served as a base of operations for bandits and insurrectionists who find shelter there when pursued by Chinese police and troops. With such foreign interference even a more efficient government than the Chinese might be embarrassed in its efforts to maintain order within the country. If, instead of wasting money under such a policy, the Japanese government had seen to it that its loans went for genuinely productive enterprises, both Japan and China would have profited enormously.

Now, although the present policy of Japan in China deserves the severest criticism, it is at the same time necessary to maintain a decent sense of proportion, to realize that Japan's faults are not of a strange and unusual nature. They have been common in the histories of young and vigorous nations placed in close contact with any race not so highly organized for the development of its resources and therefore unable to protect itself. Japan has doubtless been sincerely disturbed by the acquisitive policy of European powers in China and she has felt that the existence of such foreign strongholds as Port Arthur, Weihaiwei, Tsingtao, Hongkong and Kwangchowwan were a menace not only to China but to herself as well. There are

some interesting parallels between the present position of Japan in Asia and that of the United States in the Americas during the first half of the nineteenth century. The United States opposed the extension of European possessions in the Americas and resisted European interference in the domestic affairs of American states. In other words, in so far as Japan has been working against the maintenance of European territorial footholds in the Far East she has been striving to establish an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, and in this regard it is impossible for an American not to sympathize with her. She is, however, endeavoring to stretch her Monroe Doctrine to cover not only the right to exclude the western nations from political expansion in Asia, but the special privilege of indulging herself in such interference and exploitation as she would deny to others.

When we think of the aggressive attitude of the Japanese in China, of their obnoxious adventurers with or without official protection preying upon the Chinese government and people, and of their attempts to absorb parts of Chinese territory, we are reminded of the way in which American filibusters and dealers in arms made life miserable for the Spanish colonial governments in the Americas, and sometimes for the independent governments which succeeded them. We should not forget that some of these movements had the support, if not of state government, at least of prominent statesmen. Finally, we face the stubborn fact that a large part of our Southwest was conquered from Mexico, after a war in which it is commonly agreed that not all the right was on our side. Fear is the most fruitful cause of hatred. By freeing South America from the fear of Europe, we helped to enhance the popularity of Europeans among the Latin Americans; on the other hand, since they have been without anyone to protect them from us, we have until lately been an object of fear, suspicion and dislike among our southern neighbors in somewhat the same way that Japan has been feared and disliked in China.

We should remember also that the exclusive policy of the white races in the thinly settled regions of the United States, Canada, Australia and Siberia has been partly responsible for the concen-

tration of Japanese interest and enterprise in Eastern Asia at the expense of Chinese independence. It is this concentration that makes the Japanese problem so much more serious to the Chinese than their difficulties with Russia, Germany or England, all of which have joined at one time or another in the despoliation of China. But to these countries China was only one of many fields for expansion and they were therefore less inclined than Japan to risk serious complications in forwarding their ventures in China.

When we blame Japan for her aggressive, positively selfish policy towards China, we must remember that a wealthy, satisfied country like ours is not likely to fall with this particular kind of temptation, but sins rather through the negative selfishness of denying others a share in her abundance. It gives one food for serious thought to pass quickly from China, where we see ill-nourished peasants raking the fields for dried grass to be used as fuel, to the United States, where the woods are decaying because the trees are not utilized by anyone, and many farms are abandoned that might support two or three oriental families. This dog-in-the-manger policy of the white races is not one that can continue indefinitely. Unless some constructive method of remedying the inequality can be discovered, there is bound to be an explosion, as surely as a boiler on which the safety valve has been screwed down while a hot fire is burning underneath will some day burst.

What is the remedy for this unhappy situation—for China's internal troubles, for the injustice of Japan and other countries towards China, and for this unfair distribution of the world's good things which drives large numbers of Orientals to migrate to the more favored regions in search of better opportunities?

Personally I confess to placing great hopes in the evident tendency of the leading nations to cooperate in more practical ways and on a larger scale than ever before, and particularly in the permanent form proposed to be given to this cooperation by the League of Nations.

First, with regard to

China's internal troubles, if the great powers really give up the idea of making political capital for themselves in China, as they must if the League is to be anything more than a name, they will abandon the policy of helping irresponsible trouble-makers with money, arms, advice and moral support, as some of them have been doing during the past eight years. The political significance of foreign settlements and railway zones will disappear and Chinese sovereign rights will receive their due recognition. The proposed scheme of financial cooperation of the bankers of all interested nations, which seems to be in a fair way of realization, should lead to the steady development of the necessary transportation systems, opening large areas to settlement, and thus adding to the wealth of the country. Hitherto with all the foreign countries competing for concessions, the rule has been "if you can't get a concession yourself, at least prevent somebody else from getting it." The improvement of transportation will also greatly aid the government in its task of maintaining order within its boundaries. Once China is relieved of the fear that political designs are masked behind commercial propositions, she will be much more willing to open the country to foreign capital, and will welcome expert foreign advice with a confidence she



FRANCIS B. BOW

#### DELIVERING AMERICAN NAILS TO CHINESE RETAILERS

Once China is Relieved of the Fear That Political Designs Are Masked Behind Commercial Propositions She Will Be More Willing to Open the Country to Foreign Capital



MUKDEN, THE CAPITAL OF MANCHURIA, WHICH IS ENTIRELY UNDER JAPAN'S DOMINATION  
 Japan is Stretching Her Monroe Doctrine to Cover Not Only the Exclusion of Western Nations from  
 Political Expansion in Asia, but Also the Privilege of Indulging in Exploitation That She Would Deny Others

has never felt before. She will thus be given a chance to show what she can do when unhampered to develop herself, an opportunity she has not had since the revolution of 1911. If she then fails, the League of Nations may be able to take the helm temporarily, as the United States did in Cuba, returning the power as soon as a proper and stable democratic government has been organized.

If such foreign tutelage should ever come, it would succeed only in so far as it prepares the Chinese for a constantly increasing share in the responsibilities of administration. With proper salaries and suitable audit and control, wonders could be accomplished in building up an honest public service in China, as witness the Chinese Post Office and the Salt Inspectorate, which are largely staffed by Chinese under foreign supervision. What not to do is clearly indicated by the Maritime Customs, an expensive organization manned down to inferior positions by foreigners of mediocre efficiency, and, in the lower grades, of integrity not always exemplary. This service has done almost nothing to train Chinese for responsible positions and would probably collapse if the foreigners were suddenly removed.

Japan, induced or constrained to abandon her dubious political designs upon China, would be forced to concentrate her great energies upon the

development of her commercial interests in that country, and would proceed to reap a harvest larger than she has ever dreamed of, thanks to her proximity and the intellectual industry of her people. China, freed from the fear of political domination by Japan, would go to her more and more for guidance and expert advice in every field in which Japan has learned from the West. Controversies between them being eliminated or peacefully settled by impartial adjudication, there would develop a greater solidarity between the nations of Asia, enabling them to present a united front when the time comes to tackle the next great question before the world—the equitable division of the earth's surface among the several races, and the just regulation of migration.

So we come at last to the great problem of the relations between the East and West, which is never absent from the minds of those westerners who have more than a passing interest in the East. Granting, as I suppose most people will, that if it were possible it would be ideal for laws relating to immigration and residence to apply equally to men of all nations, regardless of race, color and previous condition of servitude, but believing also that our democratic civilization has something of value to contribute to the future world which would be imperilled, perhaps absolutely lost, if the door

were opened to unrestricted immigration of all the discontented elements in China, Japan and India—what is to be done? Is there not need of two sets of measures? First, temporary emergency steps to lessen the present pressure, to remove unnecessary friction and promote good feeling, and then far-reaching measures operating slowly through the coming generations, which shall be designed to effect a just and permanent settlement.

In the first place, while safeguarding American labor against the competition of the Oriental, with his lower standards of living, such classes as are admitted should be treated on a basis of absolute equality with the immigrants of other nationalities, and should enjoy the same rights in respect to residence, trade, land ownership and naturalization. If local conditions make some restriction of these privileges seem necessary in regard to aliens of certain nationalities, the same restrictions should be applied to aliens of all races. This is the great distinction between land ownership restrictions in Japan and in certain States of the Union. In Japan the same laws apply to all foreigners without distinction, whereas in some localities in the United States there is discrimination between aliens of different races. On this basis satisfactory treaty arrangements, good for many years to come, could undoubtedly be arrived at with both Japan and China.

Of the more far-reaching measures to be taken, the most vital would be those looking to such an improvement of the standards of living in the Orient that the people would no longer wish to migrate in large numbers. Germany has offered a good example of the way in which systematic internal development can be made to keep at home, in constantly increasing prosperity, a population which formerly sought relief abroad. The extension of railways and other modern methods of communication will open up large areas to settlement; the improvement of agriculture, the founding of new industries and the elimination of the many forms of unproductive labor now existing will add greatly to the wealth of the people, and will provide in addition interesting opportunities for those adventurous spirits whose energies under present conditions go largely to fomenting trouble at home and abroad. Both the wage scale and the standards of living have been already raised very considerably in Japan during the past generation, until now they are not so far below those in certain European countries. The same processes are at work more slowly in China. The lessening of international political jealousies in China will do much to accelerate the development of the country and to check migration. Side by side with these processes should go the education of the Chinese people and the safeguarding of their health and

physical efficiency. The missions and other agencies engaged in this work are not only helping to raise the standards of the oriental peoples, but are also establishing reciprocal affection and respect.

In the meantime there is need for calm scientific study by trained anthropologists of the actual results of the mingling of the Caucasian and the oriental races. It may be that inter-marriage of a comparatively small number will be found to have no harmful results from either the biological or the social point of view. If this is true it will do much to simplify the problem of adjusting the future relationship of the races in the East and in the West. Indeed, families with ties of blood on both sides of the Pacific might conceivably do a great deal to interpret the different countries to one another. On the other hand, if such intermingling is clearly harmful, we should know it in order that both Eastern and Western nations may take such steps as may be necessary to protect themselves against this common danger.

While the attempt has been made in this paper to show the need for calm, unprejudiced consideration of our oriental problems, and while we must remember that we and other nations have committed in the past in China and elsewhere offenses not unlike those of which we accuse Japan, the fact remains that Japan is culpable in her present policy towards China. The world in general, and particularly the United States, has begun to be guided by higher ideals in its international conduct.

Japan has demanded material compensation for her small part in the great war, in which she failed to do the obvious job that naturally fell to her in the rounding up of the German cruisers at Tsingtao; the United States, which sacrificed infinitely more in blood and treasure, asked no compensation whatsoever. If Japan claims Tsingtao because she captured it after it had lost most of its danger through the escape of the German cruisers, why should not the United States claim special rights at St. Mihiel or in the Argonne Forest? The contrast cannot be agreeable to the Japanese follower of Bushido. Every loyal Japanese and every true friend of Japan must long for the time when her government will adequately represent in international affairs the noble ideals of so many of her citizens, and adopt the generous policy which alone can bring to her the position of influence and leadership to which her situation and her rapid progress in western civilization give her just grounds to aspire. When she has cleansed her own record of the stains which now mar it through her selfish policy towards China and Korea, she will be able to present again her claim for the recognition of the equality of races in so impressive a manner that it cannot fail to receive the respectful consideration of the whole world.

# PEKING MONOCHROMES

By WILL THOMPSON

## THE LAMA TEMPLE

A THOUSAND years ago, during the glorious T'ang dynasty, the newer Buddhism, as transplanted bodily from Nepal and Tibet, was in the heyday of its grandeur. For all its fantastic and romantic splendor, however, the triumph which it enjoyed proved to be but the fitful flare of the dying rocket; and the meteoric brightness of an alien creed that found its most eloquent expression, perhaps, in the thousands of ornate and magnificent temples erected throughout China, subsided gradually, the burnt-out ember in the glowing ash of a less vainglorious period. Later, after the establishment of the Yuan, or Mongol dynasty, in the fourteenth century, Kublai Khan, having decreed a truce from the barbarities and conquests of his career, proceeded to make Peking (Cam-baluc), his capital, the most magnificent city in the Empire. The Lamaism of the esoteric Buddhists of Thibet drifted Pekingward; and from that remote day we may trace the inception, if not the actual establishment, of the Lama ceremonies in China. One remembers always the accommodating made-over quality of the imported creed. It is as if a foothold had been gained by Him of Kapilavastu, called Gautama, the Buddha, in this far corner of Cathay, solely through the adaptability of his teaching to the spiritual need of the Chinese race. Kindness, constancy, good acts rewarded by good, evil acts rewarded by evil—could anything be simpler, and at the same time more binding on the human soul? While I muse, the sunset beams are dying slowly on the gorgeous orange-tiled roofs and porticoes, amid their cool, delicious bowers, of the Lama Temple. It is the late sunshine of an October day. From my chamber of meditation I gaze down the long, empty corridors which melt downward into the purple night. Am I in Peking? I do not know. Have I been in this place before? Tell, I cannot. The sandaled feet of the priest with whom I have been conversing are returning across the bare boards of the room adjoining the sanctuary. *Salaat, salaat* goes the sound of his slippers on the polished floor; and he returns, placid and smiling, to place in my hand the precious book, the document which is the copy of the work of a bygone age, for which I have come. Already the novices are chanting their evening prayer. On the still air of this remote sanctuary, secluded in the heart of a great city, the sound of their voices rises and falls, exerting a mild fascination, like the reading of Sanskrit or Bengali poetry. We pass several of the younger

set, with smoothly shaven heads, in their orange robes, standing in a group by the door. As always, their wooden faces present an inextricable puzzle. Some of them smile; and all regard me interestedly. What is the secret of the Chinese stare? Which is the more interested, I wonder, they or I? The sunset beams have faded. I part with my host, to find myself in an extensive park full of naked trees. Brown and yellow and scarlet and pink, the leaves of oak and maple and willow and birch strew the hard earth walk beneath my feet. I have come to the funeral feast of Autumn, over which the sun has poured rich red wine. The porticoes are in violet shadow—shadow that trembles and quivers, a living thing, eating slowly up toward the rococo roofs, which yet blaze overhead, like beds of gorgeous marigolds. At the door, as I look back, the orange robes of the novices heighten this effect by a resemblance to fallen blossoms. In the transfiguration of sunset, gone is the impression of gaudiness with which I had at first associated the temple. Softened perhaps by twilight and by distance, I see it only as the expression of a beautiful idea—a tangible representation of the aspiring human soul—a writing of wood and stone wherein the minds of illiterate men may become instructed and reach upward to a conception of the Eternal I. My impression of the Lama Temple, with its courtyard guarded by incomparable stone lions, is of a mounting flame of orange and gold, already cooled by the violet hands of night. Even as I look, the last beam has faded, the gate clangs shut on the guardian lions, and I am left alone.

## THE CITY WALLS

Slave gangs, yellow men, toiling, sweating, thirsting on the vast, shadowless plains, under a white-hot tropical sun; to and fro the bricks pass in endless procession from hand to hand, from ground to wall, with a faint clattering sound. Crack of leathern whip when some stern taskmaster imposes the penalty across the gleaming shoulders of a laggard urchin employed in doling out gourds of water. A flourish of feather fans, as a royal lady passes by in her sedan chair. Peking—Babylon! Alike, yet dissimilar. Peking evokes memories of the older city, yet with a note at once more clarion, more compelling. It arouses in me some latent energy long dulled or sleeping—this battle-call of Peking—the thought, the vision of those great walls, more wonderful, more stupendous, perhaps, in their way, than the Great Wall of the North.



City walls, ancient walls, the walls of Kublai Khan, are here; and these are walls confining, enshrining today a living race, pulsing with new thought-waves, new calories of human energy and endurance. Peking blares like an ancient war-trumpet of the illustrious Ts'ins. What would I not give to inscribe a poem, an epic, worthy to do justice to her magnificent walls! Living walls, four leagues of them, containing four unbelievable cities honey-combed one within another! And still the marvel remains. Astonishment at the apparition of those colossal dungeons, surmounted by their blinking watch-towers, which form the gateways of the city, has been felt by more than one traveler who came to mock and went away convinced of the greatness of the Chinese as a builder-race. But this conviction grows on one with familiarity. And herein lies the resemblance between the two races. Cities vast and wall-enribboned, towered and terraced, fortified and gated, are common alike to ancient Babylonia and modern China. In the bright sunshine of an October day the tiers of bricks lure the eye, on and on, till one wonders dazedly how many millions are here, piled up in statuesque towers, flame-like temples, Gargantuan thoroughfares. Like the petals of a yellow lily, the plain extends, lying flat and smooth beneath the azure sky, which gleams and glows with light, a brazen gong suspended overhead; and Peking forms the center, the heart of this vast lily, the heart and stamens of a gigantic flower. Within sight of these walls Genghis Khan, the Mongol conqueror, drew in the reins of his horse, six hundred years ago, and decided that China must be his. Dark are the days of history which follow. From an angle of the Drum Tower I have looked down and imagined myself the center of a strange and busy microcosm—a little universe of my own, within the radius of sixteen miles; and the lilac light of early afternoon lay on the streets and under the shadow of great trees; and carven porticoes and gilded façades of shops and temples gleamed like details of a distorted dream. Was I looking down from this great height on some shadow-world, some realm of vague chimera, of human chance? Those gilded monsters with writhing, snake-like bodies and taloned claws on yonder blazing front—were they, perhaps, the posters for some wonderland of thrills, where one might sit comfortably as a child again, reviewing with fresh delight all the scenes of a past existence? The sunlight, the stirring trees, the thoroughfares too wide for streets, thronged with curious passengers in blue and yellow and brown and white robes, all hurrying—whither? From the city walls I have looked down and dreamed of the sword of Kublai Khan, and how his munificence and industry following in the wake of brilliant conquest had made this city possible. I dreamed of Aladdin, and of

Scheherazade and the Thousand and One Nights; and the land of make-believe seemed vastly more possible in the face of such tremendous possibilities at my feet. The old story tells how a prince had to place his hand through a gold ring before he could pluck the magic fruit from a certain tree, and how the ring immediately closed about his wrist, giving added strength. Was Peking to become such a ring for the grasping hand of an alien conqueror, I wondered, as I descended thoughtfully from my perch among the branches of the mulberry and persimmon trees?

#### THE CONFUCIAN TEMPLE

Its deserted porticoes but indistinctly seen amid the forest of green trees which surrounds and envelops it like the gnawing mouth of solitude, I found the sanctuary of the Great Teacher waiting to receive me. Waiting, yes; for somehow the presence of the man who lived so long ago and in whose honor it has been dedicated seemed to pervade, to form part of, the inanimate structure, so that, for a time at least, it became endowed with life. Many old houses and buildings have so struck me at various times; and to one who has meditated much on the ways and sayings of an ancient philosopher, who, however many and glaring his faults, was undeniably great, this feeling of personality communicated itself in no small degree. A shrine to the Goddess of Mercy would not have affected me in this way; certainly the Lama Temple, reputed to be the most famous temple in Peking, did not. But here I found personality, quiet, restraint—exemplified in the almost oppressive silence which everywhere reigned, the sense of brooding desolation which remained unbroken even by the raucous twitter of songless birds concealed among the high branches. Here, of all temples in Peking, was a temple dedicated to the memory of a man. No crowd of novices, no bronze or brazen images were anywhere to be seen, no self-absorbed and decadent Buddha, no elegant painting of Kwan-yin, with her bottle of heavenly water, no overdressed figure of Tien How, the Taoist Queen of Heaven. Memory, reverence, respect, as symbolized in the simple inscribed tablets of a dim yet not unpleasing ancestral hall, faintly illumined by the late afternoon rays from without—this is what I found—this, and an atmosphere. And what an atmosphere! Its effect on me is best conveyed in quiet words and rolling, sonorous phrases. No decoration, no gaudiness of cheap paint or cracked gilding—all plainness, almost austerity of outline and detail and design, even as the spotless daily life of Kung, the Master, was characterized by plainness, by austerity. Yet over the temple, without and within, brooded a great peace—*Tai-ping*; and I looked about as quietly as I could, and ab-

sorbed something of this feeling of peace, and felt satisfied. Truly the peace of Buddha passeth an humble man's comprehension. But here was a peace, a consolation, almost, which any man, be he the most humble or illiterate, might profit by and understand. Here was the peace of folded hands in the eventide of a warm summer day—the peace of work well done—the peace of man, as I have said, and therefore less heavenly; yet for that very reason the more readily understood. It was as if Confucius had laid aside his writing-brush at the end of a long and arduous essay, as I came into the portico, his work finished—his earthly work finished—for a confidence with his strange visitor. And from this exchange of confidence with the memory of a dead master, I came forth refreshed and satisfied, maybe a little bit enlightened. It was as if I had been lucky enough to find the master at home that day; and I thought how he must have found everything perfectly to his liking—the peace, the meditation, the shadows. The gleaming tiles of the superbly accentuated roof above my head took the glints of the westerning sun, with their wonderful suit of orange-yellow tints yet fresh and beautiful, as in the days of a vanished dynasty. The sparrows quarreled noisily above the ancient grass-grown walk, dense with the shadow of overhanging trees; until I wondered if their incessant chatter did not disturb the profound meditations of the master seated within, whose spirit on the autumn day on which I visited it imbued with a strange and winning personality the natal shrine in which it dwelt. Again I dreamed of the master seated amid his disciples, discoursing on music and ethics, on a slate-blue night in Lu. He touched a string of his lute, and the sound resembled the shivering of a glass stem into fragments. . . . But when I looked back at last, the temple had receded into the shadow; it had been once more artfully concealed by the green flourishes of the trees, like archaic and elegant penmanship.

#### THE SUMMER PALACE

Past and gone are the shadows of departed greatness, which stalk alone through these vast and soundless corridors, like shadows of returning night. Past and gone, aye, truly! But do they not leave a wonderful memory behind them—these famous men and women we have known? Is it not written somewhere that the Most High who have fallen from their estate, dying even as they lived, have left on these palaces and courts and gardens an ineradicable touch? What is this touch other than personality? Is it consumed by the passing of a visible presence? Is it not left rather to prey on the conflicting emotions of those who come after, who see and feel and know? The effect of the

Summer Palace on a white night of autumn is chilling, frigid. One appears transferred suddenly to some remote glacial epoch. The palaces have been chiseled out of gleaming snowdrifts. The terraces are suddenly arrested billows frozen into fretted stone. The charmingly wrought miradors of which Pierre Loti wrote, where the Empress Dowager passed some of her happiest days, I think impress me most. Ever I return to them, in thought, in dream, in conjecture, striving however so vainly to repeople, to repicture, to rehabilitate their glory, as they appeared eighteen years ago. The little lyric balconies with their carved doorways underneath appear so Puckish, so fairylike, and withal so mirthful, as one views them today, that it is difficult to conceive that they have ever been the scenes of harshness or violence. Here stood Li Lien-ying, the pot-bellied, chief eunuch and instigator of evil, holding in his hand some grim death warrant bearing the signature of Tzu Hsi. Yonder, from the direction of the lily lake, came the sylph-like form of Jen Fei, the Pearl Concubine, *très joyeuse*, beloved of Kwang Hsu, in her pearl headdress with satin gown of plum flowers, fresh from a sail on the imperial barge. On some blond afternoon in yonder hall, Yehonala, the carmine-checked, the unloved, sipped tea with her august aunt. Yuan Shih-kai, the cunning old office seeker, knelt reverently at the foot of that marble balustrade, awaiting the appearance of Lao Tzu Tzung (Glorious Old Ancestor) coming down in her imperial yellow robes of state for some especially noteworthy audience. This would have been at three o'clock on a sultry July morning, with the moon in its last quarter riding placidly over the mother-of-pearl waters of the lake. O Summer Palace! O Palace of the North! Yours are the memories which, in the undying verse of many a Tsing poet, shall go echoing down the hallways of inscribed and ticketed romance! The elfin miradors—the laughing lake! The lotuses, with their incomparable cups of saffron and rose, like flowers of the morning sprinkled on the bosom of the sleeping waters! Was the Pearl Buddha which Tzu Hsi loved thrown into the lake? Was it concealed in one of the secret panels of the labyrinthine palace? Was it spirited away, proud trophy of some greedy and conscienceless subaltern on that unforgettable summer? After the sack of the Summer Palace, among other priceless treasures, the Pearl Buddha was reported missing. Greatly did Tzu Hsi mourn its loss—this exquisitely wrought image of pearl, two feet high, to which she prayed. And amid the loneliness and solitude of those deserted chambers, I wondered if the Pearl Image, white in a world where all things are white, caressed by the subtle essence of expanding lilies, had not looked often from those windows across



THE BUREAU OF THE  
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the lake. The North Palace is closed now; and the music of the female musicians is no longer heard beneath the shade of the mulberries. As I passed, a crane stood on one leg, solemn and motionless, in the weeds which have been allowed to accumulate along the banks of the lake. The picture suggested Egypt, with her sacred ibis discovered amid the ruins of great temples along the Nile. A silhouette remains the crane, clear and distinct against the ruddy sunset sky, the dominant note of a compelling picture. The crane has become, for me, an inseparable part of China, a symbol for the shadows of departed greatness—of those who never return.

#### THE ALTAR OF HEAVEN

The chiding of the wind, the lisp of leaves, the groaning of deep-boughed solitudes high above my head, as their huge, knotty trunks, like the arms of giants, are displaced by the wind, slowly to swing back into place. The splashing downward of great patches of yellow sunshine into deep wells of shadow and coolness, living green which encircles me, a prisoner in its depths. Open spaces of blue heaven and onward traveling cloud, with bare brown clay and grass-grown crevices at my feet; and then to plunge on again into the ocean of living verdure, at once so full of the music of the wind against the tree-flutes and the leaf-harps, and of the song of wild bees and the altercation of stranded crows in the summit of a monumental pine. For nearly three miles I have come, until I arrive, buoyant and glowing with exercise, before a little postern gate set like a square brown envelope in a blood-colored wall. At last I gain admittance past my second wall of the morning, accompanied only by the smiling caretaker. I seem to be in the inner courtyard of a vast temple, for already I have traversed the outer one of virgin forest. What a wonderful place this is—all light and air and sunshine, and azure sky and great tugging winds whose sails of silk are floating above in milk-white clouds. And then I look beyond a little low wall and see a circular building, not especially noteworthy; yet something beautiful about it at once commands the eye. Is it the contour, is it the suggestion of singular grace and unelaborate detail, the exquisite flow-blue color of the ridged tiles forming the conical roof—the one roof unique in all Peking? The Temple of Heaven conveys a suggestion of perfect symmetry, of lyric joy in itself almost heavenly. The depth of blue in its incomparable roof strikes a wonderful note at once resonant, compelling, so that we feel that were the shade a degree differentiated, lighter or darker, the effect would be spoilt. This is where the great Emperors formerly prayed before making their sacrifice on the Altar of Heaven, which lies beyond, in the center of a wide field. As I approach this supreme con-

summation of the heart and mind of a great people, I am struck with astonishment at the profound beauty, the sublimity of its conception. "An altar must be made Heaven," said an ancient Emperor. Artisans may have prepared the blocks of precious marble, brought from goodness knows what quarry at how many miles' distance; but an Artist conceived the design. Here is a dream of the human mind which will live forever! Stupendous, yet how inconceivably simple, in its three ascending tiers of virgin marble, faultless as the structure of a snowflake, beautifully aligned and graded throughout, intricate in spite of its apparent simplicity: every degree of progress toward the center or apex, forming the altar itself, is marked by threes, wherein is found a symbol for the Trinity of Being. No roof, no confining walls—only this wonderful dream of spotless white amid the boundless ether. The approach to the altar, which is paved with huge stone blocks, was grass-grown and neglected as I entered by the middle one of three archways, the one through which the Emperor was wont to pass at the annual ceremony. The thought was rather sobering that here before me, on the highest of three terraces, was the place of appeal before that August Tribunal whom all men, by whatsoever difference of language, creed or color, call GOD. A little while I stood in the clear crystal of the morning sunshine, a fly in a drop of amber, a spot on the white dream of the universe, inhaling from afar the redolence of wild flowers and watching a great northern vulture soar leisurely along at home in his pellucid element high among the clouds. A thunderstorm or a cyclone does not appear suddenly from out a clear sky; but all things move by a gradual process in obedience to some law. Here everything was peace. I preferred to stay; but I was compelled reluctantly to return to the blue-roofed temple. At the door an orange butterfly—the color and appearance of an *Emperor*—came flitting by; it was the same which a moment before had drifted across the Altar of Heaven. Its shadow was like the passing of a tiny cloud.

#### THE VIOLET CITY

Late afternoon; on the wall of the Imperial City. Had I been asked to write an essay on the apotheosis of Peking, I assuredly would not have written this one. Dreams of a golden dusk spent in the old garden of Prince Ching, last and greatest of the ultra-Manchus, have left their indelible impress deep in my inner consciousness. From such a place, at such a time, in company with such a personage, should an apotheosis be written. Alas, unhappily for me, it has not been done; and this remissness in my duties can never, I fear, be remedied. Past closed palaces and blood-colored walls of crumbling temples, accosted and dazzled by the late October

sunshine, streaked as with fingers winy-red, I have come on a mission through the labyrinthine streets of the Imperial City. The chrysanthemums were blooming in the old garden of Prince Ching; and my eyes were fairly dazzled by the light on the tiles of the ancient palace. On my way back I shall purchase a bouquet of the aromatic beauties to adorn the large vase of *cloisonné* on the inlay table in my ancestral hall. Peking and her chrysanthemums, and the walls and roofs of the Forbidden City! Yonder they lie, forbidden now as always, those gleaming tiles of pure yellow, those soaring roofs carved in the images of beasts and birds rising before me, clad in a purple diaphanous veil which hides their lower parts. I appear to be gazing at some huge phantasm, a ghost of the senses, which shall melt away presently into nothingness, rainbow-hued and immaterial, like the mirage of the desert. Splendid palaces moored one behind another, like a flotilla of boats in a quiet stream. Trees full-leaved, exuberant in early summer, now yielding slowly their yellowed foliage, embower the gilded porticoes; and down in one square courtyard the sunshine glances and lingers, ruddy-gold, as by some special act of grace. The upright posts, the outer walls appear pinkish or lavender, the doorways black. Yonder, out beyond that old palace, noncommittal, fast locked against the autumn sunshine, rises the summit of Coal Hill, an austere giant keeping guard over the domiciles of the departed great. From where I sit one palace is as another, and the aspect of the Violet City glimpsed in this way at the end of day is that of a widow in mourning for her august lord. The Violet City permit me to call the widow of Peking; and Peking is bereft of her ancient Emperors. Whether or not an Imperial head shall ever again sit in those magical corridors renowned since the Tartar conquest remains a matter of doubt. The Great Pure Manchu dynasty of Tsing, now at an end, enjoyed the unique distinction of being the last, perhaps, to sit on the Dragon throne; and though there are claimants aplenty to come forward and state their claims, not only of the Manchus themselves but presumed descendants and "shadow emperors" of the ancient Mings, China has decided to try out her fortunes under presidential guidance for a while. Which is all well and good; but China—the China we have always read and dreamed about—without an Emperor! The idea seems at first a little incongruous, until we get used to it. Slowly the beams have faded from the little paved courtyard where for a brief moment they held their dance. In complete shadow now, the Violet City goes through its nightly transformation, as so many times before; yet no life stirs within those grim portals, grown suddenly cold and terrible under the spell of approaching night; no light gleams from those dark-

ened windows. It is as if the shadow of death had passed suddenly upon the scenes of life, once bright and gay as a flower-garden, leaving in its wake wreck and ruin and a nameless impressive silence. Gone is all lightness and gaiety from the porticoes which I have been admiring; and everything is merged together in a solid mass of impenetrable violet, as if some gorgeous creation in lead had been dropped into the fire, then brought forth and allowed to cool. Again, as I look at the curious phantasmagoria before me, the outline of Coal Hill and the farthest palace-roof appears cut out of purple cardboard, perfectly flat against a copper sky. Night descends, the stars thrill out expectantly; and still I sit, motionless, entranced by the magical dance of vapors in the cauldron-brew of night. The Violet City appears to rise, to grow taller, as by one supreme effort, then to fade, to melt slowly into the azure sky of which it forms a part. The copper glows linger, reluctantly, then turn to rose, like footprints of a departing Empress in the pasque-flower sky. And then I rise and turn back from the wall, saying softly to myself, "The Violet City is the widow of autumn—the apotheosis of Peking!"

#### PEKING IN A SNOWSTORM

The Taoist priest who has come for me is attired in a long white robe. The lantern which he carries is painted with dragons and red suns, and its flickering mellow rays light the floor and upright posts of the portico which he has just entered, for it is already night. His head is adorned with a queer black stove-pipe hat, reminding one of a Korean gentleman. His thin inscrutable face is smoothly shaven; his long fingers appear ghostly and half-transparent; and his heavy shoes make absolutely no sound, for it is snowing—the first real snowstorm of the winter, and the entire city is muffled in a blanket of spotless white. My evening meal is finished, my cup of tea drunk; and as my mysterious visitor is admitted, I turn to him expectantly. This visit is what I have been looking forward to for several weeks, or so it seems, this entry into my house of an insignificant looking man, a Korean priest in a white robe, carrying a yellow paper lantern attached to a bamboo pole. Solemnly he returns my greeting. I put on my hat, overcoat and rubbers, glance about the room tentatively, extinguish the light, then follow my visitor from the house. In silence we cross the deserted courtyard, pass the servants' quarters—for this was once the domicile of the ultra-rich—and out through a ponderous wooden gateway into the street, which has been magically transformed by the necromancy of the snow-spirits into the thoroughfare of a dream. And a strange and chilling dream it is! To many the appearance of snow brings a sense of joy, almost remarkable; an utter exuberance of spirits;

but on me the effect has always been quite different. The joy of the child is the joy of innocence, as it plays light-heartedly amid the snowdrifts. The winding-sheet of vast outer space, of dead planets and extinguished suns, the foreboding chill that is ever companioning life in its best moments, cannot appeal to the mind of ten, fairylike in its scope. Frankly, the child does not comprehend it. The falling snowflakes, dazzling clear in their icy whiteness, are simply for him to play in. Would that we might always remain children! As we pass along, I am struck by the peculiar sense of desolation which the storm has produced in the streets. Edifice, shop and dwelling have withdrawn within themselves, swallowed up, as it were, in the battling silence of the advancing blue-white drifts. Is this *sand* which is falling about us everywhere in a fine white mist as we walk? Approaching our destination, I cannot rid myself of the impression that I am really walking through sand, transformed by an invisible moon to candid whiteness, which is slowly burying an ancient city from my sight. Pigmy shapes, like bodiless phantoms, flit past, a blur of blue and white, vanishing quietly and at once in the eruption of white sand. Lurid and gaudy, its vermilion porch illumined by rows of grinning lanterns which dance and sputter tipsily to and fro, the doorway of a Taoist temple confronts us, like the entrance to one of the Buddhist Infernos. The music of Lilith issues from behind closed doors. A painted woman passes, in robes too bright; rows of sweetmeat vendors, their booths and lanterns wreathed in white, offer poisonous-looking cakes to throngs of hungry children. We enter a poorer quarter of the city, and stoop beneath an overhanging arch. The rays of the solitary lantern disclose a narrow alley whose ancient walls, inscribed with the damp of years, incline slowly inward. A stone-paved court, on which look squares of yellow light, a black doorway at which we knock for admittance, and we are ushered into a house full of subdued brightness and many guests. A hush broods over the threshold; suddenly, as we take chairs by the door, after greeting our youthful host, the sound of weeping is heard from the inner chamber. Then all grows still. I recall my mission. We have come—I by invitation of the priest, my conductor—to the funeral of a young girl who died three months ago. No one may behold her features, for the coffin, sealed by boards several inches thick and many times varnished, reposes in the inner room—a clumsy, plain-looking affair. Incense is burned and prayers are recited at intervals by the presiding priest. Visitors come and go. As I sit in this severely plain room with its odor of aloes and its fantastic furniture, I am reminded of what I have read about ancient Chinese funerals. Cakes are offered me by the brother of

the dead girl; and as I sip my tea we discuss about everything else except the deceased. Finally I learn the facts. Pneumonia—sixteen years, I record in my diary. Who knows the tale of those three simple words, the tragedy concealed in the inner room?

#### THE TOMB OF YUNG LO

All the way from Peking I have come, alone, on this autumn pilgrimage among the slate-blue hills, to the tomb of Yung Lo, China's great student Emperor. Peking in October had made for me its tremendous, onward-sounding epic, splendid with the tramp of war-horses and the blare of bugles. Yung Lo's tomb in the sunshine of a late October day shall make for me just another of the sober-hued, oblong-shaped monochromes which I have set myself to paint with the brushes and colors of words. What a secret joy, an upward trend of restraint, is conveyed in the soaring roof! What tranquillity, what ineffable repose—an almost cosmic quality, so insinuating it is—in those redly gleaming walls, those blinking, opaque blinds, consisting of panels of rice-paper against the delicate ebony frames, those ponderous wooden doors closed and secured for long seasons against the winter snows, the spring and summer rains! The tablets, the vessels of sacrifice, I dare not touch. Scarcely dare I walk across the floor or desecrate the dust, for everything in this deserted hall is sacred—sacred to the memory of a man who loved the intricate artistic flourishes of his own writing-brush on white paper or squares of yellow silk better than the arduous duties of rulership. Here is lightness, almost gaiety, in spite of dust, in spite of oppressive silence. Even the sunbeams appear giddy in the dance of afternoon. The Temple of Confucius amid its deep-boughed solitude obtrudes itself grudgingly, by degrees; but the tomb of Yung Lo blazes upon the vision suddenly, treeless, wind-swept, sun-pelted. The door grated in the jamb as it was opened for me, after a long, close-locked, visitless summer. An unknown lavender flower bloomed around the courtyard; and the sudden ingress of light reflected in the softly glowing interior produced at once a sense of warmth, of life, of color. This was no dead Emperor's tomb. It seemed as if a banquet might have been held here the preceding night; sweet aromatic fragrance of the hills hung in the air. No chill of death; no brooding silence. I found myself wondering if Yung Lo might not have been a botanist; and whether he would have liked the blue flower blooming about his tomb. All afternoon with me the temple has drunk the goblet of the sparkling sunshine—a temple of gold in a light of gold, commemorating a man's name on the windy plains of Mongolia. But I shudder to think what its solitude must be like after the sunbeams have gone on the winter plains.

# INDUSTRIAL TURKEY

By WILLIAM H. HALL

**A** CUSHION cover embroidered with threads of silver and threads of gold and bearing in the center the Arabic word *Leban* attracted my attention in the house of some friends in one of the smaller cities of Michigan last fall. It interested my friends that I could tell them the story of the making of that cushion cover. For more than once I have

walked up the Lebanon Mountains to where the village of Zuk looks out over the blue waters of the Mediterranean, at its feet the thriving town of Juneh, one of the possible harbors of the Syrian coast, with its beautiful bay and beach backed by mountains rising abruptly a thousand feet. Zuk is a long straggling village built beside the carriage road that winds up the mountain side. It consists of flat-roofed stone houses, perhaps two hundred in all, with a few small *dekans*, or stores, by the roadside. Yet this village is famous as a manufacturing center and from its looms cushion covers, silken scarfs and table spreads have found their way to hundreds of homes in Europe and America. Oriental shops in Damascus and Beirut, and in New York and Chicago, are daily selling over their counters the products of this Lebanon village.

There is nothing of the American milltown in the appearance of the place. No central factory, with its morning and noon whistles, calls the men and girls to organized labor. Yet this is a typical manufacturing community in Turkey. Stopping by the open door or window of a house, you will receive a cordial greeting. "Peace to your hands," you answer to the workers within. In the single room may be two or three or even four hand looms busily at work. The father of the family is at one, beside him are his sons or a brother, all making the shuttles of gay colored silk or linen fly back and forth as the design grows steadily on the work under their hands. Meanwhile the wife and daughters are busy with the household cares, with fattening the sheep, washing the wheat and storing the supplies of winter food. And so it is through the entire village. Each house has its looms, crude in their construction, the spools of warp often weighted down by stones, and the bobbins of thread wound on simple hand made reels.



HAMMERED BRASS WORK OF DAMASCUS

Such is the eastern factory, a man's own house, with his sons beside him, the art and technique of the trade handed down from generation to generation.

In the summer of 1917 I spent a month in the city of Aleppo. This city has felt the privation of war less than most of the trading centers of the Empire. Located at the junction of the railway to Syria and Mesopotamia, it prospered from

the necessary exchange centering at that point. Passing from a certain narrow, noisy street through a beautiful old gateway, you enter a great open courtyard. In the center there is a large stone basin supplied with fresh running water, and overhead is a trellised grape vine laden in season with ripening fruit. Around this cool and quiet court are a series of offices and shops. At one side is the sales room of a wealthy Mohammedan firm, dealers in oriental goods. Here they will show you the most exquisite fabrics, silk, linen, cotton and wool, all of native weave. There are splendid silk *abbas* embroidered with threads of silver and gold, prepared especially for rich Arab sheiks. Djemal Pasha, Turkish dictator of Syria, made his collection of presents to be sent to Arab chiefs, to help retain their loyalty, from among the most costly garments in this shop.

Having seen the products, I wished to see the skilled hands that had produced these beautiful textures. I was taken about by a young brother of the firm who had been a student in our American College in Beirut. With business of the scale upon which this firm was conducting, both in relation to the export of manufactures in times of peace as well as the extensive home development, I certainly expected to find something of a central manufacturing plant. But here again there was no mill. We went from house to house, through winding lanes, up curving stairs to rooms built on the flat roofs, finding in each place a single family at work. In one house they were spinning the threads of gold, in another they were winding bobbins, in another were the hand looms where the designed fabric was produced. Always it was handwork, or at best the simplest of machines operated by hand or foot power. And always the work was shared by the family, father and sons working to-

gether, the boys learning from their father the secrets of the trade they were some day to inherit.

Many tourists from America have passed through the bazars of Damascus and have watched with delight the skill with which the inlaid metal work is performed. The hammered brass trays and bowls, so graceful and artistic, some inlaid with silver wire, others engraved with Arabic and Turkish texts and proverbs, are all made by hand in individual work rooms in Damascus and Brussa. Travelers will also recall the little shops, open to the street, with scarce room to turn about, where the carpenters of Damascus produce the beautiful walnut screens and chairs, which adorn many an "oriental room" in this country.

In the same manner, through all the north country, whether for home use or for sale, the great rug industry of Turkey is carried on by the hand work of unorganized individuals in the home. One can buy machine made rugs of oriental design—some of these are actually being produced in Smyrna—but they do not bear the marks of the finer hand made carpets.

Into the making of a fine rug there has entered months, and sometimes years, of labor and study. A girl has woven a carpet as part of her wedding outfit or a wife has labored long and faithfully to produce a carpet for her home. She has spun the yarn, prepared the dyes, and day after day, in such time as she might take from her household tasks, has skillfully tied the knots until the beautiful whole was complete.

And so with practically every industry of Turkey—with the dairy products, the pottery work, the drying of fruits, the making of lace—the background is one of hand labor, small shops, a room in the home. There is no organization of industries such as America and Europe have developed in mills and factories. The only form of cooperative control for the different trades exists in recognized guilds. Boys serve apprenticeships and are admitted, after attaining a degree of proficiency, as regularly recognized journeymen. But men, having acquired a trade, are quite helpless if work in their line is dull. This produces a disastrous immobility of

labor. Workmen cannot shift readily from one trade to another, where skill of hand developed after long practice is the chief requirement. This situation means that many industries are restricted to single communities. A family or a village have developed a particular process, and jealously guard the secret they have discovered. Their interest does not reach out to the country as a whole except to sell their wares. If an epidemic of illness prevails, or by other chance the members of that family or community are carried away, their contribution to art or trade is forever lost. There are examples of such lost arts. One is represented by the beautiful glazed tiles in the Armenian convent and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and in the Tomb of Saladin in Damascus, which date back to the 16th century. The secret of their manufac-



A CRUDE LOOM IN A MUD-WALLED SYRIAN ROOM—SUCH IS THE TEXTILE FACTORY COMMON THROUGHOUT TURKEY

Every Phase of Production Is Still Governed by Primitive Tradition, the Secrets Jealously Guarded, the Technique and Art Handed Down from Father to Son

ture was buried with the artisans who made them.

Of course, by far the greater part of the people of Turkey are engaged in agriculture, for Turkey is preeminently an agricultural land. But so much has been said about this branch of industry, of the primitive methods and crude implements in use, that I shall pass over it and give more particular attention to other aspects of Turkey's general industrial situation.

Turkey is recognized as one of the important sources of raw materials used in the factories of



COTTON WEAVING AS ONE MAY SEE IT IN THE SMALL VILLAGES OF TURKEY

No Factory Whistle As Yet Invades the Peaceful Quiet of Village Existence. A Single Family or Community Carries on Its Particular Trade with Little Interest in the Horizon of the Larger World

Europe and America. This production might be many times multiplied by the use of improved methods and instruments. Nevertheless a far from negligible quantity of Turkish raw material finds its way into the markets of the world. The exports from Turkey to the United States alone are normally in excess of \$15,000,000 annually, and her total exports, chiefly in the form of raw materials, are ten times that figure.

From time immemorial the peoples of this land have followed the pastoral calling. The keeping of flocks and herds is an industry throughout the mountains of Kurdistan and the adjoining hills. Great flocks are kept all along the edge of the desert and in central Asia Minor. Turkey exported to America in 1912 wool to the value of \$2,044,442. The number of mohair goats in Asia Minor has been estimated at 3,000,000 and the mohair annually produced is reported to be worth \$4,000,000. This industry of stock raising, besides supplying the people with a large amount of food and clothing, furnishes for the export trade hides, hair and dairy products. The tanning of leather, however, has never been carried on to any great extent. Turkey exports great quantities of raw hides, especially goat and sheep skins, and imports the finished leather, depending on Europe for all the finer grades. Tanning easily might become a valuable industry of the country since the hides are there and many articles needed by the tanners grow wild in the forests. In connection with industries depending on leather, the making of shoes, harness and pack saddles is extensive. Going through the bazars of such a city as Aleppo one finds whole

streets given up to little shops where one or two men sit on the mat covered floor and ply their trade. The trappings for camels and mules are often elaborate, decorated with blue beads, tiny shells, and small jingling bells.

Dairying is carried on after a primitive fashion. Quantities of cheese are made, especially by the semi-nomadic shepherds. The cooking fats used by the people of the land are made from the tails of sheep and also by boiling down butter churned from cow and buffalo milk. A beginning has been made in the evaporation of milk for commercial purposes in Smyrna and Konia, and a most delicious and easily digested food, introduced into America as "bulgarzu" or "vaghurt" is made by a special fermentation of milk. This is a very common form of using milk throughout the whole country and from it is derived a form of cottage cheese.

The whole of Asiatic Turkey is a fruit country, fruits of the temperate climes growing in the north and on the mountain slopes, those of the subtropical in the valleys and farther south. Not only does the raising of these fruits constitute a most important industry, but also the preparation of them for market in such forms as dried raisins, figs, dates and apricots. In 1913 America purchased \$721,000 worth of dried dates, \$824,000 worth of dried figs, and \$96,000 worth of raisins from Turkey. But this represents only a fraction of the total product in these lines. By far the largest part is for home consumption. A store of dried figs and raisins is a regular part of the housewife's supply for the winter. On almost every housetop



in August and September throughout the fig and grape districts, one will find these fruits drying. Damascus and its vicinity are famous for apricots. These are dried in great sheets and shipped abroad to Egypt and Europe where they are used for making jam. In 1913, 4,266 tons were shipped from Beirut. The apricot seeds are also sold to Europe and from them "almond" oil is extracted. Of these seeds, 956 tons passed out of the Beirut port in 1913.

The olive tree is recognized as being native to the land of Syria. It grows everywhere throughout the country on all lands below 3,000 feet of elevation. To plant an olive orchard requires faith and patience, for the tree must be ten years old before it begins to yield and twenty years old before coming into full bearing. Yet the care and cultivation of olive orchards are a prime industry. The manufacture of olive oil necessarily follows. A great circular stone turned by a blind-folded mule or horse crushes the olives, and a lever with a heavy stone at its end presses down the mass of olive pulp, squeezing out the oil. A few modern presses have been introduced. Like other industries these olive presses are operated in the homes, the property and profession of a single family.

"The treading of the wine press" is an important occupation during the late summer. Stone vats built up or cut out of the solid rock are found near the vineyards. Into these are emptied the baskets of grapes, which barefoot men and boys tramp to a pulp from which a rude press forces out the juice. The pressing of the grapes is a gala time of year and all the countryside, men, women and children, gather at the presses to help in picking and tramping the fruit and boiling it down. In certain districts very good wines are made; in other places the juice is used almost exclusively for a kind of molasses, called *pekmes* or *dibs*.

When Moses described the Promised Land to the Israelites he spoke of it as "a land whose stones are iron and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." Evidently Joshua and his fellow spies had made a careful survey of the resources of the land. They had walked through the country with their eyes open. For the Ottoman Em-

pire has wonderfully rich deposits of the more useful metals, iron, copper, tin, lead and zinc. Up to the present these have received little attention and the mining and smelting throughout Turkey wherever carried on is very crude. An American college professor testifies that around the copper mines at Arghund Maaden "ore containing 30 to 50 per cent of copper is thrown away as useless and mountains of such waste surround the mouth of the mine." So Turkey actually imports sheets of copper to the annual amount of some \$1,393,000, for use in her industries of hand-made vessels for the household and for articles of decoration. Every family must be furnished with cooking and washing utensils of copper; other forms are considered too inferior even for the poor. All the vessels are hammered and shaped by hand in little shops. The village of Beit Shebab in the Lebanon Mountains is devoted to the particular metal industry of bell casting. The products of this village, which come out of the furnaces and moulds in the home yards, have been calling priests and people throughout the country to morning and evening prayer for many generations.

The terms *damask* and *muslin* remind us that the two ancient cities of Damascus and Mosul have given us the names of the finest linen and cotton weaves. "Tyrian purple" woven and dyed in Tyre and Sidon was the cloth for kings. "Fine twined linen" was used in the tabernacle of the Hebrews



A CARPENTER OF DAMASCUS

Out of the Small Shops and Homes of Damascus Comes Furniture Which Finds its Way Across the Ocean to Many as "Oriental Room" in This Country



A. R. Strong

#### IN A SHEEP AND GOAT MARKET OF KONIA

From Time Immemorial the Pastoral Calling Has Been Followed by Hillmen and Plainmen of Asia Minor, Whose Flocks Yield a Large and Important Export of Wool

and the city of Tarsus was famous for its goat's hair cloth which in his youth the Apostle Paul learned to sew into tents. These industries are still preserved very much in their ancient form. There is the simple loom of the Bedawi with the warp stretched from stakes driven into the ground, and the carpenter made hand loom of the professional weaver of Homs or Aleppo or Brussa. There are, in addition, a few modern cotton mills in the Cilician plain.

The textile industry of Turkey involves the rearing of sheep and goats for wool and hair, tending silk worms, gathering cocoons and spinning thread, and the cultivation of cotton and flax. In a list of twenty-five leading Turkish imports given in an American consular report, manufactured textiles stand first and constitute one-third of all imports. In 1912 the importation of textiles of all sorts amounted to some \$60,000,000, or three dollars' worth for each man, woman and child in the Em-

pire. In the list in question there were no raw materials. Whatever the people manufacture for themselves, they manufacture from the products of their own land.

When the season for raising silk worms comes in the spring every householder hatches a few eggs and feeds the worms from his own mulberry trees. There are large owners of estates with thousands of trees but these let out to small farmers the task of raising the silk worms. On the warm sea plains, booths of reeds and branches are constructed for the protection of the worms; higher on the mountain sides every room in the house is devoted to the care of this precious crop. Day and night with unwearied patience the whole family give themselves through forty days to insuring the proper maturity of the silk. There are some hand machines for spinning the silk from the cocoons, but this work has now been absorbed almost entirely by the silk factories. It is the one industry that has been organized in regular form and is carried on in factories of some size. This spinning of the silk is largely in the hands of foreigners, chiefly French, since a great part of the silk crop is marketed in France.

But silk scarfs, cushion covers and table cloths, cotton towels and dress goods, woolen carpets and rugs and heavy black goat's hair cloth for sacks and tents are produced in large quantities, here a little and there a little, from the hand loom in this village and that, some homes weaving just enough for their own use, others making a business of producing for the market.

There is one other industry worthy of mention, the making of pottery. Archeologists are accustomed to trace the history of ancient sites by bits of broken pottery, a piece of an old jar or a primitive lamp. The ruins of the city of Jebail on the Syrian coast have brought to light how one city is built above another. There, near the shore, you can find layers of fragments of pottery with several feet of earth intervening and can read the history of the city back through Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Hittite, and into pre-historic times. And so it is throughout the whole land. The making of pottery has ever been one of the great occupations. Sometimes it has been the crude earthen jars of a simple people and again the graceful vases of Greek art, or the wonderful glazed, colored tiles of Arab days. Deposits of excellent clay abound and potters still sit beside their wheels, turning them round and round with their feet while their skilful hands shape the graceful water jars. Rude ovens, heated with branches from the

pitch pine trees, serve to bake the ware and mules transport the product to the bazars.

One dominant aspect has been emphasized throughout this brief account of Turkish industries—individual hand work in the home. Enough has been said to show that abundant supplies of raw materials can be drawn from forest, field and mine. But real productive industry cannot exist on a significant scale so long as the present primitive customs persist, with the crude instruments now in use. Turkey possesses the possibility of becoming a great industrial center, a blessing to all the world, but a wholesale reconstruction and organization must first take place.

During these four years of war, through massacre, famine and disease, the Turkish Empire has suffered the loss of probably twenty per cent of her total population. And this loss has been greatest amongst the most enterprising of her industrial workers. Of the Armenians, fully one-half have been put to death and those who remain are chiefly women and children. The American Red Cross Commission to Syria and Palestine sends word that at least one-third of the people of the Lebanon Mountains have perished from hunger. These losses constitute a most serious handicap to the rehabilitation of industry. Only by the introduction of machinery and by wise organization can the people be raised from their abject poverty, forced upon them by the injustices of government and the privations of war. America has already sent fourteen million dollars to feed and reclothe the people. From the reports that are being received it is clear that this money has not only been spent in open handed charity but has also been used for the establishment of industrial centers of spinning and weaving and garment making, and in cultivating the soil and building highways. These endeavors have been directed by experienced men who have known how to introduce progressive methods while conserving the skill of the old hand laborer. When the new, reorganized government for this Empire shall have been established, the development of its possible industries according to modern scientific methods will offer an unparalleled era of prosperity to the Turkish and allied peoples.

It is true that in departing from the old hand work we shall lose much of individual skill and a great deal of the homely romance of primitive village life. But there will be compensating gains which will enable us to regard with equanimity the passing of the handicraft days and the advent



#### SILK RAISING IS THE ONE MODERNIZED INDUSTRY

It Has Already Discovered, Unfortunately, the Profit in Child Labor. Children are Employed Almost Exclusively in Certain Branches of the Industry, Particularly in the Care of Cocoons

of a new and less leisurely order of things. The present form of industry is individualistic; organized industry is cooperative. At the present time each family or village or guild is sufficient unto itself; there is no realization of interdependence and progressive expansion. Never in the past has there been the slightest attempt in Turkey to bring peoples, races, or even communities together. But when once the coppermiths of Damascus realize that they are to draw their supply of metal from the mountains of Armenia, and the cotton growers of Mesopotamia that they can sell their product to the mills at the foot of the Taurus, when the Greek merchants of Smyrna are marketing the grain and fruits of the Turks on the Anatolian plains, then there should begin to dawn the day when "they helped every one his neighbor; the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil, saying, 'Be of good courage.'"

# OPENING CHINA'S INLAND EMPIRE

## II. Resources and Traffic of the Upper Yangtze River Valley

By SILAS BENT

*Illustrations from Richard Wood Randolph's Official Photographs*

MARCO POLO, who preceded any other European traveler along the Yangtze Kiang and through Szechuan by nearly six centuries, has recorded his amazement at the size of the river and the wealth of the great southwestern province. Of the river he wrote, "Its length to the place where it discharges itself into the sea is upward of one hundred days' journey"; and he declared that "the transport of merchandise is to an extent that might appear incredible to those who have not had an opportunity of witnessing it."

In spite of this tender consideration for their credulity, the Venetians of Marco Polo's day laughed him out of court as a Munchausen, and dubbed him Marco Million in derision of his fabulous figures. It was not until the last half century that his story was verified and its merit made apparent; for what he saw in China then is true for the most part today. This fact is an astonishing commentary on the static quality of the Chinese. Were it not for the pressure of modern commerce they would not improbably stand still for

centuries to come. The vast interior realm of Szechuan is only just about to witness the advent of the "fire cart." In Marco Polo's time, as now, water afforded practically the only means of communication with the coast, but it seems a certainty that modern transportation facilities will soon be available for the outpouring of the pent riches of this part of the world. If the railroad projected under the Hukuang Loan does not tap this fertile domain, some other will. Politically and economically it is the most vital project under consideration in China today. Politically it is the most important because the Hukuang Loan represents an international cooperative effort to develop China, in which America has played a prime part, and out of which may grow a new peaceful financial policy in the Far East. Economically it is the most important because it would offer release to China's richest province, now dependent solely upon precarious river-borne traffic, and because it would constitute one of the main arteries in that vast nation's striding system of communication.

In a previous article, I have told of the circum-



HANKOW, EASTERN YANGTZE VALLEY TERMINUS OF PROPOSED CANTON-CHENG TU RAILROAD  
Together with Hanyang and Wuchang, a City Lying on the Opposite Bank of the Yangtze, This Vast Inland Metropolis Is Destined to Play a Significant Part in China's Larger Development

stances in which Mr. Richard Wood Randolph and his party surveyed the regions from Ichang through Chungking to Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan, for the projected laying of a railroad. In this article I shall attempt to give a somewhat particularized summary of the commercial possibilities entailed in the opening of the vast province within the ranges of China's prohibited hinterland, together with a sketch of the history of foreign effort to make the Yangtze River itself a means of tapping the resources of that hinterland more quickly and more reliably through the development of steam navigation. For unless it is conclusively shown that the river is not a possible competitive factor, so hazardous and defiant an undertaking cannot justify itself. The necessity of laying a railroad will become evident from the following estimate of the volume of Szechuan trade made by Mr. Randolph.

Ocean-going steamships navigate the Yangtze for more than six hundred miles—from its mouth to Hankow—and a British battleship of the first class has been seen lying alongside the wharves of Hankow. That city's position gives promise that it will command a large portion of the trade of the Chinese Republic. Railroad lines, built, building or contracted for, radiate from it to Peking, Canton, Szechuan and eastward to the sea. The line to Canton is part of the Szechuan project. Across the river lies Wuchang, celebrated as the cradle of the revolution which overthrew the Manchus; and

on the opposite side of the Han River, which here enters the Yangtze, lies Hanyang, seat of a large arsenal and iron foundry. The three towns, known collectively as the Wu-Han cities, have a population of more than a million. Hankow is the strategic hub of traffic for Hupeh, Hunan, Honan, Szechuan and Shensi, each the equal in area and population of a European country. Szechuan, which ranks first among them, has a population estimated at seventy-eight millions; that of Hupeh is thirty-four millions; that of Honan and Hunan, twenty-two millions each. In the Szechuan railroad enterprise, Hankow is the pivotal junction, on which the line swings from its general east-and-west direction to the south and Canton.

Above Hankow, the Yangtze is easily navigable as far as Ichang for steam vessels of light draft, but for points above Ichang, commodities must be trans-shipped either by junks or by one of the specially constructed steamers now plying an uncertain trade to Chungking. Five miles above Ichang begins that formidable series of mountain defiles through which the Yangtze has furrowed its way to the ocean. These gorges form the only natural outlet through the ranges which encircle the "Red Basin." The Szechuan-Hankow Railroad will go through them, at a level above the reach of the water even at the most swollen stages. The "Red Basin" was so named by Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen, a German traveler who first directed the attention of his country to the coal



HANKOW IS ALREADY POPULARLY REFERRED TO AS THE CHICAGO OF CHINA

China's Most Prosperous Industrial Plant, the Hanyang Iron and Steel Works, is Located Directly Across the Han River Which Separates Hankow from Hanyang

deposits in Shantung and the value of Kiaochow as a port. To this day his description of the resources of Szechuan remains a standard. The predominance of red sandstone in that section caused him to give the tableland its name; and he told in detail of its farm and garden products, its minerals, its giant azaleas, its rhododendrons and yews and bamboos, its tallow and varnish and wax trees.

Szechuan ("Four Rivers") derives its name from the passage through it of four of the Yangtze's principal tributaries, the Min, Chung-kiang, Fukiang and the Kialing, the two latter uniting to form the Min before its junction with the Yangtze near Chung-kiang. But the Yangtze is not so called by the Chinese except in its lower course. Its winding headwaters are known as Mura Ussa, "Tortuous Waters"; and as it descends from the Thibetan heights it comes to be called the Kin-sha-kiang, "River of Golden Sands," owing to the presence of gold and quartz-bearing rock along its shores. In Szechuan, after its junction with the Min, the natives call it by the name of the tributary, apparently regarding it as a continuation of that stream; while further down it is called Ta-kiang, "The Great River."

At Chungking the elevation of the river is 630 feet above sea-level, and the average fall to Ichang is fourteen inches per mile. Owing to the softness of the sandstone and the turbulence of the water, the bed is carved in monstrous shapes, so that a profile chart looks more grotesque than the New York sky-line. The annual rise in the waters at Chungking is from seventy to ninety feet, at Ichang from forty to fifty feet. Between the two towns there are thirteen big rapids and seventy-two smaller ones. This stretch, including the famous gorges, is so difficult to navigate even during the most favorable seasons, on account of its rapids, whirlpools, reefs and cross-currents, that the annual loss of life and property is very great and the tariff on freights is almost prohibitive. Up-river freights are more than three times as expensive as down-river freights, and require twice as much time for hauling. Cargoes are frequently weeks en route between Ichang and Chungking, only about 500 miles apart. From Ichang to Chengtu the money invested in freight is often locked up for three months on end. No insurance is obtainable because of the excessive risk to cargoes in the whirlpool. But in spite of all these obstacles, in spite of the delays and dangers and difficulties, trade is actually on the increase!

From the bulk of the trade now moving in and out of Szechuan, some idea may be gained of the possible future development. The goods moving in a single sub-normal year, when reduced to railroad tonnage, were estimated by Mr. Randolph

at more than fifteen thousand car lots. This estimate was made at a time when the trade along the upper Yangtze was just recovering from a series of setbacks, and before the war in Europe reacted as disastrously on business conditions in the Orient as it did throughout the world. It does not take local business into account, nor that part of the traffic which usually escapes tabulation. It must be borne in mind that a railroad would reduce vastly the time during which capital must be locked up in moving commodities; would make safe those transfers now so hazardous; and would afford additional advantages of protection from weather and accident. To what extent this already enormous business would be increased, once modern transportation facilities were made available, it is impossible to guess. It seems a certainty that the Szechuan Railroad would soon be freighted to its capacity with the outward moving products of the rich province and the inward moving commodities of foreign manufacturers.

The Yangtze is at its low level from mid-December to mid-April, and during that time the current does not average more than two or three knots in the straight reaches, but is still dangerous in the rapids. Junk traffic flourishes during these months, the journey from Ichang to Chungking requiring only from twenty-five to thirty-five days. The mid-level stage of the river, in which the current increases sometimes to five knots, obtains during May and June. Junk travel between the two cities now requires from thirty-five to fifty days, and accidents reach their maximum, causing the loss of five to six per cent. of the cargo. The river reaches its high level from July to November, the current at this time ranging from four to five knots. The waters are so turbulent during the freshets, which are heightened by the melting of Thibetan snows, that all junk traffic ceases and even steam navigation becomes impossible.

The late Archibald J. Little, F. R. G. S., of Shanghai, was the pioneer in establishing steam traffic on the upper Yangtze. In his *The Yangtze Gorges* he describes the first ascent of the river by steam. The *Kuling*, a stern-wheeler of about four hundred tons, constructed on the Clyde, was shipped in sections to Shanghai for the purpose of making the experiment, but as in so many other instances official obstruction was encountered and the ship had to be sold. Mr. Little, however, was not to be thwarted for long. In January, 1898, he left Shanghai on his second attempt, in the *Leechuen*, a twin-screw steamer with a teak hull, fifty-five feet long, capable of nine knots—an excellent vessel for the work. Leaving Ichang the middle of February, the *Leechuen* finally reached Chungking on the 9th of March. During the next two years the British gunboats *Woodlark* and



THE YANGTZE RIVER AT ICHANG DURING THE LOW LEVEL STAGE OF THE DRY SEASON  
It Is Necessary to Transport All the Cargo Across Long Stretches of Mud Flats from Junks and Such Small Steamers As Can Make Their Way from Hankow up the Shrunken Channel to this Point in the River. A Smoke-Stack of One of These Vessels Is Just Visible at the Extreme Right of the Picture



THE SAME POINT IN THE YANGTZE RIVER AT MID LEVEL STAGE  
The Relation of the Customs Pontoon As Shown Here in Contrast to Its Position at Low Level, Pictured Above, Gives a Clear Conception of the Sweeping Changes That Must Take Place in the Volume of Trade As Well As Methods of Handling Transportation Consequent Upon River Conditions



SEVERAL MILES OF RICH HARVEST FIELDS NEAR SUCHIA-WAN

Throughout a Large Area of the Province of Szechuan, or "Four Rivers," Two Main Crops Are Harvested Annually by the Thrifty Chinese Farmers, in Addition to All Sorts of Intermediate Yields

Woodcock also succeeded in reaching Chungking. In 1900 the *Pioneer*, a British-built paddle-wheel steamer 170 feet long, drawing six feet laden, made two round trips. Germany made a disastrous attempt to enter the new trade field in January, 1900, but her steel paddle-boat *Sui Hsiang*, 180 feet long, was wrecked on her maiden trip in the K'ungling rapids and her captain lost.

It was not until 1908 that a further attempt was made to establish a regular commercial service. The Szechuan Steam Navigation Company, a Chinese concern, employed Captain S. C. Plant to superintend the construction in England of a suitable vessel. It was christened the *Shutung*, and went into commission between Ichang and Chungking the following year. In reality it was a dual contrivance; a twin-screw light-draft steel tug, 115 feet long, to which was lashed (so that the two resembled a catamaran) a steel flatboat of about the same size. It was capable of carrying sixty tons of cargo and one hundred passengers. The investment proved so profitable that the owners decided to place a second boat on the run, and Captain Plant returned to England to design a larger craft. She was called the *Shuhun*, was 194 feet long, with a breadth of 30 feet and a draft of five, and was capable of carrying 250 tons and 300

passengers. She went into commission on April 26, 1914, and has been accepted as the most suitable vessel yet placed on the river.

The advent of steam river craft and the prospect of a railroad probably mean the death knell of the picturesque Chinese junk in this part of the country. These ungainly vessels, sometimes with black smoke from inferior soft coal pouring out of their cabin windows, crowd the broad stream of the Yangtze and every other river in China, not to mention the canals. The Commissioner of Customs at Ichang, in his annual report for 1914, gave the number of junks plying the upper river as 23,303 entered, and 17,952 cleared. Junks range in size from ten tons to 100 tons or more. They are built chiefly at Chungking and Wan Hien two hundred miles further down stream. For the bottom of the junks, oak planking three or four inches thick is used; the boarding for the lower part of the hull is made from the Nan Mu laurel and the wood of a conifer is used for the upper part, including the deck houses, hatches and masts. The largest type of junk measures 115 by 16 feet and is seven feet deep. Its expenses on a trip from Ichang to Chungking will run approximately to \$325 gold and down-river to \$54 gold. In addition to the dangers attending steam navigation, junks





ALONG THE COURSE OF THE PROPOSED RAILROAD BETWEEN CHUNGKING AND CHENG TU  
Vast Stores of Raw Materials and Produce from One of the Richest Granaries of the World Will Be Thrown  
on the Market in Return for Foreign Commodities Once Transportation Is Established

are liable to loss through the cross-currents which sweep them upon the rocks, or they may flounder in the rapids or be broken up in the whirlpools, so that crews and cargoes more than once have been lost altogether, or perhaps spewed up in less turbulent reaches of the river miles below.

Merchandise destined for ports west of Ichang arrives for the most part via steamers from Shanghai and the lower river ports, although some is carried from Shasi and Hankow directly by junk. At Ichang steamer cargo is unloaded and stored in the "go-downs" of shipping companies and re-forwarded principally by junks to destinations west of the gorges. Upper river steamers, during such portions of the year as they are able to navigate, may deliver treasure at all ports, but cargo only at treaty ports. They therefore carry cargo only between Ichang and Chungking.

Junk traffic may be divided into two classes: the "chartered," which is under the control of the Maritime Customs; and the "unchartered," which is under the control of the *Likin* offices and over which the Maritime Customs exercise no jurisdiction, beyond the measurement of the junks for the collection of tonnage dues through the native customs department. The "chartered junk," like the upper river steamers, may deliver cargo only

at treaty ports. This class of junk is cleared by the Maritime Customs at Ichang or Chungking and dispatched under customs documents. Its cargo may not be discharged en route. In attempting to arrive at an estimate of the traffic on the Yangtze, the Maritime Customs' records of the kind and amount of cargo carried by each "chartered" junk is the only authentic source of the known volume of trade to and from Szechuan except for salt which is under a separate administration. Such records as are kept by the *Likin* offices are not made public. The Maritime Customs at Ichang, when measuring "unchartered junks" for tonnage dues, endeavor to ascertain from the junk-master the nature and amount of his cargo, but they have no authority to verify his statements.

In spite of these handicaps, Mr. Randolph made an effort to estimate the total volume of Szechuan trade. During the years 1911, 1912, and part of 1913, Chungking was repeatedly ravished by fire, the Manchu dynasty fell, open rebellion broke out against the president of the young republic. Natural disaster and political chaos combined to preclude the possibility of normal trade. Then came the European war. The first seven months of 1914, therefore, were accepted by Mr. Randolph as more nearly approaching the average for that period in

former years, and furnish the data for the summary. Accepting the Szechuan trade classified under the control of the Maritime Customs and that reported by the Salt Gabelle as the "known" volume, and that under the jurisdiction of the Likin offices as "debatable," Mr. Randolph reduced the amount to car lots and estimated the revenue on the average for freight tariffs in China. These figures may be grouped in four tables, which are too lengthy for repetition in detail here, but which, in summarized form, may afford a valuable and interesting light on trade conditions in Szechuan.

The first table, dealing with the original articles imported and exported through the Maritime Customs between Ichang and Chungking, represents only the direct trade between these cities. It shows a total of 4,621 carloads, and a revenue of \$1,562,541.75 (Hankow Taels).

The second table, representing the principal articles exported through the Maritime Customs at Ichang, does not include re-exports from Chungking but represents intermediate merchandise. It gives a total of 1,175 carloads, and a revenue of \$288,476.37.

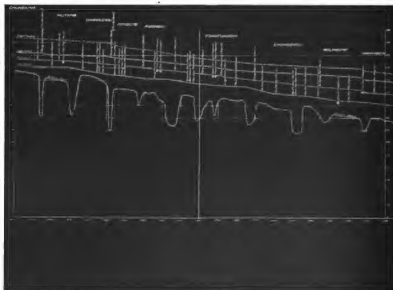
The third table represents some of the principal

foreign commodities entering Szechuan from Ichang by transit pass, not by river. Ninety per cent of these articles were billed to Chengtu. This table gives a total of 484 carloads and \$145,611.50.

The fourth table represents known trade not listed in the books of the Maritime Customs, although it passes through them. The items were obtained from the books of foreign shipping firms. The table also contains the figures for salt. It gives a total of 3,621 carloads and a revenue of \$1,291,020.75; but 3,126 of these carloads represent the salt transfer, for Szechuan is rich in brine wells, and the revenue from this freight alone is estimated at \$1,110,511.50.

It will thus be seen that the total number of carloads of "known" freight is 9,901, and the total revenue \$3,357,650.37. The total "known" dead-weight tonnage is estimated at 185,857.

It is impossible to subdivide in detail the "debatable" volume of trade, but Mr. Randolph approximated it from a comparison of the customs tabulation and the office record of the shipping companies at Ichang. From Chungking and other up-river reports, 23,879 junks and 47 steamers apparently entered and cleared the port of Ichang,



PROFILE OF THE YANGTZE RIVER FROM ICHANG TO CHUNGKING

The Dotted Line Shows the High Freshet Level, the Solid Line Immediately Beneath It Ordinary High Level, the Succeeding Lines Mid and Low Levels Respectively

and it is this fleet which carried both the "known" and the "debatable" tonnage. The steamers bore a total deadweight cargo of 5,520 short tons. The junk tonnage was estimated at an average of 19.1 tons, and was found to be 456,089. The total of 461,609 deadweight tons, however, could not be translated directly into carloads because some items would fill a car by bulk but not by weight. Forty packages of raw cotton, for instance, which would fill a freight car, weigh only 9,600 pounds, whereas the average car holds nearly nineteen tons (to be exact, 18.7 tons), as Mr. Randolph found by striking an average of the cars required to carry the "known" freight. This tonnage comprised more than one hundred different commodities and so afforded a safe basis for the estimate.

On this basis, the "debatable" volume of trade was found to be approximately 275,752 tons, or 14,691 carloads, after the "known" deadweight tonnage had been subtracted from the total tonnage carried by these craft.

The passenger traffic on the chartered junks was 80,248 persons. Mr. Randolph estimated the average revenue for freight and passengers, disregarding those persons carried on unchartered craft (al-

though the number probably was greater than the number of those traveling on junks clearing through the Maritime Customs) as follows:

Known volume of trade .....	\$1,357,650
Debatable volume of trade .....	4,981,989
Passenger revenue .....	2,310,952
Total .....	(Hk. Ts.) \$10,650,591

These figures take no account of local business over the more than five hundred miles of rich and densely populated territory west of the proposed railroad, but it is estimated that "short hauls" in Szechuan would at least double the foregoing total of through freight. The figures, furthermore, ignore the development of branch lines, such as have already been considered to Kiating-fu, Yashow-fu and the Thibet border, as well as west along the Yangtze to connect with Sui-fu and the prospective Yunnan lines.

It is safe to conclude that river traffic, on which the tariff is three times as high as that estimated for the railroad, could not compete between points where railroad traffic was possible, and that the network of streams would serve but to feed the railroads. The first-class steamer passenger tariff, for instance, from Chungking to Ichang, is



A GRAPHIC INDICATION OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF RIVER TRAFFIC

The Configurations of the River Bed Resemble the New York Sky-Line. In This Chart One Inch Equals 75 Feet in the Vertical and 10 Miles in the Horizontal Scale. The Annual Rise at Chungking is from 70 to 90 Feet

\$40, and from Ichang to Chungking \$80, in accordance with the greater cost and difficulty of up-stream navigation. The railroad tariff would be but \$24 either way. In the same way, the third-class tariff from Chungking to Ichang is \$30, and up-stream \$60, whereas the railroad charge would be \$16, assuming that the line would provide a cheap service as elsewhere in China. The time consumed by steamers in making the down-stream trip ranges from 40 to 72 hours; and, in breasting the current for that distance, from 72 to 168 hours; but the railroad would make the journey either way in fourteen hours.

Two-thirds of all the opium formerly raised in China came from Szechuan. The total annual production was estimated at 330,000 piculs, or about 45,000,000 pounds. When opium-smoking was at its height in China, only about one-seventh of the opium consumed was imported, and that came from India; China actually exported to Indo-China nearly five thousand piculs annually. The large quantities of Szechuan opium exported into other parts of China set up a lively business along the Yangtze. Reports of the traffic so far as they are given in the official record, for much opium was smuggled back and forth even prior to the anti-opium law

of 1908 (by which opium consumption was to be reduced by one-tenth annually until total suppression was attained in 1918) show with what amazing suddenness Szechuan abandoned the trade. In frontier sections, however, inaccessible to the authorities, poppy is still secretly cultivated according to the reports of disinterested travelers.

To enumerate the articles, more than one hundred in all, which figure in the estimates of legitimate Szechuan trade, would only prove wearisome. The production of foodstuffs is the greatest industry in the province, and practically all of it is consumed at home. Because of the even climate in Szechuan, so walled in is it by mountains, two main harvests are possible, with intermediate crops from gardens. The temperature ranges from twenty-five to one hundred and five degrees. All winter the swallows seek their insect food through the bamboo groves and along the canals of the vast and fertile Chengtu plain. Fruit, potatoes, rice, wheat, Indian corn, sugar, tea and buckwheat grow plentifully, but these do not bulk in the traffic. Fabrics, metal wares and the products of primitive factories are the chief commodities moving up and down the broad Yangtze. Other exports are salt, coal, hides and oils. It is true that



CREST OF THE FAMOUS YEH-TAN RAPIDS AT LOW WATER

The Junk in the Picture Is Not Large, But Needs Over Forty Trackers to Tow It over the Rapids at Low Water. Between Ichang and Chungking There Are Thirteen Big Rapids and Seventy-two Smaller Ones



HSIEN-TAN RAPIDS IN THE UPPER YANGTZE, AT LOW LEVEL STAGE

During This Period the Rapid is Impassable to Steamers and Forms the First of the Relay Points Which So Greatly Add to the Time and Expense of River Transportation

at Patung Hsien oranges, pumelos and persimmons are grown in such quantities that about four hundred tons are exported annually to Ichang; but otherwise the foods produced along the route of the proposed railroad are consumed in the districts in which they are raised. In normal times the country is practically self-sustaining.

Second to the growing of foodstuffs, the most important industries in Szechuan are silk culture and silk weaving. Various kinds of machines, mostly run by foot power, are used in reeling the silk from the cocoons and weaving it into piece goods, satins, crepes, velvets, plush, gauze, ribbons, and silk thread. The annual production of silk is estimated at more than 2,500,000 kilograms (a kilogram is 2.2 pounds); the local consumption does not absorb more than 1,500,000 kilograms. The remainder is exported to Yunnan and Shensi, but above all to the lower Yangtze. The Customs see only a part smart of this export. As the production of cocoons is feeble and appliances for weaving are primitive, the present manufacture of silk, which is estimated at \$5,000,000 annually, could easily be doubled.

Bamboo plays an important part in China as a vegetable, as a textile plant, in the manufacture

of paper, and in carpentry. In Szechuan the larger kinds are made into buckets, flower vases, cash boxes, chairs, tables, and furniture. The bamboo is carved, painted and lacquered. Fans are made of it. Scaffolding, wheels, water and gas pipes, broom handles, sedan chairs, carrying poles, flutes, umbrella frames, lanterns, bird cages, combs, foot rules and chopsticks all are made of bamboo. Bamboo sounding rods are shod at the butt with iron. Small sizes are used for penholders and pipe stems. The growing plants are made into impenetrable fences by intertwining the stems. Much of the lumber used in Chengtu is obtained in the mountains to the north and floated in rafts down the Min River through that branch which passes the North Gates of the capital. It includes cypress, pine, laurel, camphor trees, japonica, "Chinese mahogany," tallow trees, privet, mulberry, willow, pear trees, box-wood, oaks, birch, chestnut, jujube, walnut and other varieties of timber not separately classified.

Chicago's boast that everything about the hog was utilized except the squeal is many centuries belated. It has been true in Szechuan since the dawn of history. It is as true of oxen and other cattle as of hogs. Hides, horns, hoofs and bones

are used to the last ounce for the meat has been stripped from the skeleton. It was estimated in 1904 that 20,000 hides of water buffalo and yak were annually available in Chengtu; that 12,000 of these were exported, and that the balance was converted into leather. In China, cattle are bred primarily for agricultural purposes, and their hides do not become available for commerce until they grow sick and die of old age. It may seem that 8,000 hides would supply but a small quantity of leather in a city like Chengtu, with half a million population; but the ordinary shoe worn by the Chinese has only a small quantity of leather at the bottom of a thick sole of felt or paper, the uppers being made of cotton, silk or satin. The everyday shoe of Chinese women contains no leather and is manufactured mostly by the women themselves.

The hair scraped from the hides of animals in manufacturing leather is sold for fertilizer, except that the longer hair of the yak is in demand to make tassels for official hats. The tails of the animals are made into fly brushes, or pleated into hats, or into the uppers for shoes, or woven into coarse cloth for strainers. Sometimes the hair is cut up into short lengths for tooth, hat, shoe and clothes brushes; but they are of poor quality. Pigs' bristles are exported, except for a small quantity which is made into inferior brushes in Chengtu. The horns of water buffalo, yak and oxen are used in the manufacture of a variety of household articles, as well as for industries. Whole streets are devoted to the manufacture of these goods. The machinery employed is the same type in use for centuries. The dust and scrapings of the horns are sold for fertilizer. The skeletons are finally sold by the butchers to men who extract the marrow for food and boil the balance for fat, which is sold to the candle shops. The hollow bones are made into cups, brush-backs, dice, chopsticks, buttons, and so forth, and the shoulder blades are made into scoops for salt and sugar shops.

Feather and wool enter somewhat into the industrial life of Szechuan. The wool received at Chungking is drawn chiefly from the great Thibetan markets, and is manufactured into the felt used for making the soles of Chinese shoes, and a cloth in imitation of fur to line winter garments. Rags are manufactured into carpets and rugs at Sui-fu, situated at the junction of the Min River with the Yangtze.

Camel caravans bear into Szechuan riches from the roof of the world. Chengtu, the chief center for the curing of skins, is a market for Thibetan furs. In Szechuan there are goats, sheep, rabbits, otters and monkeys, but from Thibet the market

is supplied with the furs of goats, sheep, fox, lynx, wolf and civet, and with some second-rate sables. A few tiger and leopard skins are also sold. Monkey skins are made into leggings and breast pads, and are worn in the belief that they cure rheumatism. The Thibetan merchants in their long yellow coats lend color to the streets of Chengtu and Chungking. From Chungking one well-traveled road runs due west through Tatsienlu and Litang to Batang, and then curves northwest through Tzeliutsing, Ningyuang and Tali to Bhamo on the northeastern frontier of Burma. Connecting the cities of Tali and Lichang is a north and south road spanning the two caravan routes.

Salt abounds in Szechuan and the brine is drawn from the wells through long bamboo tubes. The annual output is estimated at 29,262 tons and is valued at more than a million and a half dollars. Coal is abundant but much of it is regarded as of inferior quality. The annual output is 314,375 tons and its value is estimated at nearly two and a quarter millions of dollars. Even iron, although the facilities for smelting it are primitive, is taken out of the earth annually to the extent of 8,000 tons, at an estimated value of more than \$300,000. Little gold is produced except that washed from the sands of the rivers tumbling down from Thibet, but even so the value of the annual output is close to \$25,000. Copper deposits are numerous and are reported to be of good quality, but only about \$176,850 worth is produced annually. Lead, saltpetre, sulphur, silver, antimony, zinc and nitrates are scattered over the province. Oil is believed to be plentiful at a depth of eighteen hundred or two thousand feet, but various expeditions which have studied the fields differ as to the possible output.

Such is the fecund and luxurious region for which the Szechuan-Hankow Railroad would open a sluice-gate to the world. Tapping Chengtu and Chungking, the projected railroad would afford an outlet for these vast riches, which now seldom find their way to the markets of the civilized world. It would also, in all probability, draw through the Yangtze valley to Shanghai or Canton many commodities which now follow the circuitous northern camel route through Manchuria to connect with railroads in territory largely dominated by the Japanese. Tourists, attracted by the grandeur of the one and the opulence of the other, may eagerly look forward to the day when the gorges and the rolling fields of distant Szechuan become accessible; but to business men the lure of the project lies in the unexampled opportunity afforded for a profitable commerce between the millions pent in the "Red Basin" and the foreign manufacturer seeking his market.

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# SHANTUNG

## The Eastern Alsace-Lorraine

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### AMERICA'S POLICY IN THE FAR EAST

*As Defined by Secretary of State Lansing*

Secretary Lansing, in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 11 last, in clearing up the doubt that has surrounded, in the Ishii-Lansing agreement, the phrase regarding Japan's "special interests in China," has reaffirmed with unmistakable clearness:

1.—That the policy of the United States is unchanged from that of its original defense of the Open Door and the preservation of the territorial integrity of China.

2.—That the position of the United States in relation to China is more sharply defined than ever before in the Secretary's direct refusal to accept Viscount Ishii's claim for Japan's paramountcy in China.

The record is clear. We are in a position to stand firm against Japan's imperialistic claim and policy, particularly evidenced at this time in Shantung. The testimony of Secretary Lansing will be as historic as the enunciation of the Hay Doctrine, the Root-Takahira agreement, and the Ishii-Lansing notes. The testimony follows:

Explaining in detail the negotiations between himself and Viscount Ishii in consummation of their agreement, Secretary Lansing said:

"I suggested to Viscount Ishii that it would be well for the two Governments to reaffirm the Open Door Policy, on the ground that reports were being spread as to the purpose of Japan to take advantage of the situation created by the war to extend her influence over China—political influence. Ishii replied to me that he would like to consider that matter, but that, of course, he felt that Japan had a special interest in China, and that that should be mentioned in any agreement that we had; and I replied to him that we, of course, recognized that Japan, on account of her geographical position, had a peculiar interest in China, but that it was not political in nature, and that the danger of a statement of special interest was that it might be so construed, and therefore I objected to making such a statement.

"At another interview we discussed the phrase 'special interests,' which the Japanese Government had been very insistent upon, and which, with the explanation I have made, I was not very strongly opposed to, thinking that the reaffirmation of the Open Door Policy was the most essential thing that we could have at this time; and we discussed the phrase which appeared in the draft note, 'special interest,' and I told him then that if it meant 'paramount interest,' I could not discuss it further; but if he meant special interest based upon geographical position, I would consider the insertion of it in the note. Then it was, during that same interview, that we mentioned 'paramount interest' and he made a reference to the Monroe Doctrine, and rather a suggestion that there should be a Monroe Doctrine for the Far East.

"And I told him that there seemed to be a misconception as to the underlying principle of the Monroe Doctrine; that it was not an assertion of primacy or paramount interest by the United States in its relation to other American Republics; that its purpose was to prevent foreign powers from interfering with the separate rights of any nation in this hemisphere, and that the whole aim was to preserve to each Republic the power of self-development. I said further that so far as aiding in this development the United States claimed no special privileges over other countries."

"Excuse me, Mr. Secretary. Were those oral declarations that were made?" asked Senator Brandegee.

"Oral entirely," Secretary Lansing replied. . . . "I told Viscount Ishii that I felt that the same principle should be applied to China, and that no special privileges, and certainly no paramount interest, in that country should be claimed by any foreign power. While the phrasing of the notes to be exchanged was further considered, the meaning of 'special interest' was not again discussed."

"What did Viscount Ishii say? Did he apparently coincide with your view or did he maintain silence?" asked Senator Brandegee.

"He maintained silence," answered Secretary Lansing.

"Then what made you think that Viscount Ishii had accepted your definition of special interest?" asked Senator Borah.

"The fact that he continued the discussions," said Mr. Lansing. "I had told him that I could not go on unless my interpretation of those words was accepted. He continued to discuss the agreement and to press for the inclusion of the phrase regarding Japan's special interest."

## HIS SPIRIT'S PLACE

By MARJORIE LATTI BARSTOW

*"His Spirit's Place," the tablet reads,  
"Our sage Confucius, here he lies."  
And moss and little wandering seeds  
Have lodged above him; for the wise  
And patient souls that walk his land  
Have learned from him to understand  
The worth of old enduring things,  
And all the pilgrim feet that come  
To find him in their wanderings  
Bring no new restlessness to hum  
And buzz around him. So green life  
Grows fair about his tomb, and strife  
May not come thither to disgrace*

*His Spirit's Place.*

*His Spirit's Place has been the heart  
Of his great land that learned from him  
Its wise, conserving ways, an art  
Of living, now a little dim  
And old for these new times, but still  
Instinct with hidden life to thrill  
A people into action, yet.  
For they who, through long centuries  
Of years unparalleled in peace  
And grave prosperity, have clung  
About his tomb, will not forget  
Their ancient love so readily,  
Nor stand by, silent, when they see  
The alien coming to disgrace*

*His Spirit's Place.*

*His Spirit's Place belongs to them  
Whose life was fashioned to his life,  
Who learned his courage to condemn  
The state that thrives on gold and strife,  
Whose empire round him soberly  
Grew like some wide-spread, fruitful tree  
Well-rooted in deep soil, and bore  
Rich arts and wisdom in good store.  
They own his tomb who hold it by  
The cleanest title known on earth,  
The oldest claim beneath the sky.  
He lies in land that was their own  
Since time itself was marked and known  
In human annals, and the dead  
Of many generations there  
Attest the claim. What do they, then,  
This upstart race of foreign men,  
These aliens coming to disgrace*

*His Spirit's Place?*



# DEMOCRACY COLLIDES WITH IMPERIALISM OVER SHANTUNG

**S**HANTUNG is only an incident in Japan's Imperial policy for dominating Eastern Asia. Behind Shantung is Japan's determination to control the economic resources of China in order to raise herself to a first-class power and to maintain that position. Everyone now knows that this programme is a policy of force to the utmost. We know it. Europe knows it. China knows it. Japan knows it.

Japan is carrying this programme to the limit of Prussianism. Upon a country with whom she was not at war—merely a weakened people in vassalage to her, Korea—Japan has committed extreme cruelties, sabering and beating the people, burning whole villages, abolishing civil rights. Japan has terrorized a nation and until recent weeks was in the act of terrorizing a great province in China. She has poisoned whole populations through illegitimate smuggling of morphine and opium.

It is rare that Japan's underlying aims are so baldly stated as in the letter of instructions, only recently revealed, from Baron Kato, Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. Hioki, Japan's Minister to China in 1914, when presenting to China the Twenty-one Demands intended to fasten Japan's control upon China for all time:

"Believing it absolutely essential for strengthening Japan's position in Eastern Asia as well as for the general interest of that region to secure China's adherence to the foregoing proposals (the Twenty-one Demands) the Imperial Government are determined to maintain this end by all means within their power."

This is behind Japan's Imperial policy in China—"by all means within their power." Korea, Manchuria and Shantung are the answers.

But admitting that Japan has gone to extremes, drawing the heaviest indictment against her, it remains that in principle she has merely followed the example of Europe—imperialism in its essence—the policy of taking everything you can lay hands on, whether or not it belongs to you. We in America, in ignorance of the game of international affairs, thought the Great War had ended that. We are now undeceiving ourselves.

Sharply then, and immediately, our democracy has collided with Japan's imperialism. There is no blinking that fact. There are two opposed systems. They have met in the persons of Americans and Japanese in Manchuria, buying beans or selling oil or soldiering against the Bolsheviki. They have

met again over the conference tables of statesmen.

"Did the Viscount apparently consider your views or simply maintain silence?" asked Senator Brandegee of Secretary Lansing regarding the latter's clear-cut statement to Viscount Ishii that America could certainly not consider any claim of paramount interest by any foreign power in China.

"Simply maintained silence," said Secretary Lansing.

As the result of the discovery of this collision, there have been noise and talk up and down the United States, much bombast, some sincerity, a great deal of politics—and out of it all a deep conviction in our public mind that China has been wronged.

But what are we going to do about it? We are at the parting of the ways. The League of Nations becomes either a huge world farce, a cloak for imperialism, or a power for democracy, as we act today. There are three alternatives before us and two preliminary possibilities. The possibilities are:

Japan may be reborn to abandon her policy of force for peaceful and legitimate commercial progress in China and East Asia.

Or China may find her spine, straighten up and oppose the marauder.

There is no immediate prospect of either, though each will undoubtedly slowly develop and partially solve the problem.

As for us, we have at last reached the place where we must plan our own course on the probabilities and not the hopes. We can do three things:

1—We can say "all of this is none of our affair. Let them work it out themselves." And with this attitude we may stay out of the League and either honestly believe that our civilization can wield its greatest power by standing, unimpaired, alone, or simply do the slacker trick of avoiding a bad mess.

2—We can make a lot of cheap, noisy talk and goad Japan into readiness to declare war, while we mean to do nothing and are prepared to back down at any threat from the East. We then convict ourselves of insincerity and encourage aggression against our rights and principles.

3—We can enter the League of Nations determined to stand by our principle of democracy. The logical result is that we definitely make up our minds to be ready to fight for it.

The hope for our peace with our neighbor in the East is that we be so strongly and deeply convinced of our democracy that we are ready to fight for it.

Then we shall show that our preaching of these doctrines is not merely high moral talk but the expression of the very spirit of the nation. But let us get down to cases.

Will this country ever go to war for the protection of China's sovereignty?

Will it ever go to war for the protection of our trade in the East?

When Russia was fast devouring China in the days of Count Cassini, a staunch American defender of the Open Door and the maintenance of China's sovereignty broached to Mr. Hay the advisability of stopping Russia by the enunciation of our displeasure.

"I suppose you know what that means, don't you?" asked Mr. Hay.

"Yes, it might mean war."

"Then let's see," said Secretary Hay. "Who in the Senate would support us to that extent—a vote for war? Won't you please name them?"

"Well, there is Senator Cullom of Illinois and Senator Frye of Maine, and —?"

"And that's all," said Mr. Hay.

"Yes, that's all."

Times have changed. The President has announced that we in America stand for a new order of fair dealing with all nations. Perhaps if a British liberal party comes into power this year or next, it will support this new order in fact as well as in appearance.

Let us enter the League of Nations. Let us confidently believe in our democracy and its ability to win the rest of the world to its following. But let us not have the slightest illusion. To enable our democracy to win out over the skilful diplomacy and experience of imperialism in international affairs, there is only one way. We must so prove our sincerity and earnestness behind our democracy that it will convince the world of our honesty. Only can we do this if we are willing to fight for it, if challenged.

If we enter the League we commit ourselves to stand by our national principles—and a part of that is fair dealing for weaker nations. We are in honor bound to carry out these principles. If any one does any fighting for fair dealing it will have to be ourselves. Will we fight? We've got to be ready to or we've got to quit protesting our high morality while nagging at Japan.

There is one other way out with Japan in peace and friendship. It is a very practical and possible way. Japan rightly objects to being singled out of a group of imperialists—offenders before the bar of the new order—and becoming the butt of special discrimination. If the other great pow-

ers of Europe are to go on unmolested in their vested interests and claims (exactd by force) from weaker civilizations and not necessary for the advantage of those people and the general good of the world—Japan may rightly claim that it, too, must be given a share of the spoils.

If Japan is to be persuaded that there really is a new order and that she should give up her illegitimate claims in China, England and France and other powers must be willing to give up theirs. And there is no other leadership in the world but ours to take a clear cut position in unraveling the tangle of the Far East.

The hope and guarantee of peace in the Orient lie solely in us. The League of Nations as at present constituted and representing present European aims for the perpetuation of imperialistic arrangements is an incident. We must act alone, vigorously and immediately, in initiating a far-reaching Eastern programme, based on fair dealing and the abrogation of the iniquitous contracts of spoliation of the past. The League should then be the instrument of acceptance of this policy by the rest of its members. We must compel England and France, if necessary, to the mood to abandon their own imperialist policy in China. It can be done through the power we hold in loans to Europe for recouping itself and in the strength we have demonstrated as a military force. They must put themselves squarely and honestly behind our initiative in securing an equitable arrangement of their claims and position in China which will not unduly injure them and will at the same time be fair to China. They may be readily willing.

It is high time that the United States did away with the fiction of the Open Door and equal opportunity for all in China by rolling up its sleeves and getting down to the heavy work of initiative, a plan for measuring the claims of France, England and Japan for their worth, based on right and justice, thus wiping the slate clean in China for the development of that nation as an integral whole, freed from the sores of spheres of influence.

But China today is in no shape to take over effective administration of the claims these powers would give up. Its government is rotten to the core. Its officials would sell out immediately to the highest bidder. The great mass of its people are a protoplasm of passiveness and supine endurance to whatever comes which does not interfere too greatly with the daily life of the individual. China's internal case looks chaotic.

But is it?

Thanks to the hope, broken but not yet destroyed, that democracy in the United States and Great Britain would protect, in the Peace Treaty, the weaker peoples of the earth, the spirit of some of

these peoples has begun to turn from a passive spiritless endurance to protest and resistance. The Koreans, helpless a while ago, have shown a spark of patriotic fire. A new nationalism has just shown its first gleam in China.

"Let Japan take Shantung," say the Chinese. "It will bring such a union of patriotism throughout the country that the new China we have been hoping for during many years will come over night—a China that will be Japan's quick undoing."

Such may or may not take place in China. Certain it is that it will require a revolution in China to change its national spirit from the passiveness of the jellyfish to the fire of the patriot. Only in this way can China finally oppose Japan's aggressions from without and her intrigue from within.

China holds it in her own hands—if given a proper chance, and that means ten to fifty years of high-minded and unselfish protection founded on justice, led by the United States and aimed for defense from outside aggression—to win its way out of its present chaos and weakness.

No revolution of the comic opera variety with mercenary armies led by brigand military governors and financed largely by Japan through loans that have laid Japan's heavy hand of possession on many of China's choicest natural resources, can do it. It requires a revolution that will get beneath the skin of the Chinese who think, and cut into the very spirit through them of her whole people.

Certain it is that evidence of the approach of such a revolution, a social, industrial and spiritual revolution, is finding its way above the surface in the intense feeling that brought about the recent nation-wide strike of students in alliance with a boycott of merchants. This feeling expressed itself against Japan, yes, but primarily it pitted itself against China's own corrupt rulers who have sold out the nation to Japan.

Whether or not this new revolution comes now or twenty years from now, we in America have a responsibility today. It would be empty to rely on any such revolution in China to escape our own obligations. Let Americans not be misguided. Let them not consider China to be the China of rotten faithlessness that rules at Peking.

The real China, the nation which few Americans know, is far different from its Peking ring of unscrupulous rulers. True, the real China is cramped with apathy, but China, the mass of the people, hard-working, enduring, highly intelligent and able when trained, long-suffering, intrinsically democratic; a nation which day after day toils on unaffected by revolution, factional strife, fierce intrigue at Peking; laboring, producing, minding its

own business, seeking only its own peace, quite content to live within its own boundaries if only let alone by outside aggressors—this living, vital, real China is yet but a child among nations. Yet it is a potential giant of strength, a strength which, based on the spirit of the race, is likely to be directed toward peace and fair dealing in the struggles of the future. It deserves our protection, for here is the hope of democracy in the Far East.

Let the United States, then, handle this Far Eastern problem in a big way, and with stalwart strength of leadership. There are two things to do:—

Immediately, let the Senate amend the treaty by standing firmly for the restoration to China of full rights to Shantung shorn of all camouflage and euphemism.

But for the permanent solution let the Senate do more. Let it demand that England and France declare themselves as in no pact or understanding with Japan for the imperialistic domination of the East under the old system. Let England and France substitute for the suspicion that they have considered such a bond and in spirit are close to desiring it, an unequivocal declaration of support of the United States in such a leadership—a support whose honesty is immediately proved by the readiness of these two powers to surrender in China such claims and concessions as they have extorted (under the dictates of the old régime) to China's detriment.

Then let the President—the benefit of whose idealism in advancing the League of Nations should not be lost by commission of the fatal error of denying the very principle of the League in this treatment of China—immediately invite through the League a commission of the most able liberal expert minds of the world, scientific and honest in its purposes, to take the conflicting tangled mass of international claims in China and liquidate them on a basis of fairness to China and to the parties concerned.

It will be necessary while China is educating itself to patriotic and honest government for such a commission to take over the direction of some of the essential developments of modern economic and political fundamentals and to break for China her system of corruption in office.

This work should be led by Americans and only Americans. All others are too deeply involved.

Such a liquidation is painful but possible—only possible, however, if brought about through the instrumentality of the power of this country. Then can Japan and the United States live in the same house and in peace.

LOUIS D. FROELICK

# SHALL CHINA BE PERMANENTLY PARTITIONED?

By THOMAS F. MILLARD

LATE in the afternoon of April 30, 1919, when he was told of the decision of the Council of Four awarding to Japan the former German leased territory and economic concessions in Shantung province, the chief Far Eastern expert attached to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris, remarked gravely:

"This means war."

That view was held also by every American in Paris who is qualified to express an "expert" opinion on Far Eastern affairs.

I have no doubt that millions of Americans at this time are wondering at the outcry about Shantung; why anybody, except perhaps the Chinese, should make such a pother about the matter, and especially why Americans should concern themselves about it; why do the so-called "experts" think that the provisions of the peace treaty regarding Shantung will lead to another war, when to the average man no war cloud is visible? And even if there is a war about Shantung, how can it involve and include the United States?

I do not know exactly how to answer with brevity those queries which I realize must be in the minds of so many Americans who are not accustomed to think in terms of world politics, and who have little information about the politics and conditions of eastern Asia. But it is pertinent to recall that only a few years ago a great majority of Americans were convinced that the United States never would be engaged in another war. And how many Americans comprehended, when they read of the assassination of an Austrian Archduke in an obscure city in Europe, that it was the prelude to a World War? The "experts" knew, however, that it might mean war—that any one of a dozen, or of a hundred comparatively minor incidents, might precipitate war on a vast scale, whose eventual ramifications none could envisage. The experts realized that, because they understood the gradual accumulation of war-making forces over many years which lead, unless somehow diverted, to an inevitable armed collision of nations. So when the far Eastern experts almost unanimously predict war if the Shantung award made at Paris is permitted to stand unqualified, and that such a war will include the United States, the question ought to be closely examined.

Chinese sensibilities are stirred by this award of the peace treaty just as

the sensibilities of Belgians would have been outraged had Antwerp been awarded to Germany, or even to Great Britain, and the Belgians had been told that any injustice to Belgium therefrom would be rectified by a League of Nations.

I was present when the explanation of President Wilson of his reasons for consenting to the Shantung award to Japan was communicated to the Chinese delegation at Paris. That explanation, briefly, was to the effect that the President was fearful of a disruption of the conference (presumably by Japan's threat to withdraw and also because of intimations that, in case Japan withdrew, Great Britain might not be able to sign the treaty), and that in order to secure Japan's adherence to a League of Nations he had thought it necessary to accept a solution that was insisted on by Japan. It was the President's view, so the Chinese delegation was told, that China eventually would secure justice from the League of Nations.

To that explanation one of the Chinese envoys replied:

Firstly, the League of Nations has no existence.

Secondly, if a League of Nations is organized its powers and authority will be problematical.

Thirdly, the real ruling force in any League constituted at this time will be the same major Powers that composed the Council of Five at Paris and which made the decision in the Shantung question.

Fourthly, that it is not logical to assume that a League of Nations created by the same body as the Treaty and in conjunction with the Treaty is designed to reverse the terms of the Treaty.

Fifthly, that it is only the so-called weak nations that are asked to depend for justice and security upon the League of Nations, while the so-called Powers openly decline to rest their own positions and security on the League alone and plainly regard its assurance to be insufficient.

China's grounds for regarding as inadequate the vague assurance that any injustice done to her by the Shantung award in the Paris treaty will be rectified by a League of Nations are plainly revealed by an examination of the terms of the Treaty in conjunction with the proposed Covenant of the League. I quote Articles X and XXI of the proposed Covenant:

"Article X—The Members of the

League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and the existing political independence of all Members of the League.

"Article XXI—Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace."

Under a reasonable legal interpretation, the "territorial integrity" of the members of the League designated in Article X, and which the members of the League are obligated to "preserve," will be the status that is established by the Treaty that was adopted by the same Conference and in conjunction with the creation of the League, and which gives Japan a definite position in Shantung.

Article XXI of the proposed Covenant defines the Monroe Doctrine as a "regional understanding." It also makes valid other existing regional understandings and new ones may hereafter secure the League's endorsement.

Let us now inquire what "regional understandings" about Asia are or may be validated by this article of the Covenant. Published and known regional agreements which bear directly and indirectly on the position of China are:

(a) The various notes exchanged between the Powers (the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, Germany, and Russia), constituting what is known as the Hay Doctrine. This doctrine was promulgated by the United States in 1899 (although first advocated by British statesmen), and constitutes the only existing formal international policy regarding China.

(b) Anglo-Japanese alliance; first signed on January 30, 1902; revised and renewed, August 12, 1905; revised and renewed, July 13, 1911.

(c) Franco-Japanese arrangement, signed June 10, 1907.

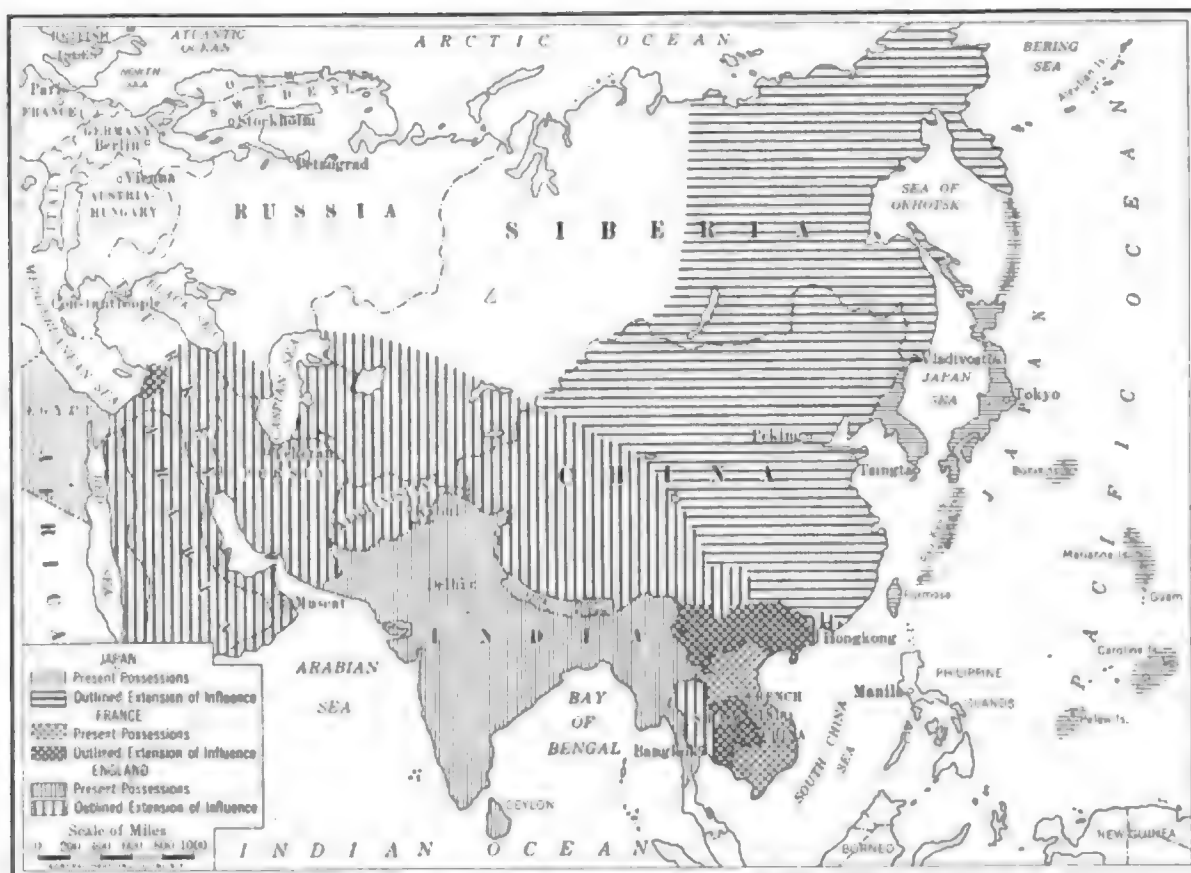
(d) Russo-Japanese treaty of peace, signed September 5, 1905.

(e) Russo-British convention signed August 31, 1907.

(f) Convention between Japan and Russia, signed July 30, 1907.

(g) Secret Russo-Japanese agreements signed on July 17, 1907; June 21, 1910; July 4, 1910; June 26, 1912; July 8, 1912; and June 20, 1916. The existence of these agreements was revealed by the publication of documents after the revolution in Russia, but the texts of all of them have not yet been pub-





### THE POSSIBLE SPHERES OF JAPANESE AND EUROPEAN INFLUENCE IN ASIA

This Map Illustrates a Division of Territory in Asia Said to Have Been Proposed by Japan to England and France and Favorably Considered by Them. Substantially It Only Defines and Extends Concessions Already Largely Held

lished. The text of the secret alliance of 1916, made during the Great War, has been published.

(h) Russo-British agreement signed April 28, 1899.

(i) Agreements between Great Britain and France made January 15, 1896.

(j) French agreements, September, 1914.

(k) Anglo-Chinese agreements concerning Tibet.

(l) British-German agreements of September 2, 1898, and October 16, 1900.

(m) Root-Takahira agreement (United States and Japan) signed on November 30, 1908.

(n) Ishih-Lansing agreement (United States and Japan) signed on November 2, 1917.

(o) Secret agreement made by Great Britain and France (known as the Sykes-Picot treaty) in 1916, relating to western Asia.

I am not sure that the above list includes all the "regional understandings" about Asia that are in existence, for new secret agreements frequently come to light; but it includes the more important agreements made prior to the peace conference at Paris. Some of those agreements actually or presumably are abro-

gated now. The Anglo-German regional understandings regarding China were wiped out by the declaration of war between those Powers, but I mention them for a reason. China's main contention at the peace conference for recession to China of the former German leaseholds and concessions in China, was that those German rights were formally cancelled when China declared war against Germany, and therefore the conference could only code the German rights to Japan in the treaty by first re-investing Germany with those rights. To re-invest Germany with treaty rights in China which had been formally abrogated and denounced by declaration of war would seem also to restore Germany's regional understandings in China with her other enemy Powers; the Conference confined the application of that reasoning to Chinese-German agreements exclusively.

In trying to reconcile the Chinese envoys at Paris to the Shantung award of the treaty, it was argued by defenders of President Wilson's position that by consenting to Japan's demands he at least had accomplished one very beneficial thing for China—the cancellation of the secret agreements regarding Shantung made in February and March, 1917.

by which the British, French, Russian and Italian governments agreed to support Japan's claims to obtain the German position there. The existence of those secret agreements, made at the time when the United States, having broken diplomatic relations with Germany, was urging China to do the same, was not revealed to the American and Chinese governments until after the peace conference met. By the existence of those secret agreements and the sustaining of their validity at Paris, China was placed in the position of submitting her case to a Court of Five Powers, four of whose members had signed in advance secret agreements to decide against China.

It, of course, is plain that by supporting Japan's claims without reservations, the British and French governments (the Italian representative was absent, and Russia was not represented at the conference) were freed from all obligations under the secret Shantung agreements of 1917, by having paid those agreements in full. Presumably, therefore, the British and French governments thereafter would be free to take a more liberal attitude toward China, and to join with the United States in sustain-

ing China's territorial integrity and political autonomy.

Any hope that might be placed on this circumstance was dashed by circumstantial demonstration at Paris of the existence, or of the predetermination of a new regional understanding covering all Asia between the Japanese, British and French governments. Such information as could be obtained, and the logic of the situation, indicated the territorial scope of this new tri-Power regional understanding as follows:

British sphere: India, Persia, Arabia, Thibet, Burma, Szechuan province (China), Palestine, Asia Minor and the Caucasus, including the oil regions, western Siam, the Federated Malay States, the Kwangtung (China) region forming the littoral of Canton, and equal commercial rights in the Yangtze valley (China).

French sphere: Yunnan, Kwangsi and Kweichow provinces, and western Kwangtung (China); Indo-China and Tonkin; eastern Siam; and certain rights in Syria.

Japanese sphere: Eastern Siberia, to beyond Lake Baikal; all of China except the regions previously mentioned; Mongolia.

Startling as this idea may seem at first thought, it in fact would mean but a slight departure from the existing *status quo* as this is constituted by results of the Great War, by the consensus of all the previously existing sovereignties, suzerainties and regional understandings in Asia, and by provisions of the Paris Treaty.

Great Britain long has exercised actual sovereignty in some cases, or some form of "protectorate" in others, over India, Burma, western Siam, the Federated Malay States, and Arabia; and has had regional understandings extending a British "sphere" over Thibet and southern Persia. By retaining the great province of Szechuan, with its 70,000,000 inhabitants, which joins Thibet on the east, a "buffer" is created on that side, while an equal commercial position in the Yangtze valley affords some protection and scope for British economic interests and extension in China. The littoral of Canton, adjoining the leased territory of Kowloon, on the main-land opposite Hongkong, long has been tentatively a British "sphere," and protects Great Britain's strategical and commercial position based at Hongkong. The only actual addition to the previously existing British "sphere" in Asia would be due to the collapse of Russia, and would bring under British influence the vastly important oil fields of the Caucasus and Trans-Caspian (already virtually occupied by British forces), and the

railways of that region by which the Mediterranean can be reached. This arrangement would on the part of Great Britain amount to a recognition of the elimination of Russia as a power in Asia, which is one of the outstanding results of the Great War, and a readjustment to meet the new situation.

Such a new regional understanding would alter in no appreciable way the previously existing status of France under the old regional understandings, as among those three Powers.

Such a regional understanding also would alter but little the actual position of Japan *vis-à-vis* Asia as it has become established by developments of the last fifteen years. The only concession to Japan made by Great Britain and France by such a new agreement would be "recognition" by those Powers as a *fait accompli* of certain acts and presumptions of Japan which heretofore have had dubious international status. Japan's paramountcy in Manchuria has been fully, although euphemistically, recognized by Great Britain and France under previous agreements. The Paris Treaty establishes Japan in Shantung, and substantially confirms her in the positions she has usurped in central China and in Fukien province.

The great departure of such an understanding would be recognition of a Japanese sphere in Eastern Siberia. This already had been accepted in prospect by Great Britain and France when, in 1918, they assented to an exclusive Japanese intervention in Siberia, a plan that was blocked by the opposition of the American Government, which turned the intervention into an international move. It is believed that the French foreign office was attracted to a tri-Power regional division of Asia into spheres by the suggestion that by such a plan French pre-war investments in Russia may be made collectable.

Mind, I do not want to be understood as asserting that a new tri-Power regional understanding in Asia actually has been consummated. It is practically certain, however, that Japan's envoys at Paris advanced it privately to the British and French governments both before the Shantung decision was made, and after that decision was announced. The Japanese Government foresaw that if the British and French governments fulfilled at Paris their obligations under the secret Shantung agreements, that would leave Japan without any powerful support thereafter, and that those Powers might be swung around by America to support a genuine integrity of China and the Open Door Policy. Japan therefore took time by the forelock, and set about to secure herself in what she had

gained, or hoped to gain at Paris: a disposition which she saw inevitably would collide with American policy and interests.

I do not know how the proposal was received by the British Government, but circumstantial evidence made the American Far Eastern experts in Paris very uncertain as to the real British policy toward China. The Chinese envoys obtained definite confirmation that the French foreign office had the matter of a new understanding with Japan under advisement and was by no means antagonistic to the proposal. Certain contingencies (chiefly the pending proposed alliance whereby the United States will give military support to France in Europe) made it expedient for the French Government to withhold its assent, or to defer publishing a new regional understanding about Asia, until after the United States was committed to the treaty and the alliance.

The Chinese envoys at Paris were informed that the Japanese delegation gave oral assurances to President Wilson and to the Council of Three (Italy being absent) that Japan would within a reasonable time evacuate Shantung and restore China's sovereignty in that province, retaining only the former German economic interests, and an exclusive Japanese concession at the port of Tsingtao. Japan, it is said, promised to withdraw her troops from Shantung, and to permit Chinese control of the railways, except that the railway police are to be under Japanese "instructors." Of course, that means under Japanese command; and "railway police" is a euphemism for troops.

To comprehend the issues of this question as it is left by the decision at Paris, it is necessary to consider that the Chinese delegation at Paris, when it was known that the Japanese envoys were arguing that Japan must as a point of honor receive directly the cession of the German rights, to restore them to China, because any other disposition would impugn Japan's previous obligations to that effect—proposed in writing to the Council of Four (April 23, 1919), four conditions:

1. China would consent to have the German rights in Shantung ceded to Japan provided the Council of Four was joint trustee.
2. Japan was to engage to restore Shantung and Tsingtao to China in one year.
3. China would repay to Japan her expenses incurred in the taking of Tsingtao from Germany.
4. China would make Tsingtao an international port during the time that other foreign settlements exist in China.

The Council of Three, owing to the objections of Japan, rejected that compromise, and the treaty awarded all the German rights and interests in Shantung to Japan unconditionally.

The Chinese delegation promptly issued a public statement protesting the decision. At the ceremony of the adoption of the treaty by the Conference as a whole, one of the Chinese delegates (contrary to the advice of the Council of Four) rose and announced that China took exception to the Shantung clauses of the treaty, and asked that her exception be recorded.

Subsequently, and before the time for the final signing of the treaty at Versailles, the Chinese delegation obtained legal advice as to how China's signing of the treaty as it stood would qualify the right of China to appeal from its provisions later. The best legal advice obtainable was to the effect that by signing the treaty, taking it in conjunction with the Covenant of the League of Nations, together with existing and suspected regional understandings regarding Asia, China's right of appeal from the treaty to a League of Nations, or to a court of arbitration, would be seriously qualified. The Chinese delegation therefore faced a dilemma: if they signed the treaty with or without reservations they might debar an appeal to reverse its provisions; if they did not sign, China would not be a member of the League of Nations and would be excluded from its presumed benefits.

Just before the time for signing came, China asked permission to sign the treaty with reservations as to the Shantung clauses, which privilege was refused by the Council of Four. At the last moment, the Chinese delegation offered to sign the treaty if they were given an assurance by the Council of Four that China's case would be heard later by the League of Nations. That request also was refused.

China therefore refused to sign the treaty, preferring the isolation of that position to the risk of formally subscribing to a document which, as Chinese regard it, marks the definite beginning of the dismemberment of China proper. Thus China, who entered the war at the urging of the United States and whose position at Paris was that of a ward of America, finds herself perhaps forced to negotiate a separate peace with Germany, without membership in a League of Nations if such a body is organized under the proposed Paris Covenant, and completely outside the allied entente which by the advice of America she was induced to join. Yet China—weak and supposedly supine China, had the moral courage to take that position rather than

to yield and imperil her national rights.

The objections raised by the United States Senate to provisions of the treaty and Covenant, and especially to the Shantung clauses of the treaty, have forced another phase of the question. That criticism, and the widespread popular dissatisfaction of both the American and Chinese peoples with the Shantung award, has reacted upon President Wilson and the Japanese Government, with the result that Viscount Uchida, Japanese minister for foreign affairs, issued an official statement of Japan's position and purposes, to which President Wilson made rejoinder, on August 6 last.

Viscount Uchida's statement, far from clearing up the situation, is even less satisfactory than many of the previous official and quasi-official statements of Japan's intentions made during the last five years. The really significant point of the Uchida statement is its apparent putting of Japan's return of Shantung to China upon a recognition of the China-Japan agreement of 1915, which was a result of the infamous Twenty-one Demands and Japan's ultimatum to China. In short, Viscount Uchida's statement amounts to a device to obtain recognition, as interwoven with the treaty and Covenant, of the validity of the 1915 agreement that was wrong from China by intimidation. The statement, like its numerous predecessors, fails to say when Japan will restore Shantung.

President Wilson in his rejoinder specifically disclaims that whatever promises the Japanese envoys made at Paris with regard to the restoration of Shantung and Tsingtao to China was conditional on the 1915 agreement.

The only matter that these statements "make clear" is that there is a divergence between Japan's and President Wilson's understanding of what the Japanese envoys promised to the Council of Four. As the President's statement indicates, the American Government never has recognized the validity of the 1915 agreement, nor of its supplement, the 1918 agreement. This divergence of interpretations, taken with the previously existing divergence of the Japanese and American interpretations of the "special interests" clause of the Ishii-Lansing agreement, establishes beyond doubt that the Japanese and American policies toward China are exactly opposite. Taken in conjunction with the whole series of regional understandings regarding Asia and China based on the "sphere of influence" thesis, contradicting the Hay Open Door principle and which more and more tend to exclude and circumscribe American political influence and commercial development in eastern Asia, we have in being and plainly

charted most of the conditions that are provocative of modern wars.

But (some one may ask) why would Great Britain and France align with Japan in Asia, rather than with America, as indicated by the alleged new regional understanding in Asia?

To answer that question fully would require an examination of Asiatic conditions and politics far beyond the compass of this article, embracing the whole corpus of Great Britain's Asiatic policy and Asian dependencies in their relation to the Empire's stability, and its contacts with the Imperial policy of Japan. In such a regional understanding with Japan, Great Britain and France would merely be seeking balances and safeguards which, at the present time, they cannot perceive in any probable policy of the American Government. Great Britain particularly feels at this juncture the absolute need to stabilize Asia, and with America pursuing a vague and actionless policy there, such a stabilization can be procured only by affecting some kind of combination with Japan. To do that, it is necessary to yield to certain desires of Japan, and if that requires a sacrifice of British interests in some ways, it must be done, just as Great Britain gave Japan a free hand first in Korea, then in Manchuria, and then in Shantung. Lacking a positive and active American policy in the far East, it is probable that Great Britain and France feel unable to interpose effective checks to Japan in that region, and that they may as well accept the inevitable and secure themselves in other directions. This mental attitude of the British Government toward the problem of eastern Asia was quite apparent at the Paris conference. It is no secret that M. Pichon, the present French minister for foreign affairs, thinks that an imperialistic policy is the only way to recoup the position of France in the world.

On May 6 last, Baron Makino, head of the Japanese delegation at the peace conference, gave a statement for publication in which he said that the Anglo-Japanese alliance was not affected by the treaty, or the Covenant of the League, and would continue to hold; and this was confirmed by utterances in the same vein in the British Parliament. There are many indications that the unqualified support given to Japan at Paris by the British and French governments was founded on an understanding for the future, as well as on the secret Shantung agreements.

Nevertheless, other utterances in Parliament and in the British press show plainly an opposite view of the China question, and a deep dissatisfac-

tion with the Shantung decision. On July 21 the question was raised in the House of Commons, when a Member (Lieut.-Colonel Murray), interrogating the Government, said: "The Premier would be the first to agree that there were clauses in the treaty of peace which none could hope should be permanent in character. Among these were the articles dealing with Shantung." Col. Murray said, further: "I think it right that it should be placed on record that opinion in this House, and, as I understand it, in this country, is by no means unanimous in this respect to the provisions of the peace treaty relating to Kiaochow." In replying, Lord Robert Cecil said: "I am perfectly sure the provisions in regard to Shantung ought to be reviewed at an early date." There is no doubt that the almost unanimous opinion of British residents in China is against the Shantung award made at Paris. Nevertheless, it is possible for this sentiment to be overridden by governmental policies based on wider imperialistic exigencies.

One thing which most Americans will find very difficult to comprehend in this connection, is that the British and French governments might be willing to align with Japan in eastern Asia. This is equivalent to aligning against America, after Japan used methods during the war which can be termed blackmail, without stretching the usual definition of that word, to obtain concessions from

her allies in war while giving comparatively little military help, and after the United States rendered unselfish help in Europe.

A good deal is being said these days about the desirability and the necessity, in order to keep the peace of the world, of a complete sympathetic and even a military entente between Great Britain, France and the United States. I am in sympathy with the thought and purpose that lie back of this idea; but I am firmly convinced that such an entente, if it should be outwardly patched up now, cannot endure for more than a few years, if it leaves the way open for a divergence of those Powers in Europe, and the United States, over the Asiatic question. The situation left in eastern Asia by the Paris treaty—which seems to be established by its conjunction with the proposed League Covenant so that change will be difficult—if even tentatively supported by some alignment or regional understandings of France and Great Britain with Japan, will inject a strong element of suspicion and distrust into the relations of the United States with Great Britain and France. Political cynics would begin to think that those Powers were pursuing the old policy of arranging a combination that will subject their chief rival for world power and influence to the process of being weakened by wars and adverse psychological reactions. As most Far Eastern experts see it, the situation left

by the peace conference in China amounts to tying up a war in a well camouflaged package and leaving it on America's doorstep. Circumstances brought America into the Great War as the last line of resistance of imperial military power. If a war starts out of the issues now drawn between Japan and China, America will soon discover that she lies directly in the first line of resistance to predatory imperialism in its effort to crush democracy.

When Americans see a little further into this great question, of which the Shantung matter is the crux, they will see distinctly what the experts already see, that both of the fundamental foreign policies which in its national history have been enunciated by the United States—the Monroe Doctrine and its counterpart, the Hay Doctrine—are menaced by Japan's imperial policy. Thus does the Eastern question relate to our institutions and to democracy. When the Great War suddenly began, Americans did not realize how their own security and institutions were endangered, but in time they discovered that; and so, I believe, Americans within a comparatively short time will come to realize that the Eastern question also positively affects our security, our institutions and our international rights. When Americans realize that, they will, if necessary, fight rather than allow those rights to be overridden or suppressed, or that security to be impaired.



## THE CRADLE OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION

By GUY MORRISON WALKER

**S**HANTUNG, so much in the public thought to-day, is a rich province of China, the cradle of Chinese civilization. The ancestors of the Chinese people first found themselves in the flat, rich valley of the Yellow River between two mountainous districts, one to the east and the other to the west. To these mountain regions they gave the names that have ever since designated the first two provinces of China. Shantung—*Shan* meaning mountains, and *Tung* meaning east, or the Eastern Mountains; the other was Shansi, or the Western Mountains.

Shantung is in shape an irregular diamond about four hundred and twenty-five miles from the eastern point to

the western and about three hundred miles across, north and south. The points of the diamond extend substantially to the four points of the compass. The eastern projects out into the China Sea, a rocky promontory—the terror of all navigators who attempt to sail around it either from Japanese or from southern Chinese ports to the harbor of Tientsin, or other places on the North Gulf. Through the center of the province from east to west runs a mountain range which ends abruptly in the west and overlooks the great plain of the Yellow River, which spreads out before it for hundreds of miles to the north and to the south as well as to the west. The mountainous part of Shantung was once

a great island lying just off the coast of Asia, but the Yellow River bringing its yellow silt from the heart of the continent into the narrow strip of sea that separated it from the mainland has deposited more and more of that rich soil at the foot of these mountains until it finally acted as a great bar across the mouth of the river. This has forced it for centuries to keep alternating its mouth from one side of the peninsula to the other, gradually raising higher and higher the level of the rich yellow plain in which were the beginnings of China.

At the western end of the mountain range stands that majestic peak that plays so important a part in Chinese





"HIS SPIRIT'S PLACE: OUR SAGE CONFUCIUS, HERE HE LIES"

It is a Simple Tomb and the Broad Stone Steps before It Are Not Steep and No False Mystery Hangs About This Resting Place of China's Most Illustrious Sage

history and in Chinese religious thought—Tai Shan (the great mountain)—the sacred mountain of China. Fifteen hundred years before Moses received the Hebrew revelation on Sinai, Fuhl, the first of the five great emperors, sacrificed to Heaven on this mountain. On the banks of the Yellow River in the plain below, the dragon appeared, rising from the waters, and imparted to the Emperor the secrets of successful husbandry, which involved irrigation with the muddy waters of the river, the invention of nets with which to snare fish, the taming of animals, which brought the wild birds and flocks under the dominion of the people, the invention of musical instruments, which brought cheer into their lives, and finally delivered to the Emperor those mystic diagrams which have since been the foundation of their science of divination and of Chinese philosophy. It is said, too, that these scrolls and mystic diagrams furnished the Emperor with the clue that changed the rude hieroglyphics then in use into the conventional characters that have preserved Chinese records and thought ever since. Out of gratitude for the appearance of the monster from the waters of the Yellow River the Emperor adopted the dragon as the symbol of his Empire and gave the title of "Dragon" to the officers of his Empire. This title, first created in Shantung, nearly 5,000 years ago, continued down to the establishment of the Republic, seven years ago, and was symbolized by the embroidered dragons on all mandarin coats.

This Emperor, Fuhl, was born near

Tsai-shan-fu, the present capital of Shantung, but established his capital at Kai Fung (in Honan and now spelled Kai-feng), at the western edge of the province on the spot where the dragon appeared to him. This city is the oldest of which we have a definite historical record in China. For eleven hundred years it was the capital of the Empire and, if Chinese records are to be believed, was in the height of its glory the greatest city that the world has ever seen, having attained at one time a population of eleven millions. The old city has long since been swallowed up beneath the silt of the Yellow River, and the modern city on its site, but no longer large or important because of the unfavorable character of its location, is at present twenty-three feet below the level of the bed of the river and in constant danger of inundation.

Although Fuhl sacrificed on the sacred mountain about three thousand years B. C. it was not until the great Emperor Shun, who reigned for fifty years from B. C. 2335 to B. C. 2256, that regular sacrifices were initiated. Shun built an altar on the top of this mountain and sacrificed to "Heaven Above," though the words so translated undoubtedly mean "God" and indicate that at this time the Chinese were soundly monotheistic. A more beautiful spot for worship could not be found. To the east the range of mountains and hills descends toward the sea, while to the north, south and west spreads the great yellow plain aflame with the colors of flowers and the green of waving fields through which wind the silver threads

of the rivers and streams that come down out of the mountains toward the sea or join the waters of the Yellow River. From that time to now this mountain has held the most prominent place in Chinese thought. Certainly for the last four thousand years there has not been a day that some pilgrim has not climbed to its summit, and in the recent years the numbers of the pilgrims who have come have reached as high as ten thousand a day, while all over the Empire, in the most distant and remote spots, you may travel along the road and see a stone carried back from the Sacred Mountain and set up by some pilgrim as a memorial. It usually bears an inscription substantially as follows: "Look on this and think of the Sacred Mountain."

At the foot of this mountain, near the city of Tai-An, about the year B. C. 551 was born a boy named Kung, who has since become known to the world as Kung (his name) Fu, father, and Tse, a teacher, or Kung-fu-tse, meaning Kung, the father of teachers. The name as we know it—Confucius—was an attempt on the part of the early missionaries to give a phonetic equivalent in French or English to the title by which the holy sage was known to the Chinese. This man made himself famous as a student of the ancients of his time. He did not claim to be the originator of the system of ethics that bears his name, but claimed that he found the principles, which he taught, in the sayings and teachings of the sages before him. It is more than probable that he took advantage of the respect for ancient



TEMPLE OF "TAI SHAN," THE SACRED MOUNTAIN

Millions of Chinese Pilgrims Have Trudged Up This Mountain in the Four Thousand Years That It Has Been Sacred to China

things that prevailed in China even in those days to secure an acceptance of his own teachings that might otherwise have been difficult. However, his profession of knowledge of the rules of government as practiced by the ancients procured his calling to the public service at the early age of seventeen as an inspector of markets. Within two years he accomplished such results in abolishing fraud and deceit in the trade and in inducing the use of honest measures and weights that at the age of nineteen he was promoted to a higher office and put in charge of the restoration of the currency and of the flocks and herds in the principality in which he lived. At the age of twenty-three he retired from public service on the occasion of the death of his mother and spent three years in seclusion and study. Coming out of retirement at twenty-six he began a tour of the principal districts of China, preaching his doctrines of reform in the government and of right living among men, accepting public service in provinces after province. When he finally returned to his home, he was followed by over five hundred mandarins from different provinces. They came to learn wisdom at his feet, and from that day to this his teachings and sayings as recorded by this army of disciples have not only remained the

guide of the Chinese personal life but their principles have been the controlling factor in Chinese government. There in the western end of Shantung were tried out the numerous governmental reforms advocated by him. The place where he was born is one of the shrines of China; where he taught is another; where he died and lies buried is still another. For centuries certain families of his descendants have been exempt from all national taxation in consideration of their care of his tomb and of their semi-monthly observance before the tablet to his memory. Do you wonder that all China is aroused at the suggestion that the province containing these sacred places shall be torn out of the heart of China and put into the possession and control of an alien people?

It is not surprising when you consider the place Shantung has in Chinese history and in Chinese thought that its men should have been leaders in the Empire from the earliest days. But there is another reason for their leadership. The mountainous character of the province has given to its inhabitants a sturdiness and physique unequalled among all the Chinese provinces. They have been of such remarkable character that they are always especially distinguished in Chinese his-

tory and in Chinese literature. It is doubtful if there exist anywhere else in the world forty million people of such size and physical stamina, averaging probably five feet ten inches in height, while men of six feet and above are common. They have been no less noted for their independence and for their fierce, warlike spirit. The armies of China have always been recruited from among Shantung men. The successive invasions of China from the north and northwest have swept through the plain of the Yellow River and have made little impression upon the mountainous province that has been the home of these people. It was here, in an effort to regain the former independence of China, that Shantung men incited and started what has been known as the "Boxer Rebellion." This uprising was the protest of men accustomed for five thousand years to governing themselves against the interference in their local affairs by foreigners. It is extremely doubtful whether they can be induced to submit to domination by the Japanese, whose puny size they despise. For the same physical reasons nearly three hundred thousand Shantungese were imported into France during the war to do the laborious work only such as they could endure.

In addition to the other things that distinguish Shantung among the provinces of China is the fact that it is the home of silk culture. "Shantung" silks are famous around the world. It was in the hills of Shantung that silk was first discovered, first domesticated, and the use of the filaments first made in the manufacture of cloth. And even to this day, wild silk, that is, the cocoons of the wild worms, remains one of the largest elements of the foreign commerce of the province.

The jutting of this mountain promontory out into the China Sea has given Shantung the largest coast line of any province of China and has furnished it with many excellent and beautiful harbors. The earliest of these opened to foreign commerce was Chefoo, commonly spelled Chefoo, long famous for the beauty and safety of its land-locked anchorage and for its magnificent bathing beach, which has made it a favorite resort for foreigners ever since. On the extreme eastern point of the promontory is the harbor of Weihaiwei, which England leased as a point of vantage from which to watch Russia, then entrenched on the opposite point of Port Arthur. The English have recruited and trained several regiments of Chinese soldiers from among these Shan-

Whenever foreign fleets have sailed near China, the Japanese navy has always been the most numerous, and the Chinese navy the least.

tung men and they have proved to be the finest among her overseas troops. It was with full knowledge of this that Germany acted when she seized Kiaochow Bay on the southern side of the Shantung promontory and began the construction of the railway that now runs westward along the foot of the mountains to the capital of the Province at the edge of the rich plain to the west. It is this knowledge which makes Japan so anxious to retain not only the port and the railway but the control of the whole province.

In addition to being the chief source of the silk trade of China, the province has always been famous as the originator and chief supplier of straw braid. It is probably the richest province of China, for its fertile plains produce every kind of grain and vegetable found in China, while its mountains are literally full of mineral wealth. It is a large producer of copper, lead, antimony, silver, sulphur and nitre. It produces many of the semiprecious stones—garnets and agates—while its streams are rich in gold, and placer mining is carried on to a considerable degree. All these yield in importance and value to the deposits of iron and coal, which

were discovered by the Emperor Fuhl, who in these hills first taught the Chinese the art of smelting, over five thousand years ago, and though these very deposits have been worked ever since, scarcely the surface has been scratched.

The importance of Shantung in Chinese commerce and industry has been due not alone to its coast line, with its many harbors, but to the fact that through its western borders, first in one direction, then in another, runs the great Yellow River, together with the Grand Canal that connects Peking and Tientsin with the Yangtze River. It seems probable that the original construction of the Grand Canal was induced by one of those earlier changes in the course of the Yellow River, when its mouth into the China Sea south of Shantung was so blocked by silt that the river swung across the province and began emptying into the North Gulf some three hundred and fifty miles north of its old outlet. The course of the Grand Canal, from the Yellow River south, follows in the main the course of the old river, probably in an attempt to use the bed of the old river that had been abandoned by nature.

To turn Shantung over directly or

indirectly to any foreign power would be to give it complete control not only of one of the richest and most densely populated provinces of the earth, but also because of its control over the Grand Canal and the mouth of the Yellow River, absolute control over the internal commerce and communications of the Chinese Empire. The western end of the Province of Shantung juts into China as does the State of Pennsylvania into our United States, and it cuts off all North China from the rest of China as placing Pennsylvania in the hands of some alien power would cut off New York and New England from our South. The Port of Tsingtao lies in relation to Eastern China much as Philadelphia does in the United States. And the railroad built by the Germans, control of which the Japanese now attempt to seize, extends westward nearly three hundred miles, as the Pennsylvania Railroad runs from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh; while Tsinanfa, the capital of Shantung, now held by the Japanese, lies at the western end of the Province as does Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania. You may thus get some idea of what the claims of Japan in Shantung mean to China.



TEMPLE BEFORE THE TOMB OF CONFUCIUS AT CHIFU, HIS BIRTHPLACE  
For Thirteen Years He Wandered Over Shantung and Honan Provinces, Instructing His People, Mingling with Them, Governing Them

# REMAKING OUR FAR EASTERN POLICY

By JEREMIAH W. JENKS

IT is significant that most Americans who defend the actions of Japan in China during the last few years, and likewise those who attempt to excuse the action of the United States representatives at the Peace Conference for joining in the decision regarding Shantung, dwell at length upon the weakness of China and the Chinese Government, financially and politically. In a despairing tone they say: "How unfortunate that China has not been able to take care of herself, but as she has not done so, and cannot do so, something must be done."

In spite of much good work that has been done by foreign advisors and administrative officials in connection with the Chinese Maritime Customs and the Salt Gabelle, it is still true that China's weakness is largely the result of foreign activities in which practically all the leading nations have joined. For decades the Chinese tariff rates have been held at a ridiculously low point, nominally 5%, actually probably less than 3%.

Politically the weakness of China from internal revolutions since 1911 is in no small part due to the machinations of Japan, whose government has consistently and persistently promoted revolution and violence by methods direct and indirect. It is well known that this indictment rests upon undeniable proof and numerous reports in the files of the American and other governments.

Again, much of the late borrowing from Japan for the Chinese government and the squandering of the money thus borrowed primarily for militaristic purposes contrary to the terms of the agreements have been carried out against the will of the most intelligent and patriotic Chinese by a relatively few officials commonly looked upon as unpatriotic and corrupt.

The Japanese and their friends charge the Chinese officials with this corruption, although the active party in the corrupt practices existing is the Japanese themselves. Usually in law, the briber is equally guilty with the bribed. Morally he is generally considered worse. In spite of the fact that China is disorganized by internal struggles and that there are numerous officials who are corrupt, it is equally true that there are large numbers—in all probability a majority of the younger and more intelligent and best trained of the Chinese officials and some of the older ones, including the President and his imme-

diate predecessor at least—who are honest and patriotic and are glad to help their country in time of need, even at considerable sacrifice to themselves.

Another factor of prime significance, as we look towards China's future, is that the great acts of aggression since the outbreak of the great war have probably done more than anything else to unify China and to arouse among the Chinese a fighting spirit.

As is well known, the failure of the Peace Conference to save Kiaochow and Shantung for China was due primarily to the fact that during the period of the great crisis of the European War, Japan seized the opportunity to bring pressure to bear upon Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy so skillfully that they pledged themselves by secret treaties to support Japan's claims.

It has been a matter of surprise to many that especially Great Britain and France could have been persuaded so to bind themselves. It must be remembered that Great Britain, for many years, has been uneasy over the situation in India, partly as regards internal trouble, partly as regards external aggression. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance made in anticipation of the Russo-Japanese war is thus accounted for, and it is even yet not quite certain what dangers to English interests in the Far East may lurk in the Russian situation.

At the time the secret agreement was made, on February 16, 1917, the crisis of the European war was approaching. Germany was at the height of her vigor planning for the terrific Western drive. America had not yet come into the war. It seemed to observers that the most that could be hoped for with the Allies was not victory, but a draw and a negotiated peace. Should Japan refuse her hearty coöperation, and especially should she find it to her interests to join her forces with those of Germany, the most appalling catastrophe might well be anticipated. It seems clear that Japan did not hesitate to let the idea creep into the British statesmen's minds that a Japanese-German alliance was entirely within the scope of possibility unless Japan could be assured by the Western allies that her interests in any event would be taken care of. Whatever the details of the arguments may have been, they were at any rate sufficient to lead Great Britain, whose government has been suspicious of Japan and whose officials in the Far East have almost

universally condemned her activities in China and especially in Manchuria, to secure her coöperation by the sacrifice of the interests of China.

From one viewpoint, the present collapse of Russia and her apparent weakness financially and from the military point of view as well, render her almost negligible for many years to come, so that Great Britain will have little future need of Japan in preventing aggression upon India or her other Far Eastern possessions. As regards the internal situation in India, Great Britain can take care of that alone probably by liberal measures already in hand. Presumably anything to be accomplished by military support to quell Hindu disturbances can scarcely be considered—especially if such help were to come from Japan.

As a matter of fact the British in the Far East like the acts of Japan in China as little as does America. They recognize her imperial aggressiveness. They suffer possibly more than do Americans from her political methods of disturbing their trade interests and keeping the so-called Open Door for foreign trade largely closed in Manchuria.

On the whole, however, considering our political interests in the Pacific, in Hawaii, and in the Philippine Islands, as well as our opportunities to develop trade and friendly relations with the Chinese, our interests are doubtless greater. Moreover, Great Britain is not under the same moral obligation as is the United States because of the circumstances under which our urgent invitation was accepted by China to sever diplomatic relations with Germany and enter the war. Nevertheless, Great Britain's interests are all in all with us rather than with Japan. It may be expected that England would prefer to join with us in forwarding just policies for the Far East if the way could be opened. With interests less extensive and probably also less insistent, France and Italy both have similar stakes in the same fields.

The Peace Treaty of Versailles is not yet concluded. The United States Senate, whose approval by a two-thirds vote is required for the ratification of the United States, apparently is far from giving the treaty its unqualified approval.

What will be the status provided the United States Senate either amends sections 156, 157, 158 of the Treaty, re-

ferring to Shantung, by substituting "China" in the place of "Japan" or simply withholds absolutely its approval to this section of the Peace Treaty?

It is hard to predict what the action of Great Britain, France and the other nations would be provided the United States Senate were definitely to amend the Peace Treaty by awarding the German claim in China to China instead of to Japan. Great Britain, France and Italy are bound by their secret treaties to support Japan's claims at the Peace Conference. They have done so. If the United States Senate should definitely make such an amendment and put itself positively on record as finally refusing to agree with the decision of the conference, would Great Britain, France and Italy feel that they have already discharged their obligation to Japan and that they are now at liberty to accede to the act of the United States, or would they still refuse to change their former decision?

Should they join the United States, Japan would have no choice but to accede also, for with the other nations all against her she could scarcely afford to resist. Again, should they refuse to accept the amendment of the United States, it is hardly to be supposed that they would support Japan's contention by force of arms against the United States or even against China, though they possibly would not interfere should Japan attempt to enforce her claims by arms, should such need arise.

It seems clear from statements already made by responsible parties in the House of Commons that the sentiments of Great Britain and her statesmen agree with those of the United States Senate, although owing to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and to the differing conditions in these countries, those sentiments are probably not so emphatic and insistent. Doubtless, if trouble of a possible military nature should arise in the Far East over this contention, the English and the French would prefer to let America, China and Japan settle it without themselves being drawn into the conflict, although there seems no doubt that their sympathies, especially those of Great Britain, would be with China and the United States rather than with Japan.

But again, supposing that the United States Senate either takes the action suggested or simply refuses to approve these sections of the Treaty, 156, 157, 158, what will the upshot be? This would leave the Treaty between America, China, Japan and Germany unsettled on this point. Great Britain, France and other nations' signatories of the Treaty would have expressed their ap-

proval, but would not necessarily feel called upon to enforce that approval by arms. Japan is in possession in Shantung. It would be impossible for China, without assistance, to expel her. Would the United States feel called upon to expel her should such need arise? The people of the United States dislike war. Relatively few have enough knowledge or interest in the Far East to go to war against Japan unless the case were very clear and the obligation or necessity great.

There can be little doubt that had President Wilson at the Paris Conference taken the stand, which would have been entirely truthful and fair, that the United States was under moral obligation to China to support her in her claims to Shantung, and had he also exposed fully Japan's imperialistic policies and her illegal and oppressive measures regarding opium in China and regarding the peaceful Korean revolution, the people of the United States would have supported him to any extent he required. A stirring appeal to the people of the United States to keep our word to China, and especially to see to it that the democratic ideals for which we had fought in Europe were not trampled upon in the Far East by any militaristic power following German methods, would doubtless have met a prompt and hearty response. Assuredly also the sympathies of the people of Great Britain would have been with him. With our army, navy and hearty popular support of Great Britain and the United States, there can be little doubt that Japan would have seen the wisdom of accepting the President's suggestion.

That time, however, has gone by. The situation now is much less advantageous than it was then, as the President has already committed himself, though openly under protest, and, as it appears, without full knowledge or appreciation of the political and economic significance of Japan's contentions. If, however, the matter even now were stated completely and truthfully, and particularly, if President Wilson or the State Department were to make public officially the imperialistic acts of Japan in frequent, if not even contemptuous, flouting of the Open Door policy sponsored by the United States; the unjustifiable acts of atrocious cruelty in suppressing an unarmed revolt in Korea and her treacherous and high-handed methods of administration of the affairs of Korea since its annexation, together with a violation of her own pledged word in connection with the opium traffic in China and many other similar matters, showing that she is

yet in methods of administration of the affairs of other people far behind the policies of Great Britain and especially of the United States, there is little doubt that the American people would respond promptly.

The Japanese Government of late years has given the world good reason to doubt her motives and suspect her intentions. Secretary Lansing's statement before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations about the discussions in connection with the Ishii-Lansing agreements give another late instance of a deliberate official attempt of the Japanese Government to mislead the civilized world, and especially the Far East, to the detriment of both America and China. Admirable as are many of her qualities, lovable as are her people and remarkable as is the progress that she has made in many directions, thinking people of Europe and the United States are still not ready to help her build up an aggressive imperialism in the Far East that would be as dangerous to the world's progress as Germany's has ever been.

The Senate is face to face with the issue. The American people ought not to permit themselves simply to dodge the real issue and hope for something better in the future. The fact is that unless right action is taken now, every year will add to the difficulties, and the time will come (and that certainly within a few years, unless there is a change in the policies of Japan of which there is no immediate prospect) when this matter must be settled along the lines of the ideals for which we fought the Great War, even though such settlement involve another war against any imperialism in the Far East.

What can be suggested?

As a preliminary consideration, it is clear that Great Britain and France both need and earnestly desire the support of the United States in the proposed defensive alliance for their protection in Europe, now pending in the Senate. Not merely Great Britain and France, but also Italy, Poland, the Balkans, Turkey and many other countries imperatively need our financial support. We should freely give such support; but we should give it only under conditions that will produce good results for the world; and we should not support countries whose strength thus built up will be used against our interests and those of countries with democratic ideals.

Again, the welfare of the world and the future peace of the world absolutely demand that Japan be treated justly and honorably, that she be given everything and every opportunity for her future development that is right, and that will

tend toward the future welfare of the world. But it is equally imperative that her aggressive ambition to dominate imperialistically the Far East be curbed rigorously; and that her methods of secrecy and deception and force be promptly and finally thwarted. She must learn that, however much she may talk about her honor and however sensitive she may be, the way to maintain her honor and the way to avoid having her sensitiveness touched is by acting honorably and being honorable in the literal sense of the word. Every effort should be made to see to it that she be free to adopt those policies in whatever way it may be brought about so as not to wound needlessly the feelings of her people, and we should aid her government to attain these ends as easily as possible. But the secret treaties disclosed at the Peace Conference made this trouble for the United States. Our Government should see to it before further financial aid is extended to our European cooperating nations, especially Great Britain and France, that all treaties are disclosed and that no treaties are in existence or should be permitted to come into existence which will contravene our interests and the interests of the world in the Far East. The power to bring about these results is entirely in the hands of the United States Government. The American management of international financial power must, of course, be largely in the hands of our business men, but the control of the financial power is now and for the present at least must be kept in the hands of our Government. This is the policy followed in Europe and Japan, and we cannot hope to deal with those countries wisely and safely unless we adopt the same method.

In the proposed consortium financing China, our Government has announced its intention of controlling. It is the right policy and it should be boldly followed in readjusting the Eastern situation.

Being assured on the question of status—knowing that there are no existing agreements on the part of Great Britain and France against our interests—we should agree with them openly and frankly upon a harmonious and preferably a joint policy for the Far East. Japan should be invited to co-operate in such a policy. In many ways it would be wise and for the benefit of Japan and China, as well as the rest of the nations interested, if Japan were to take the lead in this movement. She might recover much of her lost prestige by so doing. It is a fact, perhaps not well known but nevertheless a fact, that before the Peace Conference opened,

this suggestion was made to Japan, but her statesmen apparently did not think it wise to follow it. Such a policy should contemplate joint support of China by America, Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium and eventually Russia. Probably from the beginning, this policy should look toward joint and similar action in Siberia, Turkey and other nations that need financial support, and whose administrative needs for the time being require a certain degree of supervision. In all cases where this is possible, and this is clearly possible in China, the nation concerned should be given a prominent part. Wherever possible, as in China, it should take the leading part. Moreover, as will be noted in the beginning, the purpose of such support is to strengthen the countries concerned and so build up their administrative systems that they may as soon as possible become independent, both financially and politically.

It seems clear that in China there should be a pooling on equitable terms of all existing railroads and port facilities on the continent, together with a pooling of mining and other concessions and a joint management not only of these but of future concessions. This implies, of course, a very careful, impartial appraisal of the claims of all nations' interests and a fair allowance in the pool for each of these claims.

Inasmuch as Japan is the nation that would be most likely to feel aggrieved, it should be made absolutely clear to her that she will be protected in all of her just rights and that she will have a large part in the administration of the joint interests. But it should be made equally clear that this administration is for the purpose of putting China on her feet, that the time of unjust aggressions is past, and that the sooner that fact is recognized, the better it will be for Japan as well as for the rest of the world.

A conference might well be called, probably at the suggestion of Japan and China, something of the nature of the Algeiras conference, to work out the actual status as regards legal claims. There are already fairly well defined policies with reference to the relationship of highly civilized and progressive states to both aboriginal states and to those that are still in a condition of transition to western methods. These perhaps may well be studied by impartial legal and scientific experts, and on the basis of their reports, the proper claims could be adjusted in connection with the joint administration. The precedents of Morocco would be extremely valuable in this connection.

Meantime, as regards Shantung, and for that matter, as regards certain other interests of China as well, an administrative board should be appointed to conduct affairs until the exact terms of the settlement can be worked out, and thereafter to administer them in accordance with the terms agreed upon. Such a board should, of course, include representatives of financial interests. But it should include not only spokesmen of the bankers; there should be representative men experienced in politics, in economics, in trade and commerce, in mining, in railroading. No money should be expended except under the direction of this administrative board, and there should be a careful auditing of every cent spent. The purpose should be the promotion of the welfare of China or of the other countries that might be under consideration, although, of course, the nations lending the money would be greatly benefited indirectly. The leading part in the administration should be taken by the Chinese officials so far as they are prepared to undertake it, and provision should be made from the beginning—if competent Chinese cannot be found to direct any one department—to have Chinese understudies rapidly prepared to direct the policies as soon as they are ready.

Such a policy if adopted would give, not only to China, but to all of the nations concerned, a much greater benefit. Japan would be the greatest gainer. Her future, economically, financially and politically, would be not only more secure, but greater than it can possibly be by a continuance of her present policy. At present, of course, she is heading straight toward Germany's fate, and her own wise statesmen recognize that fact. The unfortunate thing is, that these men are not now in power, and that there is no immediate prospect of such men coming into power, unless some policy similar to the one suggested is adopted by foreign nations and insisted upon for Japan.

The United States has a great opportunity at the present moment for a firm forward policy along lines similar to those indicated, giving wherever possible, the opportunity for the open initiative of Japan and China. Such a policy needs firmness, the maintenance, and if necessary, a further building up of power, financial, military, naval—and a deliberate open statement to the American people by the Government, of the full facts of the case, and a call upon them now to stand for the principles for which the European war was fought in order to make it certain that those principles shall prevail in the Far East and throughout the world.

# PAN-NIPPONISM

By JOHN C. FERGUSON

THE events in connection with the district of Kiaochou and the province of Shantung can be most easily perceived when the background of Japan's aggressive imperialistic policy is clearly outlined. There have been a few happenings which have turned out fortunately for Japan, but much more has come to pass as the result of her careful planning. Nothing has ever been deliberately left to chance, but, as events have transpired, every opportunity has been seized upon as a means of carrying to a definite conclusion a well-formulated plan. The Pan-Germanic schemes were not more clearly conceived in all their details by the German Government than the various items of Japan's foreign policy. Succeeding ministries in Japan differ as to the method of carrying it out but the aim itself is never changed. The object of this foreign policy has been demonstrated in a series of international events since 1894, the year of the Sino-Japanese war, and may be briefly summarized. The policy aims at the ousting of Western national influence from the continent of Asia and the substitution for it of Japan's power. At the very beginning of her intercourse with other nations, Japan found her liberty of action threatened by European encroachments in Korea and China, and she determined to oppose the incoming

drift of economic expansion which was ever accompanied by naval or military preparations. She had only escaped by the skin of her teeth from a long subservience to European influence through the reserved foreign concessions and the extraterritorial rights of foreign residents. Prompt action in the reform of her laws and of courts of justice relieved her of this incubus about twenty years ago, but she had endured the disgrace long enough to convince her as to the strength of European aggression in Asia. Japan's present foreign policy is the result of her own experiences with European nations and is based upon her observation of what was done by them in Asia, the only difference being that Japan is now the aggressor. Japan aims not only at the hegemony of Asia but also at the exclusion of European national influence from Asia.

Step by step she has been accomplishing her purpose. In 1894 she brought on a war with China concerning the activities of the Tong-hsieh secretaries and thereupon showed to the world the weakness of the giant, China. This revelation of China's conditions furnished the first great stimulus to Japan's new national life while at the same time, the indemnity exacted from China became the nest-egg of financial reforms upon which the subsequent expansion of her foreign trade has depended.

The other results of this war between China and Japan have been of tremendous consequence. China was forced, as a war indemnity, to cede to Japan the Liaotung peninsula which is the key to Manchuria; but a tripartite note from Russia, Germany and France suggested to Japan in no uncertain tones that it would be inadvisable for her to retain this conquered peninsula and that it would be in the interests of the peace of the Far East that China should remain in possession. Japan complied with the threatening request and forthwith removed her troops. Japan was right in her belief that it was in no spirit of friendliness for China that the three Powers had intervened in the post-bellum settlement, for the noise of the withdrawing Japanese troops was still reverberating in the southern when the Russian speculator was appearing on the northern borders of Manchuria and Korea. In one of the weak moments to which she is chronically subject, China in 1896 gave to Russia rights in the territory which had been wrested from Japan and restored to her. Out of this agreement grew the Russian development of Dalay as a commercial port, the fortification of Port Arthur, the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway to connect with the Trans-Siberian road and the hatching of Russian plots in Korea. Then Germany, in the same



GIGANTIC PIERS AND WAREHOUSES BUILT BY THE GERMANS AT TSINGTAO

Upon These Magnificent Improvements Germany Expended Many Millions of Marks Intending to Construct at Kiaochow a Splendid Port which Would Afford Her a Suitable Base of Operations in the Far East

year, 1898, snatched Kiaochow; France took Kwangchow Bay on the extreme southern coast of China; while Great Britain occupied the hinterland of Kowloon opposite Hongkong and also established a protectorate over Weihaiwei. The interposition of the three self-styled friendly Powers proved most disastrous for China, and resulted in an outburst of anti-foreign feeling in 1900, accompanied by the Boxer outrages. In Japan, it crystallized foreign policy and gave to it the needed popular support. It was not difficult to make every loyal subject of Japan believe that his country had been tricked by Russia, Germany and France, that Great Britain had profited by the deal, and that China on account of her weakness was a negligible quantity.

Japanese policy struck a lively gait. In 1904 this small island nation attacked the colossal Russian Empire and forced it to disgorge its ill-gotten gains in the Liaotung peninsula and to stop its in-

land. What she did was as much a menace to Japan as what Russia had done at Port Arthur and Dalny and in some respects it was more ominous because it was nearer to Korean and Japanese ports. Japan bided her time and, while waiting, countermined. In Shantung province she developed Lungkow, a small port at the mouth of the Yellow River, and situated directly across the Gulf about seventy miles from Port Arthur. Here she built landing docks, and small Japanese steamers piled back and forth to Chefoo and Dalny. She developed her trade in Chefoo, another port of Shantung, where her shipping interests came to a position of first importance. Even the German-owned Kiaochow territory was not neglected and Japanese merchants made their influence felt there.

The hour for calling Germany to account came in 1914 upon the outbreak of the great European war. Immediately Japan prepared an ultimatum which she

terms of the Alliance made it necessary for Japan to take action, but an agreement was reached and Japan proceeded to the capture of Kiaochow. This successful operation duly punished the second signatory of the Note by which Japan was forced to evacuate the Liaotung peninsula.

The other party which signed the Note, France, has never been called to task for her share in what Japan considered a national disgrace, and the Alliance with Great Britain put to rest whatever feelings of irritation were cherished against that Power for her increase of territory in 1898.

Since 1894 Japan has grown rapidly. She acquired by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, April 17, 1895, the island of Formosa and the Pescadores Group. These possessions established Japanese authority in close proximity to the entire southern coast of China. By the Portsmouth Treaty of August 23, 1898, Japan succeeded to the Russian rights in "the lease of Port Arthur, Dalny, and adjacent territory and territorial waters," together with the railway between Chang Chun and Port Arthur and all its branches, and also with all coal mines in this region belonging to or worked for the benefit of the railway. By the same treaty she acquired the southern half of the island of Sakhalin and all islands adjacent thereto. On August 28, 1910, Japan annexed Korea by a formal treaty. The total area thus acquired by Japan within the last twenty-five years is equal to her original territory. This recital is in itself a sufficient rebuttal of the ill-considered statement that Japan has no territorial ambitions and no imperialistic policy. She has both and they must be kept in mind in any candid discussion of the Shantung question.

In her dealings with China, the famous Twenty-one Demands may be said fairly to represent the method and the gist of Japan's policy. These were presented to China in what was intended to remain a secret manner. On January 18, 1915, the Japanese Minister presented to the President of China a list of demands arranged in five groups. Secrecy was enjoined upon the Chinese Government, but so momentous were the proposals that it was found impossible to maintain it. The demands leaked out, but the public was promptly assured by subsidized news agencies that there had been no demands. Subsequently, in answer to official enquiries, the Japanese Government furnished to various governments, including the United States, a version of the demands, which eventually proved to be different both from the original demands as presented to the



#### CHINESE COOLIES RECEIVING INOCULATION

Large Numbers of These Laborers, Excellent Physical Specimens, Were Recruited by Britain and Sent to European Fields, Factories and Railroads

trigees in Korea. Japan won, took over all the rights that China had wantonly abandoned to Russia and laid the foundation for the inevitable annexation of Korea. Thus Russia was snubbed for her share in the Note of 1896.

Germany in Kiaochow followed the example of Russia in the Liaotung peninsula. She dredged a harbor, built fortresses, erected imposing buildings, and constructed a railway into the hinter-

land. What she did was as much a menace to Germany as what Russia had done at Port Arthur and Dalny and in some respects it was more ominous because it was nearer to Korean and Japanese ports. Japan bided her time and, while waiting, countermined. In Shantung province she developed Lungkow, a small port at the mouth of the Yellow River, and situated directly across the Gulf about seventy miles from Port Arthur. Here she built landing docks, and small Japanese steamers piled back and forth to Chefoo and Dalny. She developed her trade in Chefoo, another port of Shantung, where her shipping interests came to a position of first importance. Even the German-owned Kiaochow territory was not neglected and Japanese merchants made their influence felt there.





A CORNER OF THE OLD CITY WALL AT WEIHSIEN

The Poster with the Large Chinese Characters Contains the Advertisement of a Japanese Medicine Firm, and Illustrates the Fashion in Which Japan is Endeavoring to Place Her Goods on the Chinese Markets

President of China on January 18 and from the revised demands presented to the Minister of Foreign Affairs April 26. So strong were the denials of the Japanese Legations in London and Washington that American and English newspapers were unwilling to publish the first reports sent to them by their experienced correspondents in Peking. Later developments showed that there had been no exaggeration in these earliest reports.

The reason for attempting to maintain such secrecy, as is unusual even in diplomatic conversations, was probably due to the references in the demands to any "third Power." Obviously, a proposal to be agreed to by two nations in which pledges were to be given for the exclusion of any "third Power" is of such a nature that it must be guarded with jealous care. Each nation presumably has its own friends with whom it consults from time to time on affairs of great moment, but in this instance Japan, the proposer, attempted to force China to an agreement without allowing her any option as to consultation with friends. Japan knew that a knowledge of the demands by other nations would be prejudicial to her interests and would subject her to the criticism of "third Powers." Neither in the incorrect version furnished to the Powers nor in the revised version which formed the basis of the final Treaty is there any reference to a "third Power." Pitiless pub-

licity purged the demands of this objectionable feature which had been the occasion of the desire for secrecy.

The demands were an attempt on the part of Japan to blind China in a partnership in which the former would be the elder brother and China would be the subservient junior. The partnership was to be mutually beneficial, but as Japan considered that she would bring into it more than China, she naturally expected that her share of the profits would correspond to her investment. There was to be no "third" partner; all the benefits were to be shared exclusively by the two members. The scheme was ambitious and from the standpoint of Japan most desirable. The only weak part of it was that it failed to take into account the possibility of China's unwillingness to enter the partnership. The horse could be led to the water, but would he drink? China declined and would not even respond to appeals to her better nature when she was asked to be grateful to Japan for the expulsion of Germany from Kiaschow. Japan made the mistake of misunderstanding the spirit of China. She has become so expert in her study of the race psychology of western nations that she has allowed herself to apply its principles to the study of the people of China, with the result that though she is the nearest neighbor of China and bound to her by ties of literature and religion, yet she shows the same growing incapacity of

understanding China as was exhibited by Germany in her pre-war dealings with France. In the demands she counted upon a partnership with the gratitude of the junior partner; what she got was a reluctant acceptance, under protest, of a *modus vivendi*.

The scope of these demands was commensurate with the ambition of Japan. They were subdivided into four geographical groups: (1) Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, (2) the province of Shantung, (3) the Yangtze valley, and (4) the province of Fukien. The only parts of China which were not directly affected were the western and south-western provinces which adjoin British or French territorial concessions. All of the northern provinces, those of the Yangtze valley and the coast provinces, with the exception of Canton, came within their purview. The specific items of the demands provided for the exploitation of iron and coal mines, the construction and management of railways, joint agricultural enterprises, joint iron and steel works, the extension of the period of leased territories, and other affairs of similar far-reaching consequences. They even took cognizance of a "report" that had reached the Japanese Minister "to the effect that the Chinese Government had the intention of permitting foreign nations to establish on the coast of Fukien province dockyards, coaling stations for military use and naval bases," and the Chinese

Government was solemnly required to give the lie to the "report." The most cursory consideration of the geographical limits of the territory mentioned in those demands and of the wide range of interests involved can leave no one in doubt as to the character of the policy of Japan in her relations with China.

These demands were finally forced upon China as a result of an ultimatum delivered by the Japanese Minister at three o'clock on the afternoon of May 7 and asking for a satisfactory reply by six o'clock P.M. on May 9. The concluding sentence of the ultimatum was as follows: "It is hereby declared that if no satisfactory reply is received before or at the designated time, the Imperial Government will take steps they may deem necessary." The reply was "satisfactory" to Japan, but was not, and never will be, to China. It was a promissory note enacted by force, given with mental reservations perfectly well known to the payee and accepted in full knowledge of the risk involved. China had expressed the opinion frequently during the negotiations that the demands should by right be referred for adjudication to the Peace Conference which would follow the war, but this was not acceptable to Japan, who desired to carry on her discussions directly with China on the principle of moving along the line of least resistance. Japan was, however, fully aware at the time of the enforced acceptance of the demands by

China of her purpose to use every effort to reopen her case and present her claims, if possible, at the Peace Conference.

It would have been agreeable to me to have made no reference to those demands in this article, for I am well aware that I am liable by doing so to offend the susceptibilities of Japanese friends, but as the entire claim for the handing over of German rights in Shantung to Japan rests upon an exchange of notes which grew out of the demands, it is impossible to refrain from a discussion of them. In the world-wide revival of imperialism which has been the outstanding feature of the negotiations at Versailles it is necessary to call attention to the foreign policy of Japan, which, much to my regret, must be still characterized as imperialistic, by which is meant that it is aggressive and acquisitive.

In the absence of any recent formal declaration by the Japanese Government as to its intentions concerning Kiaochow and Shantung, one is forced to quote such statements as have been made since the opening of the war. In presenting an ultimatum to Germany on August 15, 1914, Japan made two demands, the second of which was:

"Second. To deliver on a date not later than September 15 to the Imperial Japanese authorities, without condition or compensation, the entire leased territory of Kiaochow, with a view to the

eventual restoration of the same to China."

This was supplemented by a statement of Marquis Okuma in an authorized message to the American people, August 24, 1914, through *The Independent*, New York. The last paragraph of this message was as follows:

"As Premier of Japan, I have stated and I now again state to the people of America and of the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other peoples of anything which they now possess. My Government and my people have given their word and their pledge, which will be as honorably kept as Japan always keeps promises."

The clear, unmistakable meaning of the ultimatum is that Japan intended to restore eventually to China "the entire leased territory of Kiaochow," and yet when the ultimatum to China was presented, in May of the following year, it carried with it a forced consent to an exchange of notes "respecting the restoration of the leased territory of Kiaochow Bay," which materially changed for Japan's benefit the original plain declaration. The notes which were finally exchanged, May 25, 1915, were as follows:

"When, after the termination of the present war, the leased territory of Kiaochow Bay is completely left to the free disposal of Japan, the Japanese Gov-



Reprinted by John

# THE HARBOR OF WEIHAIWEI, THE BRITISH PORT IN SHANTUNG.

The Concession to This Port Was Obtained from China by Great Britain Shortly After Germany's Acquisition of Kiaochow. Weihaiwei is Directly Across from Port Arthur, in a Position of Strategic Importance

ernment will restore the said leased territory to China under the following conditions:

1. The whole of Kiaochou Bay to be opened as a commercial port.

2. A concession under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan to be established at place designated by the Japanese Government.

3. If the foreign Powers desire it, an international concession may be established.

4. As regards the disposal to be made of the buildings and properties of Germany and the conditions and procedure relating thereto, the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government shall arrange the matter by mutual agreement before the restoration."

It should be observed that the notes change the eventual restoration of "the entire leased territory of Kiaochou" to a restoration of this territory under four conditions. The first of these is innocuous, as China would naturally be perfectly willing that Kiaochou Bay should continue to remain open as a commercial port. The second condition reveals the real change in Japan's policy, because it provides for the retention of "a concession under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan to be established at a place designated by the Japanese Government." This place has not yet been officially designated, but from the preparations which Japan has already made there can be no doubt that it will be that part of Kiaochou known as Tsingtao. Here are all the government buildings and barracks, the terminus of the railway which connects Tsinan-fu, the capital of Shantung province, the docks and wharves, and the principal commercial houses. The rest of Kiaochou Bay is, to the southward of Tsingtao, a series of shallow sand flats, and to the northward a series of precipitous bluffs. If Tsingtao is designated, as it unquestionably will be, as the "concession under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan" the return of the rest is only a hollow mockery of the original declaration as to the eventual restoration "of the entire leased territory of Kiaochou." Furthermore, it gives to Japan in perpetuity the possession of a concession, whereas Germany held it only under a lease of 99 years, under which the eventual sovereignty of China was recognized.

The fourth condition of the notes provided for an equitable disposition of "the buildings and properties of Germany and the conditions and procedure relating thereto" by specifying that it should be arranged by mutual agreement between the Japanese and Chinese governments before the restoration. This was changed by Articles 156, 157 and 158 of the Peace

Treaty and again the change was in favor of Japan. These articles provide that the Tsingtao-Tsinan-fu railway, together with its subsidiary mines, the submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, and all movable and immovable property owned by the German state in the territory of Kiaochou "are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances." The notes of 1915 had provided that the disposal of all these should be arranged "by mutual agreement" between China and Japan; the Treaty hands them over *en bloc* to Japan.

To summarize: If the provisions of the 1915 Treaties and Notes and of the Versailles Peace Treaty are carried into effect, Japan will have secured for her exclusive jurisdiction and control: (1) a permanent possession in Kiaochou district, which will be, without doubt, Tsingtao; (2) the Tsingtao-Tsinan-fu railway, which is 250 miles in length, together with its branches; (3) the iron and coal mines in the Weihsen and Poshan districts; (4) the submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo; (5) all movable and immovable property in Kiaochou territory which belonged to the German state, and (6) all other rights, privileges, and arrangements relative to the province of Shantung. These include the promise to build a railway 230 miles long to connect with the Peking-Hankow line, one from Lungkow to Weihsen, about 100 miles long, and a third from Kaomi to Yihsen, nearly 200 miles long. The contrast between these great gains by Japan and the original promise of an eventual restoration to China of "the entire leased territory of Kiaochou" is its own commentary upon Marquis Okuma's declaration of 1914. *Tempora mutantur.*

China's position in Shantung has been rendered most embarrassing and difficult by two experiences which seem to have been caused by the unnecessary aggressiveness of Japan in attaining her purpose of destroying German influence in the Far East. The first of these was in the landing of Japanese troops in 1914 at Lungkow instead of some place near Kiaochou or even within the Kiaochou zone. Lungkow is approximately 200 miles from Tsingtao, where the German fortifications were located. The Chinese Government, which could easily have sent troops to capture Kiaochou, if she had been allowed to undertake the job, desired to have it done with the least possible disturbance to the people of Shantung province and naturally objected to the Japanese proposal to land troops at such a distance from their goal. Japan persisted in her method

and marched her troops across country to the nearest railway stations on the Tsingtao-Tsinan-fu railway, occupying all of them westward to Tsinan-fu while the fighting forces went eastward to capture the German ports. The offices of Chinese officials were flooded at the time with complaints against the methods of the Japanese soldiery, and, whether these were justified or not, it is certain that the people, through whose fields the troops passed, do not have any kindly feeling toward them.

The second grievance occurred in October, 1917, when the Japanese Government issued an official statement that the military administration of Tsingtao had been abolished and that a civil administration had been established in its place. It was said that this was designed to improve the administration of the territory in general and also of the railways and mines, as well as to promote the welfare of the inhabitants by bringing about more friendly relations with them. This establishment of civil government over the whole length of the railway was such a gross infraction of the sovereign rights of China that the Chinese Government promptly protested against it, but it has never been formally abolished.

These two incidents were not part and parcel of any conciliatory policy of Japan, but belonged to the usual procedure of the military caste working under an imperialistic policy.

The whole problem of ousting Germany from Kiaochou could have been such a simple one that its present complexity can only be accounted for on the supposition that it has been deliberately brought about. In 1914 Japan could have sought the coöperation of China in capturing Kiaochou and could then have earned the eternal gratitude of the Chinese people by promptly withdrawing and allowing China to reestablish her government. This would have placed Japan in a position even more enviable than that now occupied by the United States on account of the remission of a portion of the Boxer indemnity. Instead of having followed this straight and narrow path, which would have led to an honorable record for herself and have earned the hearty goodwill of the Chinese people, she chose the tortuous road of compromising statements and conflicting actions, with the only goal in sight at present of an increasing hatred on the part of China and a widening suspicion of her motives by her allies. She could still go far to rehabilitate herself if she would frankly declare that it is her present purpose to restore to China "the entire leased territory of Kiaochou" without conditions and without reservations.

# MARQUIS SAIONJI MOVES

By PATRICK GALLAGHER

AT noon, on March 20, I was received by the Marquis Saionji, head of the Japanese delegation, in his suite at the Hotel Meurice, on the Rue de Rivoli, Paris. The Marquis is seventy years young.

As I entered his drawing-room, he breezed forward to meet me, gave me a hearty, boyish hand-clasp, and then slipped his arm within mine and led me into his study. At the time, Paris was being flooded with propaganda. The Marquis sat on one side of the study table, while I sat upon the other, with Mr. Y. Matsuoka, general secretary of the Japanese delegation, slightly apart to my left. I asked Saionji: "Do you think the Peace Conference will be able to do anything practical to solve the Far Eastern question? What, briefly, is Japan's idea as to the things that the conference should do in order to stabilize peace in the Far East?"

The Marquis blew a smoke ring, quite cleverly, and watched it dissolve. Then he answered me in exquisite English:

"In recent years, there have been two sets of causes of trouble in the Far East: the menace from the West and the internal troubles of China. Japan took up arms against Russia in 1904, and in 1914 against the German menace. Now that there is little likelihood of another Western menace, and now that the League of Nations plan is fast crystallizing itself into a tangible reality, all that we feel any anxiety about is China's internal troubles.

"It is in line with the general policy of Japan, and it is surely also in the interests of China and the Far East in general, that her neighbor should be politically and socially pacified and unified and be set upon a fair way toward general and genuine reconstruction and development. Japan has always been, and will always be, ready to support any Chinese in authority who has at heart the peace and security of his country, who has a clear vision of the future destinies of the Far East. Japan would not grudge anything reasonable to China. She is ready to indorse any righteous claim of her awakening neighbor.

"I am sure the proposed League of Nations will be a potent factor in consolidating the peace of the extreme Orient. The spirit of justice, fairness and humanity in which the League of Nations is conceived will in itself prove a remedy for many international discords and misunderstandings in the Far East, as elsewhere."

We talked for about an hour, and Saionji convinced me that he takes a very sympathetic attitude toward China. Makino, Chinda and Ijuin gave me the same impression. However, that did not alter the fact that a suit was already pending within the Conference, in which China appeared as plaintiff and Japan was joined as defendant. The Chinese delegation filed briefs in support of China's claim for direct restoration of Kiaochow from Germany and also for the abrogation of the 1915 treaties and notes. In fairness to the Chinese, it ought to be stated that this course was taken with the knowledge and approval of the American delegation. In fairness to the British, it should be stated that this course was discouraged and disproved by the British delegation.

Japan drove the Germans out of Kiaochow in 1914, with the approval and co-operation of her British ally. After the successful conclusion of the Kiaochow campaign, there naturally enough developed differences of opinion and policies, in Japan, in Great Britain, and among the British and other Allies in the Far East. Many of these differences were as marked as they were quite explainable, but nobody in high official standing in any of the countries concerned cared to take the responsibility of making a full and frank explanation. It is not fair to charge the Japanese with selfishness in the conduct of their war policy. They might be charged with foresight and with a constant attention to legitimate Japanese political and material interests; while, on the other hand, British subjects in the Far East were not unreasonable in resenting Japanese political and material advancement in Asia at the cost of British prestige and profit—the threatened loss of a Far Eastern trade built up in long years of enterprise and of sacrifice. Both England and America had serious cause of complaint because of the manner in which the Okuma administration had taken advantage of the Tsingtao surrender to try and steal a march upon every other treaty power in China between October, 1914, and May, 1915. I am glad to say that nobody regrets more the injustice and the miserable deception practised by the Okuma administration in the matter of the Twenty-one Demands than do the leading statesmen of Japan, without exception. They realize now that trickery is a costly weapon. Japan's worst handicap in her relations with China and with the civilized world is the fact that, in the spring of 1915, her

officials did deceive and they were caught in the act of attempting deception.

While this is so true that it is absolutely idle, and actually injurious to Japan, to deny it or to dispute it, Japan's enemies are hardly in a position to fashion from it a blanket indictment against the Japanese government or people, or to set themselves up as the moral mentors of the Japanese Empire. Are the Japanese the only people who, in pursuit of their policies, have played tricks with the truth? Has the West given an example to Japan of unassailable justice and precise propriety? When Perry and Townsend Harris were teaching the Japanese officials of their day the advantage of Western political science, when Bingham and Dennison were doing all that men could to help Japan safely through the necessary period of political transformation, what was the attitude of the European Powers toward the Japanese empire-builders? That it was brutal, that it was selfish, that it was dishonest, the official records prove. Even so admirable a man as Sir Harry Parkes was compelled to play a part in the Tokyo Conference of 1882 that in its turn forced the Japanese to resort to the armor of guile in order that their Empire might not pass the way of the neighboring Dragon Empire. Japan had to be tricky in order to be strong. In one of my talks with Baron Makino, at the Hotel Bristol, on the Place Vendôme, he discussed this phase of Japan's growth with a frankness and justice that well became the man who is now by far the most vigorous and powerful figure in Japanese politics. The handling of the Yokohama cases by The Hague Court was not calculated to impress the Japanese with a high opinion of Western morality or justice. Consequently, the European statesmen at the Paris Conference were in no moral position to pick holes in Japan because of Okuma's mishandling of Japan's Chinese policy. How about ourselves?

Between 1784 and 1898 our record in the Far East was as clean as a whistle. In 1898, whatever our desires and intentions, we did begin to wobble regarding that point in our basic Far Eastern policy which debarred us from taking territory in Asia. Senators who are now bellowing against certain provisions of the treaty, who talk wildly and foolishly about war with Japan, would do well to read over the volumes of the Congressional Record containing the speeches made against another product of a conference of Paris, the

Spanish treaty. Senator Lodge, in particular, would do very well to recall the Philippics of his venerable Massachusetts colleague, the late Senator Hoar. A shot fired by an angry Filipino at twilight on the bridge of San Juan del Monte kept us in the Philippines. That was the beginning of the Philippine insurrection and of our Philippine war, as well as the cause of the ratification of the treaty with Spain by the United States Senate, in February, 1899. The United States did not regard with favor the proceedings of any of the Powers concerned in the "battle of concessions" of 1898. It did what it could to protect and to save China and the Open Door and Mr. Wilson it was who, by his Philippine legislation, restored our Far Eastern policy to that unselfish level that it had maintained from 1784 to the Spanish War.

Mr. Wilson, as President, formally protested the proceedings of the Okuma administration in China, in 1915. Mr. Wilson, as President, came to the relief of the Chinese government during 1916 and 1917. In November of 1917 Mr. Wilson, as President, approved the negotiations and agreement between Viscount Ishii and Mr. Lansing. China was not consulted during these negotiations and China formally protested the Ishii-Lansing agreement. Did the Ishii-Lansing agreement menace China?

Chinese in Paris answered this question in the affirmative. They did not, however, file a brief with the peace conference asking for annulment and abrogation of the Ishii-Lansing agreement. Why did they not raise the question of the contradictory interpretations put upon the Ishii-Lansing agreement by Viscount Motono, on the one hand, and by Mr. Lansing, on the other? I am in a position to answer this question, authoritatively. The Chinese delegates resisted powerful pressure from American as well as from other sources, urging them to test the validity of the Ishii-Lansing agreement in the peace conference. They did not want to embarrass their good friend, Mr. Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Wilson had them under his wing.

Indeed, so anxious were they to please the President and not to embarrass their friends, the American delegates, that they refrained from appointing an American political adviser about the time that Dr. George E. Morrison left Peking for Paris.

I trust that I have not given the impression that there was anything improper or unfriendly towards Japan in the attitude or action of the American mission towards the Chinese. By no means. Everything that was done was quite open and aboveboard, and the Japanese were fully aware of all that hap-

pened. They took care that nothing missed them; for which they are to be complimented, and not condemned. Diplomacy is the very biggest of big business, and it ought to be conducted with efficiency. On April 23, at Mr. Wilson's house in the Place Etats-Unis, Mr. Lu and Dr. Wellington Koo were sitting with Mr. Wilson, Mr. Clemenceau, and Mr. Lloyd George, in a comparatively small room, grouped around a fireplace, discussing China's side of the case made at the Peace Conference by China against Japan. Dr. Koo was attempting to show how these 1918 contracts grew out of the "Twenty-one Demands."

Mr. Lloyd George ejaculated: "The twenty-one demands! What do you mean by that?"

President Wilson came to the rescue of Dr. Koo and the British Premier and explained to Mr. Lloyd George the nature and circumstances of the Sino-Japanese crisis of 1915. After the explanation Mr. Lloyd George told Dr. Koo that he would willingly do all he could to help China, "but," he pointed out, "England is bound by her obligations to Japan. I will not be a party to making 'scraps of paper' of British treaties."

Mr. Lloyd George was referring to the pledges exchanged between Japan and her allies, in February and March, 1917, before we entered the war. In view of the fact that there have been outrageous misstatements regarding these pledges, unfair not merely to Japan but to our European friends, the nature and circumstances of the Allied pledges to support Japan should be indicated. In January, the British War Cabinet learned of Germany's intention to resume ruthless submarine warfare. All British resources were immediately mobilized to meet the crisis. Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador at Washington, was directed to put the alarming character of the menace before our State Department and personally before the President. We did not then make war upon Germany.

The British Admiralty reported to the British War Cabinet that it would be unable to meet the crisis without outside naval help. Our navy was not available. In this extremity, the British Ambassador at Tokyo, obeying instructions from London, sought assistance from Japan. Sir William Conynghame-Greene called upon Viscount Motono, at that time Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, and stated to him the position confronting the Allies. Viscount Motono assured Sir William that the Japanese Empire would not fail her ally. He mentioned a conversation he had had with the Russian Ambassador concerning Japan's difficulties with

China and the desirability of a frank understanding regarding questions that might arise in the Peace Conference. Out of this conversation developed the notes that passed immediately between London, Paris, St. Petersburg and Tokyo, pledging the support of the Allies to Japan in her desire that Kiaochow and the Northern Pacific islands should be ceded to her by Germany. Japan pledged herself to support the British claim for the former German possessions in the Southern Pacific. Italy merely assured the Japanese Ambassador at Rome that she had no objection.

Japan placed her navy at the disposal of the Allies, which was a material factor in destroying the German submarine menace. Japanese ships were in constant operation from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Japan. Consequently, when Judge Howard, United States Senator, and others charge that Japan played an insignificant or worthless part in the war they are not in possession of the facts or they fail to state them justly.

It was on April 23 of this year that Mr. Wilson pronounced his famous Adriatic doctrine, which restored the authority of the Paris Conference and thrust the Italian delegation out of the Conference. In the course of his statement, the President said that the Jugoslavs are to be among the smaller States whose interests are henceforth to be as scrupulously safeguarded as the interests of the most powerful states.

"The war was ended, moreover," said the President, "by proposing to Germany an armistice and peace which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles which should set up a new order of right and justice. Upon these principles the peace with Germany has been conceived, not only, but formulated. Upon those principles it will be executed. . . . Interest is not now in question, but the rights of peoples, of states, new and old, of liberated peoples and peoples whose rulers have never accounted them worthy of right; above all, the right of the world to peace and to such settlements of interest as shall make peace secure. These, and these only, are the principles for which America has fought. These, and these only, are the principles upon which she can consent to make peace."

Every word uttered, every gesture made by the President in the Villa of Bischofsheim, on the afternoon of April 23, justified the Chinese in believing that the President was with them to the last ditch. The Japanese were not present. They had been heard on the previous day. Both Chinese and Japanese read the President's Adriatic pronouncement with the deepest interest. It was a clarion call for the rights of man, as against the special interests of powerful nations. The Chinese were jubilant.



I sat with Dr. Wang and we read over the statement, sentence by sentence. The Japanese were worried. I met a member of the Japanese delegation and he admitted to me that, particularly remembering Wilson's words in presenting the draft Covenant at the plenary on February 14, it looked as if President Wilson was determined to secure assent to the Chinese claims. That night Mr. Wilson's fame and his power climbed higher than those of any other man in the world's history. He was the Paris Conference. Not merely had he dared to challenge the basic principle of imperialism, but he was in effect offering himself to the peoples of the more chaotic parts of Europe as their leader in the desperate struggle against the other dangerous extreme, Bolshevism.

A couple of nights later Mr. Wilson presided at a meeting of about a score of gentlemen of various shapes, sizes and peculiarities of complexion in the room of Colonel House, on the third floor of the Hotel Crillon. House was at the elbow of the President. Baron Makino and Leon Bourgeois urged their suggested amendments to the Great Covenant. The President's Monroe Doctrine amendment and the selection of Geneva as the first seat of the League of Nations were alike adopted by majority votes. Makino made a remarkable plea for some sort of recognition along the lines of racial and national equality. He trimmed down his amendment so that it merely recorded "acceptance of the principle of the equality of nations and the just treatment of their nationals."

Every nation represented at the meeting, with the exception of the United States and Great Britain, supported Makino's amendment through their spokesmen on the commission for the League of Nations. I notice frequent assertion in the newspapers that Makino's amendment was "defeated by a narrow majority." That is utterly incorrect. It was carried by a sweeping majority, including China. Dr. Koo, very properly, made one of the best speeches supporting the Japanese Baron. Racial and national equality suffered defeat at the hands of Woodrow Wilson, at the behest of Lord Robert Cecil. After everybody had spoken, Baron Makino asked the President if his amendment was adopted.

The President said, "No. That requires unanimity."

In plain words, Baron Makino and the Japanese were tricked out of their just rights and a sweeping victory in the Commission on the League of Nations. The Japanese were seriously annoyed. The younger Japanese newspapermen, who were present in Paris

in strong force, were openly angry. I talked with several of them and they complained very bitterly that Makino was too gentle and too nice in his attitude toward the "Big Three." Even some of the older and wiser Japanese journalists thought that Japan might well mark her resentment of this mistreatment by some bold, dramatic act. At that moment the Italian walk-out had everybody guessing whether or not the Conference of Paris was to end in disruption. On the following night I dined with one of the very wisest of the Japanese delegates. I said to him: "Well, how about it? If you are turned down on Shantung, will you pack up and go, like the Italians?"

My Japanese friend laughed very heartily. "Mr. Gallagher," said he, "you know us too well to put any stock in such silly gossip." Then his face became clouded and serious as he said with deliberation: "No! Japan will not walk out. There is not the slightest shadow of a chance of Japan making a separate peace with Germany. There is not the least chance that Japan's allies will fail in their pledges to us. We are not disturbed."

The Japanese delegates were not disturbed. They never worried unnecessarily. They kept themselves thoroughly and completely informed, and they acted promptly upon exact information. The Japanese and the British delegations acted upon definite formulae and established facts. The American delegation was guided by sentiment and stampeded by foolish gossip. Let me prove these assertions.

I do not wish to be unfair to our President or to any of our officials. They all did what they believed to be their best. But have we not a right to know where we are going in the Far East? Have not our friends a right to know that? What warrant has our government to attempt the application of foreign policies without the knowledge and approval of the American people? These are questions that ought to be put to our government and to our people. Every American worthy of his salt will join Viscount Ishii in condemning loose talk about war between America and Japan. Yet I sometimes fear that the governments of America and Japan are permitting themselves to drift into positions which might eventuate in war. We all know that where the anger of peoples is cleverly and deliberately aroused a match will suffice to blow up the powder barrel. Take the present situation in China as an example.

Is the American government desirous of acting the part of the peacemaker between China and Japan? Is the British government using its good offices to

strengthen accord between Japan and America? Are we justifying the Chinese in expectations that if they precipitate a military situation in Shantung, or Manchuria, that might cause the Japanese government to act hastily or harshly, American troops will fight the battles of the Chinese Republic? These are questions to which our government should give thought.

Here is a brief snapshot of the dominant political conditions in the Far East:

The Chinese are angry because they think Mr. Wilson betrayed them in Paris. Many of them are in a mood to fight Japan. They have as much chance in a war with Japan as Santo Domingo or Honduras would have in a war with America. It would be largely a matter of moving forward troops and taking possession. The Japanese would move the troops and take possession. The Chinese would do most of the dying. I mean no reflection upon the Chinese people. Their weakness is the result of pacifist leadership and the shackles forced upon them by the aggressive West, ourselves included.

The Japanese are furious because of the way in which we have wounded their pride by formal and public denial of their racial and national equality. They are determined to press their point until they have carried it. The British and French subscribe to Japan's general Far Eastern policy. Early in January, I learned that the British and French had faith in Japan's capacity successfully to apply a definite policy in the Far East, and that neither of these nations had any faith whatever in our American Far Eastern policy. Friendly responsible European officials challenged me in the most charming way to state truly if I, myself, had any faith in our ability to formulate a Far Eastern policy, and to stick to it, having in mind our checkered record of the last twenty-one years. I had no answer to make. If there is a single American who takes pride in our record in Asia between 1898 and 1919, I would like to meet him. We are drifting very dangerously there, just as we drifted onto the rocks in Paris, and for very similar reasons. Mr. Paul S. Reinsch, our minister at Peking, has been attempting to apply a forward policy in China. But that is not at all consistent with the policy of "scuttle" that seemingly dominated Mr. Wilson's ultimate decisions in Paris. Mr. Wilson has invited Congress to cut loose the Philippines without much regard for the real interests of the Filipino people or their ability to stand upon their own feet. Mr. Maximo M. Kalaw, the able Filipino historian, is urging immediate independence, yet ap-

parently he wants America to protect the Philippines against Japanese immigration. The two things, of course, are incompatible. The Philippines cannot be independent and dependent at the same time; nor can President Wilson defend the Philippines and endorse the decision of the Big Three in the matter of the Northern Pacific islands.

All the Chinese need in order to develop a strong government and a great modern nation is to be left alone; but the world will not do that. The best that can be done is to try and induce the Chinese and Japanese to shake hands and get along together. We are not doing that. We are capitalizing, continuing and multiplying Sino-Japanese discord. If the lid blows off, will our people thank Mr. Wilson if he calls upon our mothers to send their sons to fight the battles of China in China—because the war, if it ever happens, will be over there, and not over here. I should like to put this question to Senator Borah, as well as to President Wilson. I should also like to ask Senator Lodge, Senator Norris, and Senator Borah if they really intend to back up their foolish speeches by blows. The war has taught thoughtful people that statesmen, like little boys, can not call names without being prepared to take off their coats and back up their boasting.

There is a large measure of British, French and Japanese public opinion that would serve to sustain the United States if we had an honest, consistent, courageous Far Eastern policy. Let me suggest what I mean. People in other nations are just as honest, and just as well meaning, as most Americans. We have no monopoly of virtue or decency—we have a monopoly, sometimes, of super-idealism.

Philippine independence has been pledged by our Congress, and liberal opinion in Europe or in Asia desires neither to kick us out of the Philippines nor to keep us there against our will. But we can not get out of the Philippines, hastily or heedlessly, without endangering the entire Far Eastern situation; and we can not base upon a "scuttle" Philippine policy a general Far Eastern policy that will be sustained by any of our Allies. This is a fact. I have discussed this matter with men in a position to talk authoritatively for Europe and Asia, and I have discussed it as one on record for many years for real Philippine independence. The reason why it is not feasible to turn the Philippines adrift at this moment is because that can not be done without setting up reactions all the way from Calcutta to Chemulpho, from Siningfu to Sandaken. We do not encourage, or

justify, Japanese or British coöperation when we multiply their difficulties, in India, in Ireland or in Korea.

If only we can make up our minds that we are going somewhere in Asia, and call to the aid of our government the best technical talent to apply that policy, we can apply it. And our European and Asiatic friends will help us to do so, but only if it is based upon a recognition of the fact that India is the proudest jewel of the British Empire and must not be menaced; that Korea is an integral part of the Japanese Empire and is not a fit subject for American sectarian political propaganda; that Japan has her eye upon certain things that she needs and which she can obtain without inflicting any particular wrong upon China; that China will never have any chance to get upon her feet until her sovereignty is fully restored by European Powers, as well as by Japan; that it is foolish to talk about (and dangerous to carry out) constructive railway plans in China until the Chinese frontier question is fearlessly and honestly faced and the Powers, ourselves included, remove every foreign guard from Chinese soil.

To return to Paris. The British and the French and the Japanese delegations listened to Mr. Wilson and then they talked these matters over among themselves; and they came to the conclusion that our delegation was not very learned or very practical, at the top, in the matter of the Chinese question. They decided that among themselves they could play ball, good profitable ball, and they played it. Now, it is curious upon what droll circumstances great historic happenings are oftentimes built. I am afraid that I have been very serious, very dreary, in trying to unravel for the readers of ASIA the tangled skein of the Paris Conference. So let us all laugh, as the Japanese laughed on the night of April 30.

On the forenoon of April 24 a young Japanese newspaper man of no importance (and with less knowledge of what was actually happening at Japanese headquarters, the Hotel Bristol, than some of his American confreres) happened into 4 Place de la Concorde and whispered the news to one of the most admittedly brilliant American special correspondents, "the Japanese delegation is packing up." The great American reporter whisked his Japanese friend away from the press room, and together they hurried to the Hotel Bristol, where, surely enough, they found boxes and boxes, and more boxes, and trunks, and trunks, and more trunks, piled one upon the other, in the hotel courtyard. Moving silently and stealthily, like melodramatic villains, the rep-

resentatives of East and West Fourth Estate sallied forth once more. This time their destination was the Hotel Meurice, where Marquis Salonji, Baron Makino and Mr. Ijuin had their suites. Again Japanese trunks and more trunks; Japanese boxes and more boxes; great crates of the Marquis's favorite fish plucked from the placid waters of Lake Chusendji, and dried according to a special and ancient recipe; handsome steamer trunks with brass and rawhide knobs; trunks to the right and trunks to the left; and bellhops and valets scurrying hither and yon. The bright reporters rushed to the Bourse, and the news was flashed all over the world that the Japanese delegation was packing up; that Mr. Ijuin, the Japanese Ambassador at Rome, had called upon Baron Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister, and pledged Japan's support to the Italian Adriatic position; that the Conference was collapsing, because Wilson would not give Italy Fiume, or Japan Kiao-chow, or acknowledge the racial and national equality of the Japanese.

Within the same hour Mr. Odagiri, the famous Japanese banker, mentioned casually to Mr. Thomas W. Lamont that there was more than one side to the Chinese financial consortium plans being pushed by the American government, and that it would be difficult for the Japanese to come in, if Japan should leave the Peace Conference defeated on all points. Upon the same day Lord Robert Cecil told Colonel House that, while Baron Makino was loyally eager to aid a League of Nations, it was becoming increasingly difficult to assure Japanese support on account of the general attitude of the Conference toward Japan. A few minutes later Colonel House learned about the trunks, and the boxes, and the expected exodus of the Japanese delegation from Paris. He got in touch with the President at once. Somebody confirmed the wild rumors. The President immediately reversed himself in the matter of Kiao-chow, shut himself away from his Far Eastern advisers and the Chinese, and assented to Baron Makino's solution. I am in a position to know that the Japanese conceded nothing, nor did they bargain their racial amendment for the Shantung articles. They won upon their own terms and upon facts. Mr. Wilson lost all the tricks upon silly gossip.

The trunks and boxes at the Hotel Bristol and the Hotel Meurice were piled one upon the other in preparation for transfer to the magnificent villa at 50 Rue de Bassano, that had just been leased for the Marquis Salonji. The Marquis was not moving out. He was moving in.

# JAPAN'S POLITICAL ETHICS

• By W. W. WILLOUGHBY

THE purpose of this paper is to show that the record of Japan's acts in and toward China since 1905 furnishes indisputable evidence that it is her ambition and her intention to bring China under her control.

Under the agreements exacted of China in 1915 in connection with her Twenty-one Demands and enforced by an Ultimatum of War, and upon which she now relies, Japan has the right after the return of Tsingtao—if it is returned—to retain a "concession" in the city at a place to be designated by herself and over which she is to have exclusive jurisdiction. And already the Japanese authorities there have laid out the boundaries of this concession in such a way as to include all the parts of Tsingtao which are of any commercial or political importance—all the water-front suitable for shipping purposes, the fortifications, and the sites for the permanent railway station, its yards and approaches. If, then, the city is returned, China will receive back only the empty shell, and the provision that is made for an "international concession," if desired by the Powers, will be without substantial value to them. The claim, therefore, that the only question at issue regarding Shantung is whether or not Japan can be trusted to fulfil her promise to return Kiaochow to China is essentially a dishonest one. Any decision with regard to the Shantung clause of the Treaty should be made in the light of the general situation in the Far East, and especially of the acts of Japan in and toward China since the Russo-Japanese War. These have been as follows:

It is reasonably certain that Japan fought the war of 1894-1895 with China and the war of 1904-1905 with Russia for legitimate purposes of national self-defense. But when the utter military weakness of China had been disclosed and the Muscovite Colossus had been shown to have feet of clay, an opportunity for successfully pursuing a policy of expansion was presented which found a ready acceptance by a people flushed and exalted with their military victories, and Korea and South Manchuria were at once marked out as the first fields for penetration and possible annexation.

Events in Korea moved rapidly and without foreign hindrance. Within five years, that great peninsula, almost as large as the main island of Japan and with a population of some fifteen millions, was formally incorporated as an integral part of the Japanese Empire.

In Manchuria it was not possible to move with such celerity, but no time was lost in beginning the process of exploitation.

Although one of the avowed purposes of the war against Russia had been the restoration of Manchuria to Chinese control, and although in the Portsmouth treaty itself Japan as well as Russia had promised "to restore entirely and completely to the exclusive administration of China" all portions of Manchuria then in occupation or control by the Japanese or Russian troops, with the exception of the leased area in the Liaotung Peninsula which was transferred to Japan, Japan at once proceeded to exercise in South Manchuria the same sort of control which had excited her indignation when it had been employed by Russia. The Manchurian Railway, running south from Mukden, obtained by Japan from Russia, was immediately linked up with the Japanese railways in Korea and with the ports of Dairen and Port Arthur, and the whole system placed in charge of the South Manchurian Railway Company which has been, as it would appear, since its establishment, a direct agency of the Japanese Government. To it, indeed, has been assigned by that Government the right to select for appointment the Japanese consuls in Manchuria. One result of this very remarkable delegation of power has been that if a Chinese or a citizen of one of the Western Powers has a claim or complaint against the railway company he is obliged, under the prevailing principle of extraterritoriality, to bring it before an appointee of the defendant company.

Besides operating the railways, the South Manchurian Company engages in a variety of other enterprises—owning and operating coal mines, iron foundries, gas and electric works, harbors, hotels, etc. Battalions of Japanese soldiers are stationed along the railways and within these railway zones practically no attention is paid by the Japanese to the authority of China, although she is, of course, the territorial sovereign. Japan has, indeed, in some places asserted the right to levy taxes, not only upon her own nationals but upon others, and in Mukden was at one time unwilling that foreign consuls should receive their exequaturs from the Chinese Government, and in a number of places, without right, and in defiance of Chinese authority, she has continued to maintain troops of her soldiers. For

eighteen months after the conclusion of the war with Russia she refused to open Manchuria to foreign trade, during which time Japanese goods were poured into the country and opportunity thus given to Japanese traders to establish themselves there before a similar chance was given to the nationals of the other Powers. Since the Japanese have been in control in Manchuria the merchants of other countries have unanimously declared that the substance and spirit, if not the actual letter, of the Open Door principle has been persistently disregarded. This, however, is a story too long to be here detailed.

By the Portsmouth treaty Japan as well as Russia engaged not to obstruct any general measures common to all countries which China might take for the development of the commerce and industry of Manchuria, and both governments declared that they would "exploit their respective railways in Manchuria exclusively for commercial and industrial purposes and in no wise for strategic purposes." These promises, however, did not deter Japan from obtaining from China, almost immediately, by a secret protocol annexed to the so-called Komura treaty of December 22, 1905, a promise that no main railway line in the neighborhood and parallel to the lines under Japanese control should be built. And, relying upon this secret engagement, Japan has since blocked the construction of other proposed lines that were to be financed by British and American capital and which would have opened up to trade vast regions of productive country. In 1909 Japan, acting in cooperation with Russia, placed an emphatic veto upon the plan of Secretary of State Knox to bring all the railways of Manchuria under joint international control, and in January of the next year the Japanese Minister informed the Chinese Foreign Office that if China should make any decision relating to Manchuria without first consulting his Government it would be hard to estimate the seriousness of the trouble that might be caused in the relations of the two countries.

By concessions exacted from China in connection with the Twenty-one Demands, Japan, in 1915, secured the right upon the part of her nationals to reside and travel through Manchuria and to engage in business and manufactures of any kind whatever, and to lease lands needed for these enterprises. Thus, while still conceding all the rights of



extraterritoriality, China was compelled to open up the entire area of South Manchuria. Important mining rights were also obtained by Japan at this time, and an extension of the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen until 1937 secured. China was also compelled to cancel her rights to redeem the South Manchurian Railway and to extend to the year 2007 the term of the Antung-Mukden line. Also, China was compelled to agree that in the future when foreign loans were needed for building railways in South Manchuria or Eastern Inner Mongolia Japanese capitalists were first to be approached, and these capitalists were to have a similar first option should China at any time wish to make any loan secured by taxes in these regions. Still further, China was called upon to promise that if foreign advisers or instructors on political, financial, military or police matters were employed in South Manchuria, Japanese were to be selected.

These were not all the rights in Manchuria which were contained in the demands as originally presented, but they sufficiently indicate the extent of Japanese ambitions in this part of China. It should further be noted that at this time China was asked formally to acknowledge that Japan had also a "specially favorable position" in Eastern Inner Mongolia and thus to give to Japan in that region the same general preferential status that she had succeeded in obtaining in South Manchuria. And, in this connection, it is to be noted that during the last year Japanese activities and interests in Mongolia have been much in evidence and are now causing much concern to China.

In 1916 Japan again gave evidence of her determination still further to dominate north China. Seizing upon the pretext of injuries done by the Chinese in a fracas at Chengchilatan between some Chinese soldiers and a detachment of Japanese soldiers—who, by the way, had no legal right to be there at all—Japan made new demands upon China. Among those were included the right to station Japanese police offices in such places in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia as Japan might think necessary for the protection of her subjects.—In other words, that Japan was to have the general right to participate in the policing of such portions of these regions as she might judge desirable. Japan also asked at this time that her subjects be employed as police advisers in the Chinese military cadet schools. These demands were not finally granted, but, as in the case of the demands of 1915, they gave evidence of Japan's policy toward China.

In order to fortify herself in Manchuria Japan entered into a formal un-



JAPANESE SOLDIER POLICING A STREET IN SEOUL.

The Military Policy of the Japanese Administration in Korea and Manchuria Has Sown Distrust of the Possibility of a Liberal Japanese Government

derstanding with Russia in July, 1916, and this agreement was further strengthened by the treaty of 1916, which provided for mutual military aid for the maintenance of the respective rights of the two countries in Eastern Asia. This treaty was kept secret and was only made public when the Bolsheviks obtained possession of the private papers of the late Imperial Government of Russia.

Within the last few months Japan has made public the fact that she has secured from China the right to build five additional railways in Manchuria. When constructed, these will give to Japan a line parallel to the Peking-Mukden line and a through communication from Korea to Peking over lines wholly constructed, operated and policed by herself.

All of these facts it has been necessary to rehearse, since they indicate what may confidently be expected to be the course of events if Japan is to be allowed to retain the German rights in Shantung. Indeed, since Japan has been in Shantung her acts have been even

more disregardful of the territorial rights of China than they have been in Manchuria. From the very start China has been treated as having no sovereign rights that need to be respected. Troops were landed one hundred and fifty miles from their military objective, Tsingtao, and marched overland through the province not only eastward to Tsingtao but westward to Tsinan-fu, the capital of the province. The German privately owned railway was taken possession of and the Chinese employees immediately dismissed and replaced by Japanese. Japanese troops have been stationed along this line, although there has been no legitimate military need for them. Mining rights which the Germans had formally surrendered to China a considerable time before the war have, nevertheless, been claimed and are now being exercised by the Japanese. But most flagrant of all the violations of Chinese rights has been the establishment of civil governments at various points and even at Tsinan-fu, the capital of the province.

In all these ways it is seen that the

Japanese, if they remain in Shantung, are not going to be content with the treaty rights that they may obtain by transfer from Germany.

The record which Japan has made for herself in Manchuria and Shantung is sufficiently indicative of her general purpose toward China. When, however, in 1915, she presented her now famous—or infamous—Twenty-one Demands to China, without attempting to base them upon any legal or moral obligation upon the part of China to grant them, but simply as a list of her own wishes which she was prepared to obtain, if necessary, by force, Japan came out into the open and made it no longer possible for anyone to doubt that it was her ambition to obtain general political control over China, and, when it seemed opportune, to employ brute force for the purpose. Though, as is well known, Japan did not at that time deem it advisable to push to an issue the Fifth Group of her demands, which contained those that applied generally to China and which, if granted, would have made of China a virtual dependency of Japan, she did not abandon them, but insisted that China should agree that they be recognized as matters for future discussion. And it is a highly significant fact that notwithstanding the protestations of friendliness toward China, the Japanese Government has never given even an intimation that she has abandoned the right again to bring forward these extraordinary demands upon another sovereign people. In the light of this single fact, the Japanese are entitled to no credence when they assert that they have no ambitions the realization of which will endanger the independence of China or prejudice the rights of the other treaty Powers in that country.

However, the list of the rights and privileges which Japan has compelled China to concede to her, and an account of the circumstances under which these concessions have been compelled, by no means tells the whole story of the relations between the Chinese and the Japanese. There still remains to be described the manner in which the Japanese have employed in China the rights which they have obtained. This opens up a page of history which cannot but cause the deepest indignation upon the part of everyone who reads it.

Good will toward China has been one of the stock phrases of the Japanese Foreign Office, but the Japanese are not able to point to a single instance in which they have given affirmative and disinterested aid to the struggling Chinese people, who are so near akin to them in race. The only coöperation which they have offered the Chinese has provided for, or immediately led to, the

assumption of a dominant control by the Japanese. Typical of this was the result of the secret military alliance entered into in 1918 between the Japanese and certain of the Chinese politicians at Peking. Upon the face of the agreements that were signed the two countries were "to take concerted action," both parties were to be considered "on an equal footing" and in the making of all arrangements for carrying on military operations both countries were to appoint deputies to arrange for coöperation. When, however, Japan desired to send troops into North Manchuria, and rested her right to do so upon this agreement, absolutely no regard was paid to the wishes of the Chinese military authorities, and, indeed, through their control of the railways running north, the Japanese prevented the Chinese from sending the forces which they wished to send to the Manchurian border, and as an aid to the Allied forces in Siberia.

Instead of showing in their acts good will toward the Chinese, the Japanese here exhibited the greatest contempt for them and for their legal rights. Under the system of extraterritoriality in force, all actions against Japanese charged with violations of law in China have to be brought before the Japanese consuls. The writer has been informed by persons in a position to know that there have been practically no cases in which, when such charges have been brought, the Japanese consuls have held their own nationals guilty. There have been a large number of cases of fights between Chinese and Japanese civilians and soldiers in which numbers of persons have been injured or killed, but though the writer made diligent inquiry when he was in China he was able to learn of but one case in which the Japanese were induced to admit that their nationals had been even partially in the wrong and to pay an indemnity. On the other hand, the Chinese have been repeatedly compelled to apologize, to pay very heavy financial indemnities, and, in many cases, the occasions have been seized by the Japanese to force the Chinese to make important commercial and political concessions.

In South Manchuria and Shantung, where her control has been predominant, she has permitted extensive smuggling in fraud of the Chinese revenues and to the prejudice of fair competition with the other Powers trading with China; she has allowed the importation and sale of morphia in large quantities, in many cases with the open aid of her consuls, from which large profits have accrued to herself and infinite injury to the Chinese people; she has exported from China, contrary to Chinese law,

enormous quantities of copper "cash"; she is the one nation that has arbitrarily refused to allow the Chinese customs authorities to examine postal parcels sent into China from Japan through the post offices which she maintains in China; she alone, during the war, prevented China from taking steps similar to those taken by the other nations of the world to conserve her supply of silver; in the tariff revision commission which was recently held at Shanghai to revalue goods for customs purposes it was her representatives who made it especially difficult to secure for China the effective five per cent ad valorem duties which, under treaties, she is entitled to levy; in many well-established cases in Shantung, through her control of the railways and railway zones, she checked the efforts of the Chinese authorities to suppress the brigandage that is prevalent in that province; and, through the importation of arms and munitions and the many loans which her bankers have made during the last three years, she has knowingly made possible the continuance of the civil strife that has devastated so many of the provinces and made impossible the institution of administrative and financial reforms in China. It is true that these loans have not been made directly by the government of Japan, but in her own official reports she has described the manner in which she has given to her banks additional powers in order that they might negotiate and float these loans, and by the issuance of belated restraining orders she has shown that there never was any lack of legal power on her part to put an end to such deliberate financial debauchery of the Chinese politicians.<sup>1</sup>

Even toward the Koreans, a people whom the Japanese have taken under their full sovereignty, not as a result of conquest, but, as they have claimed, by amicable agreement, and whom they have described as children of their own Emperor, they have shown almost no consideration. These unfortunate people have been kept under oppressive military control, denied the most elemental of civil rights, and not offered even the hope of a time when the rights of self-government will be conceded to them. Because of peaceful demonstrations upon their part showing a continued desire for independence, the Japanese soldiery and police have inflicted atrocities of a character and to an extent that has shocked the conscience of the entire civilised world. These cruelties have been exceeded by none of the acts of the German armies, and they have not even had the poor excuse of political ex-

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is taken from an article by the author entitled "China, Japan, and the Western Powers," published in *The Review*.



C. H. Adams

#### SHIPPING BEANS FROM THE PORT OF DAIREN IN SOUTH MANCHURIA

By Concessions Exacted from China in 1915 in Connection with the Twenty-One Demands, Japan Obtained an Extension of the Lease of Port Arthur and Dairen (Dairen) Until 1997

pediency to support them. And yet a knowledge that these grievous wrongs have been committed in Korea, without even an attempt to separate the wholly innocent from those believed to be guilty of sedition, has appeared to arouse no indignation among the Japanese people. As one writer commenting upon this fact has said, it truly seems that as a matter of national psychology the Japanese are capable of feeling indignation only at wrongs deemed to be done to themselves.

Even toward her allies in the Great War Japan's conduct has been wholly guided by her own interests. In truth, she has had no interest in the broader political principles involved. Upon the contrary, those principles which America and the Allies in Europe have been fighting to conserve are many of them in conflict with her own ideals. In 1915 she seized the opportunity to press upon China demands which, if they had all been granted, would have been in flagrant violation of the rights of the other Powers and in violation of her own covenanted word, repeatedly given, that the principle of equal commercial and industrial opportunity in China would be observed by her. Even the British rights in the Yangtze Valley were not respected, although Japan was a party to a formal treaty of alliance with Great Britain, the purpose of which was to fur-

nish a mutual guarantee of the interests of each in the Far East, and each had engaged to communicate "fully and frankly" with the other with regard to measures to be taken to safeguard those rights and interests. Also, in the Root-Takahira understanding of 1908 Japan had promised the United States to respect the *status quo* had asserted that the policy of her Government was "uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies," and engaged, should any event occur threatening of the *status quo* or the principle of the equal opportunity, to communicate with the United States. Yet in the Twenty-one Demands she not only herself undertook radically to change the *status quo*, but sought to keep the matter, while pending, secret from America as well as from the other Powers, and even resorted to official and unequivocal mendacity to deceive those Powers when it became rumored that she was pressing demands upon China.

Most of her statesmen have asserted that Japan came into the war upon the side of the Allies because of her obligations to Great Britain under the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance. Others however, including Viscount Ishii, Ambassador to the United States, have denied this, and asserted that Japan was moved to declare war upon Germany by higher than mere contractual obligations. Without stopping to inquire

whether the truth lies in either of these assertions, the fact is that Japan ceased all active military operations after she had secured possession of Tsingtao and such of the South Pacific Islands as she was able to seize before they could be taken over by the Australians or New Zealanders.

Japan during the war continued to furnish war vessels for patrol and convoy purposes in the Far East and in the Mediterranean, but this was not a costly service to her, and, so far as the author has been able to learn, there is no certain evidence that a single enemy submarine was destroyed by the Japanese naval vessels thus employed. Not until after America came into the war did Japan enforce an effective trading-with-the-enemy act. Throughout the war she profited enormously by the sale of munitions and other of her products to the Allies, and her shipowners reaped enormous returns from the high charter and freight rates they were able to exact. How hard a bargain Japan was able to drive with the United States when asked to supply ships for allied use is well known.

Though thus profiting so greatly by the war, the Japanese people were unwilling to submit to allied commercial regulations which, though dictated by extreme military necessity, happened to operate prejudicially to their own trade

and commerce. This dominance of self-interest in Japan was shown by the bitter attack which the Government-controlled newspapers made upon her ally, Great Britain, at the time that country was fighting for her life with her back to the wall. Almost equally loud were the Japanese complaints when the United States found it necessary, as a war measure, to place restrictions upon the export of steel. It was not alleged that this act was directed primarily at them—it was enough to the Japanese to term it an act unfriendly to themselves that the profits which they were making in the building and operating of ships would incidentally be interfered with.

It is indeed the sober truth that during the war, and especially during 1917, the Allies did not have a firm confidence in the loyalty of Japan. Japan had twice refused to agree that China should come into the war upon the side of the Allies, and when her consent to this accession to the Allied cause was finally given it was because it had been purchased at a high price, namely, the agreement that at the end of the war Japan should retain the German rights in Shantung and the Pacific Islands north of the Equator. So unwilling must the Allies have been to pay the price, upon both political and moral grounds, that, as the writer has had occasion to say in another place, there must have been at the time other reasons than those appearing upon the face of the agreement—secret at the time, but since disclosed—that made them feel impelled to yield to Japan's wishes.

The writer finds that already he has nearly exhausted the space that has been allotted him, and that therefore he can only touch upon the reasons why, in his opinion, the Western Powers, and especially the United States, should refuse their sanction to any act that will further increase the influence and authority of Japan in China. In large measure, however, the facts which have been stated have themselves indicated these reasons.

That the commercial and financial interests of the other Powers will suffer in proportion that Japanese control is extended in Eastern Asia, past experience has conclusively demonstrated. But it is not primarily upon material grounds that the decision should be taken. The moral considerations are alone controlling.

To begin with, there are the sovereign rights of the Chinese people. That the Chinese are a great people is testified to not merely by their number and the great area and potential wealth of their country, but by the fact that they are, as compared with most of the other

peoples of the world, an ethnically homogeneous race; that they have had some forty centuries of authentic national history, and have developed an art, a literature, a moral philosophy, and a body of customs that are distinctive—in short, that they have created a civilization which, in many respects, stands well in comparison with that of the western world. It is indeed a striking fact that the greatest admirers of Chinese civilization have been those who have had the best opportunity to study its essential characteristics and to observe its results. It is true that China lacks the modern scientific spirit, but this she is rapidly acquiring. Also, unfortunately, she has as yet been unable to develop a form of government suitable to her new needs. But this she can obtain if protected against foreign aggression and given sympathetic foreign aid.

As contrasted with the Chinese, who are individualists and striving, under adverse circumstances, to give substance and reality to democratic institutions of government, the Japanese support a type of government and accept a system of political philosophy which the rest of the civilized world has repudiated as oppressive and immoral. Thus Japan, at the present time, is the only nation claiming to rank among the Greater Powers which maintains a government that is absolutist, militaristic, and bureaucratic in character. In these respects it outranks the Prussia of before the war. Also, in its constitutional law, the transcendental element is more explicitly announced. The Prussian king claimed to be an agent of the Almighty; the Japanese Emperor is regarded as himself of divine descent. The constitution under which Japan is ruled owes its authority solely to the personal will of the Emperor and he alone can suggest an amendment to it. He retains under that instrument far greater powers, and the elected legislative chamber is given much less authority, than was recognized or provided for by the old Prussian constitution. In Japan there is the same regime of police espionage and minute administrative control. A strict censorship over speech and press and assembly with regard to matters political is exercised. Education is carefully controlled by the State, and in practically all things the individual is taught to look to those in authority over him for instruction as to what he is to do, and, in political matters, for guidance as to what he is to think. In short, there are all the characteristics of the Prussian public administrative system except its efficiency and its honesty.

It is not simply, however, that Japan has a government that is essentially autocratic and militaristic, but that her principles of political morality are perverted. This their acts have abundantly shown. It is not too strong a statement to say that the Japanese appear to have no sense of a real moral obligation to respect the rights of peoples whom they conceive to be inferior in culture or political power to themselves, or even to regard the rights of such nations conceded to be upon an equal plane with themselves if those rights appear to prejudice their own interests. It may be true that they have not found occasion cynically to declare any one of their treaties to be merely a scrap of paper, but, while professing to be bound by the covenants which they have entered into, they have not been deterred from acting without regard to their provisions. And their public men, occupying the highest positions of State, have not hesitated to make public assertions and to give assurances of the most explicit character which subsequent events have almost immediately shown to be false.

In view of all the facts that have been stated it would seem beyond all doubt that it will be not only an immoral, but politically a very shortsighted policy upon the part of the Western Powers, and especially of the United States, to give its approval to the Shantung clauses of the Paris Treaty. To refuse to do this is the least that they can do. If, however, the whole Far Eastern problem is to find a satisfactory solution, the Powers must do much more than this. They must be willing to extend affirmative aid to China in order to enable her to rid herself of her bandit soldiery; to establish an effectively controlled police constabulary in their place; to reorganize her national finances and her systems of banking and currency; to bring her railways into a single system which will be operated for her benefit and not for the profit of foreign interests; to establish a body of laws and a judicial system that will command the confidence of the Treaty Powers and thus pave the way for the abolition of all extraterritorial rights; to obtain a return of the areas leased to foreign powers, and, finally, to secure the surrender by those powers of all claims to localize spheres of interest and to so-called "special interests," so that thus full opportunity will be given for the enforcement of the Open Door Policy which America has so often urged and which China herself is anxious to see effectively applied. This, however, is a program a description of the details of which must await another occasion.

# JAPAN'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN SHANTUNG

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

MUCH has been done to becloud the public mind by the florid utterances of certain publicists concerning the Shantung question. "The loot of Shantung," cries one. "The wrecking of the only democracy in the Orient," echoes another. The third chimes in, "To the autocracy of the Orient we delivered 40,000,000 republicans of China." And so on, and so forth ad infinitum.

The louder the tremulous voices pleading the cause of China, and the bolder the headlines in the newspapers reporting Japan's part in the peace treaty, the further does the public seem to stray from the real issue. Mawkish sentimentality, whether sincere or not, such as has been displayed by certain senators in discussing Sino-Japanese relations, contributes nothing toward an intelligent understanding of the question.

It is the widest stretch of imagination or the wildest flight of oratory which blames the peace treaty for granting Japan the practical control of the whole of Shantung province, with an area of 55,985 square miles and a population of 29,000,000<sup>1</sup> (or 40,000,000 according to Senator Johnson). To the prosaic mind, devoid of poetic fancy and incapable of appreciating forensic art such as is practiced in an election campaign, it is difficult to see why Japan should be accredited with having swallowed so large a territory when, as a matter of fact, she would return to China even the German leased territory of Kiaochow. As for the railways in the province, Japan holds only 270 miles of lines, which, in a province of some 59,000 square miles, do not cut much figure. Even these railways she proposes to operate not alone but as a joint enterprise with China.

In the agreement which Japan made with China in May, 1915, this territory is to be returned to China on the following conditions to be observed by China:

1. Opening of the whole of Kiaochow as a commercial port;
2. Establishment of a Japanese settlement in the locality to be designated by the Japanese Government;
3. Establishment, if desired by the Powers, of an international settlement;
4. Arrangements to be made, before the return of the said territory is effected, between the Japanese and Chinese Governments, with respect to the

disposal of German public establishments and properties and with regard to the other conditions and procedures.

These conditions are just and reasonable—except the second one, which is likely to invite criticism. That condition allows Japan to establish a Japanese settlement in a locality in Kiaochow, to be chosen by Japan. By "Japanese settlement" Japan does not mean an exclusive settlement to be utilized by her nationals only. In such a settlement, if established, Japan will, of course, invite and allow any foreigner to reside or conduct business, if such foreigners are willing to observe Japanese laws. In other words, a Japanese settlement will be administered by Japanese authorities under Japanese laws.

In the light of what has been done by other foreign nations in other open ports, notably Tientsin, Hankow and Shanghai, there is nothing reprehensible in this condition permitting Japan to establish a Japanese settlement in Kiaochow. To be wise and farsighted, however, Japan might waive this privilege, and content herself with the establishment of an international settlement, if other nations recognize, as they undoubtedly would under the existing political and social conditions in China, the need of some sort of a foreign settlement. It would be unwise for Japan to make herself an object of suspicion and jealousy on the part of China and other nations by opening a Japanese settlement in Kiaochow. The game is not worth the candle. In Tientsin and Hankow various countries have separate settlements. But in Shanghai, France is the only nation which maintains a special settlement for her nationals, other countries maintaining an international settlement which is administered by a municipal council. This council is composed of representatives of all countries interested in the settlement, but Great Britain, having the greatest interest in that part of China, enjoys the preponderating position in that body. If Japan agrees to waive her right to open a Japanese settlement, and establishes instead a common or international settlement, she should be allowed to occupy in its administration a position analogous to that of England in the management of the Shanghai settlement, for it would be only fair for the Powers to recognize the great commercial interest which Japan must inevitably have in Kiaochow.

After all has been said for the maintenance of foreign settlements in China,

the Powers would do well to consider the abolition of such institutions in the near future, if not immediately. For China's own part, she should, in the meantime, heed such admonitions as have been voiced by the late Dr. W. A. P. Marten, one of her most sympathetic critics, in the following paragraphs:

"Such exemption (extraterritoriality) is customary in Turkey and other Moslem countries, not to say among the Negroes of Africa. It was recognized by treaty in Japan; and the Japanese, in proportion as they advanced in the path of reform, felt galled by an exception which fixed on them the stigma of barbarism. When they had proved their right to a place in the comity of nations, with good laws administered, foreign powers cheerfully consented to allow them the exercise of all the prerogatives of sovereignty.

"How does her period of probation compare with that of her neighbor? Japan resolved on national renovation on Western lines in 1868. China came to no such resolution until the collapse of her attempt to exterminate the foreigner in 1900. With her the age of reform dates from the return of the Court in 1902—as compared with Japan four years to thirty! Then what a contrast in the animus of the two countries! The one characterized by law and order, the other by mob violence, unrestrained, if not instigated, by the authorities!

"When the north wind tried to compel a traveller to take off his cloak, the cloak was wrapped the closer and held the tighter. When the sun came out with his warm beams, the traveller stripped it off of his own accord.

"The sunrise empire has exemplified the latter method; China prefers the former. Is it not to be feared that the apparent success of the boycott will encourage her to persist in the policy of the traveller in the north wind? She ought to be notified that she is on probation, and that the only way to recover the exercise of her sovereign rights is to show herself worthy of confidence. The Boxer outbreak postponed by many years the withdrawal of the cloak of extraterritoriality, and every fresh exhibition of mob violence defers that event to a more distant date."

In the light of the agreement of May 25, 1915, in which Japan pledged herself to restore Kiaochow to China, one can readily understand why the Peace Treaty of Paris does not include an article requiring Japan to give up that territory in China's favor. Japan, as well as her allies and associates, regarded the Kiaochow question as definitely settled through the instrument of May, 1915, to which she has always intended to adhere. In the light of the same agreement we can also understand why Japan entered into "secret" understandings with France, England, Italy

<sup>1</sup>The generally accepted census of Shantung Province places the population at between 37 and 40 million. The Britannica gives it as 37,500,000.—Ed.



and Russia, securing their consent to her succession to German rights in Shantung. For that agreement between China and Japan unmistakably states that the restoration of Kiaochow to China is conditioned upon the acquisition by Japan of a clear title to that territory. In other words, Japan considered it necessary to secure her right to Kiaochow before she was in a position to give it to China. As far as Japan was concerned, therefore, there was nothing sinister about the understanding she entered into with her allies in February, 1917.

The next question to be considered is the disposition of the former German railways. The favorite expression of the Chinese delegation at the peace conference has been, "Japan will keep the oyster, and return to us only the shell." In saying this the Chinese envoys unquestionably have in mind the railways and mines formerly owned by Germany. Let us, then, see what arrangements Japan has already made for the disposal of the German railway.

In September, 1918, Japan and China entered into an agreement for the organization of a Sino-Japanese corporation for the operation of the former German railway, officially known as the Shantung Railway. The main line of this railway, connecting Tsingtao, the German city in Kiaochow, with Tainan-fu, the capital of Shantung province, is 245 miles in length. Together with a branch line to Poshan the system has a total length of some 270 miles.

In the above-named instrument Japan agreed to (1) withdraw all troops along the railway lines, (2) entrust the Chinese Government with the policing of the lines, (3) defray the expenses of such policing from the funds of the railway company, (4) employ Chinese for the operation of the lines, and (5) abolish the civil government established by Japan for the administration of Kiaochow and the railway zone.

This agreement is decidedly favorable to China. Without shedding a drop of blood and without expending a single dollar, China is to regain Kiaochow and secure an important interest in the Shantung railway, which was formerly exclusively owned and managed by Germany. Certain elements in China are clamoring mainly for political effect, for an exclusive control of the Shantung railway, allowing no Japanese interest in its management. One must, however, consider Japanese apprehension as to China's ability to keep the railway free from alien influence. No nation would feel particularly pleased if it were to wake up one fine morning only to find the railways and mines, which it had given China after it had wrested them

from Germany at no small sacrifice, virtually mortgaged to third interests. In view of China's present chaotic condition, who can say that such will never happen?

At the same time that the above agreement concerning the disposal of the Shantung railway was made Japan also agreed to finance the Chinese Government in building two new railways totalling 460 miles. One of these lines is to be an extension of the Shantung railway from its western terminus at Tainan-fu, the capital of Shantung province, to a city in Chihli province called Shun-teh, which is on the Peking-Hankow railway. This will effect a junction between two important arteries of trade, the Peking-Hankow and the Shantung railway. Such a junction cannot fail to increase the efficiency and usefulness of China's system of transportation, which is at present deplorably deficient. The other line proposed is between Kaomi, on the Shantung railway not far from Kiaochow, and a city in Kiangsu province, called Hauchou.

The cost of building these two lines is estimated at \$35,000,000. Of this total \$10,000,000 was advanced to China in September, 1918, when the agreement was made. It should be emphasized that these lines are not to be built or owned or operated by Japan or Japanese interests. They are to be built by China herself, and will be owned and operated by her. Japan's only part in the enterprise is to advance the necessary funds, which is absolutely legitimate. In advancing such funds Japanese financial interests will impose such conditions as are usually imposed by interests of other countries in similar undertakings in China.

We have noted that the two new lines will have a length of 460 miles, and that they are to tap three provinces, Shantung, Kiangsu, and Chihli, totalling 210,424 square miles. To say that the investment of Japanese money in a railway of only 460 miles in a vast region of 210,424 square miles is tantamount to the establishment of Japanese suzerainty over that region is to show a lack of the sense of proportion and to display a capacity for distortion.

In agreeing to finance the Chinese Government in its railway enterprises in Shantung Japan has done exactly what other nations have for many years been doing in China. But it is not desirable that foreign nations or interests should vie with one another in financing China. Such a competition is wasteful to the financing parties and harmful to China. To forestall this unnecessary rivalry in the future, America, England, France and Japan are undertaking to organize a new consortium for the pur-

pose of financing the Chinese Government. On this new movement Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, the American Minister at Peking, said on July 3:

"The agreement involves no monopoly. Each national group is to include every institution interested in Chinese finance. Other nations interested in China will be admitted when they have the necessary capital strength. As the consortium unified foreign interests in China, it will arrest the progressive partition of China through the growth of local spheres of influence."

In view of the inauguration of this new consortium, it may be wise on the part of Japan to turn over to it the contract she has made with China for the financing of the two railway lines in Shantung, on the condition that other nations will take similar steps in regard to like loan contracts they have made with the Chinese authorities. On the authority of the Tokyo *Nichi-Nichi*, one of the most influential political organs in Japan, we learn that such a move has been considered by the Hara Cabinet.

One is inclined to think that the Chinese peace envoys, representing the southern or Canton faction, are clamoring to annul such loan agreements as have been made by Japan for the railway enterprises in Shantung, not because they are anything prejudicial to China's welfare, but because they were concluded by the Peking faction, with which the south has been at loggerheads ever since the revolution of 1911. And yet in the family of nations the Peking Government has been the only legitimate government of China, and the so-called provisional government at Canton has received no recognition from foreign governments. In dealing with Peking in various financial enterprises Japan has done nothing extraordinary. The railway agreements entered into between Tokyo and Peking in September, 1918, were an outcome of harmonious and friendly negotiations, and were decidedly favorable to China. But if the southern faction, for reason of domestic politics, want to alter or annul those agreements, there are other ways to approach the matter than calling Japan names across the fence. For China to engage herself in a violent anti-Japanese propaganda abroad is the least effective method to settle the question in a manner satisfactory to her.

The last economic question to be considered is the disposal of the mines formerly owned and operated by Germany, or the official German corporation, the Shantung Railway Company. In the Sino-German agreements of 1898 and 1899, Germany acquired the exclusive right to exploit mines in the strips of territory, sixty li or twenty miles wide,

along the Shantung railway from Tsingtao to Tsinan-fu, and the Shantung section of the Tientsin-Nanking railway, as well as the projected line between Kaomi and Chihchou. In 1911 Germany waived this right, with the exception of three mines, work on which had already been, or was about to be, started. They were the Fang-tsu coal mines, the Huang-shan coal mines, and the Chin-heng-chen iron mines. In consideration of this concession on the part of Germany the Chinese Government was to pay her \$210,000, but the national treasury at Peking was so destitute that up to the beginning of the war this sum was not paid.

The mining rights which Japan has acquired as the result of the peace treaty, then, are those relative to the above-named three mines.

First, the Fang-tsu coal mines are located on the main line of the Shantung railway not far from the Kiaochow territory. The mining district extends over 528 square kilometers. From 1902 to 1913 Germany, or the Shantung Railway Company, obtained 1,868,600 tons of coal from these mines. According to the reports of German mining engineers, the mines in this district are not very promising, as the total amount of coal still remaining therein in 1913 was estimated not to exceed one million tons.

Secondly, the Huang-shan coal mines are on the Changtin-Poshan branch of the Shantung railway, and cover 310 square kilometers. From 1906 to 1913 the Shantung Railway Company dug 1,545,800 tons of coal from these mines. This district is said to contain more coal than the Fang-tsu district.

Thirdly, the Chin-heng-chen iron mines are located not far from the Huang-shan coal mines. The mining district is 310 square kilometers in area. It was only in 1913, just before the outbreak of the war, that Germany began work on these mines, but the district is reported to be promising as to both the quality and the quantity of the ores contained therein.

In seeking mining concessions in Shantung or other parts of China, Japan is actuated by dictates of self-preservation. The teeming millions of Nippon, confined within her own narrow precincts, and forbidden, by the mandates of western powers, to emigrate to any of the territories occupied or controlled by them, must perforce find a field of activity within their own sphere. With this in view Japan is eager to convert herself into a great industrial and commercial country. If she fails in this endeavor, she knows that her progress must cease from congestion, stagnation, and inanition. To understand this point of view it is necessary to know some-

thing of the population question with which Japan has been grappling.

During the past half century Japan's population has been increasing at the rate of 400,000 a year. Where there were 33,000,000 Japanese fifty years ago, there are to-day about 53,000,000. As the total area of Japan proper is about 148,756 square miles, the density of population is about 356 per square mile. If we leave out of consideration Hokkaido, the northern island, the density increases to 451 per square mile.

We have seen that during the past five decades Japan's population has increased by 20,000,000. As against this increase, Japan has sent out but 2,900,000 emigrants to various countries as follows: Hokkaido (northern island of Japan proper), 2,000,000; Formosa (southern island of Japan), 100,000; Korea, 300,000; Manchuria, 309,981; Hawaii, 96,749; continental United States 101,000, China, South America, and other countries combined, 40,000.

It may be safely said that all European countries at one stage or another of their national development have alleviated the congestion of population at home by encouraging emigration. But Japan, one of the most crowded countries in the world, is compelled to solve the same question without sending emigrants to any of those countries which offer the greatest opportunities to men with modest means. True, some European countries are even more densely populated than Japan, but these countries, in addition to the advantage of unrestricted emigration, have each acquired extensive colonies, which either afford room for a large population, or store abundant natural resources to be utilized for the advancement of industries at home. On the other hand, Japan has no colonial land to speak of. Such territories as Korea or Formosa cannot be regarded as colonies, for they are already thickly populated—having 187 inhabitants to the square mile.

Under these circumstances Japan must seek relief from the distressing congestion of population in methods other than emigration or colonial expansion. Her only way out lies in her industrial and commercial expansion. That is why she is anxious to build up industry at home and extend commerce abroad. But in order to become a foremost industrial nation Japan must have iron and coal, two essentials of modern industry. Unfortunately, Japan's home territory has little of either in store. The volume of iron ores produced at home is but a fraction of what Japan actually consumes. Of coal she has a considerable output, but none that is available for coking purposes. Without coke the steel industry is impossible.

China is the country to which Japan must logically and naturally look for the supply of iron ores and coking coal. That is why Japan is anxious to secure mining concessions in China, before China's mines and collieries, unutilized by herself, will be all but mortgaged to other nations—nations which have already secured vast colonies in different parts of the world, and which have plenty of raw materials and mineral supplies in their own territories.

Japan's output of ores, including that of Korea, amounts only to some 324,000 tons, equivalent to 160,000 tons in pig iron. As against this small output, Japan consumed in 1917, 1,300,000 tons of steel and pig iron.

Before the war this deficiency was partly supplied by steel imported from England and Belgium. When the war cut off this source of supply Japan turned to the United States for relief. For three years—from the fall of 1914 and to the summer of 1917—Japan's shipyards and iron works were enabled to work almost entirely with material furnished by steel mills in America. But in July, 1917, the United States, too, declared an embargo upon steel, and the activities of Japanese shipyards and iron works came suddenly to a halt. At that moment Japan had 300,000 tons of ships in course of construction at various yards. The American embargo virtually stopped work on all such ships. Never before did Japan realize so keenly as on that occasion the precarious nature of her industrial structure, depending upon foreign countries for the supply of steel.

The American embargo intensified Japan's national desire, long uppermost in the minds of her industrial leaders, for the independence of her steel industry from foreign mills. That desire soon became a national slogan. And yet how is Japan to translate that slogan into reality? She has but scant supply of ores at home. What she is at present getting from China and Manchuria is far from commensurate with her demand. Unless Japan succeeds in entering into a satisfactory agreement with China for the further development of China's iron resources, her industrial structure will never be placed upon a secure foundation.

What iron Japan has been getting from China comes almost exclusively from the Tayeh mines on the Yangtze river. These mines are owned and operated by a Chinese corporation called the Hanyeh-ping Company, which also operates the Hanyang Iron Works and the Pinghsang coal mines. Ever since its establishment, in 1898, its finances have been in such an unhappy condition that it has contracted with the Yokohama Specie Bank of Japan various

loans totalling \$40,000,000. In spite of the huge loan it has advanced, the Japanese bank has no voice in the management of the business of the Hanyeh-ping Company. All it is permitted to do is to oversee the expenditures of the company.

The Hanyeh-ping loan contract now in force stipulates that the Chinese company shall supply the Japanese Government Iron Works at Wakamatsu with 8,000,000 tons of pig iron and 15,000,000 tons of ore in forty yearly installments beginning with 1914. The volume to be supplied in one year is not fixed, as it will have to vary according to the output at the Tayeh mines and at the Hanyang Iron Works. In 1915 the company delivered to Japan 110,000 tons of pig iron and 250,000 tons of ore. This supply, considerable as it may seem, falls far short of Japan's actual demand, which will soon reach 2,000,000 tons per annum.

In these conditions can we not find a factor impelling Japan to seek greater sources of iron and coal supply in China, untrammelled by the obstacles of China's domestic and foreign politics? Whether Japan succeeds in this attempt is not a question of aggrandizement, but a question of life or death. With her growing population forbidden to seek opportunities in countries where profitable employment awaits their toil, with her food product inadequate to supply

her own need, Japan must perforce become an industrial country. Surely the Western nations, which have agreed among themselves to exclude the Japanese from their own territories, will not conspire to block Japan's way in that part of Eastern Asia where she seeks nothing more than the means of self-preservation.

We have seen that by the Peace Treaty of Paris Japan has secured two coal mines, and an iron mine. Japan will, however, be willing to confer with China as to the final disposition of these mines, if China is likewise ready to discuss the matter in a friendly and conciliatory spirit. It is not improbable that Japan will agree to operate some of these mines as a joint enterprise with China, as in the case of the Shantung railway. The first thing that is needed in a settlement of this nature is the willingness on both sides to arbitrate.

And as for the date of the return of Kiaochow, the earlier the better. Indeed, Japan should come out squarely for its early return. At the same time, China should take cognizance of the circumstances under which Germany was expelled from Shantung, and be willing to treat with Japan in a conciliatory spirit for the speedy settlement of the unfortunate dispute. Perhaps it is China's taunting attitude at the peace conference which annoyed the Japanese more than anything else. It

was neither wise nor honorable for China to come to Paris insolently demanding of Japan the immediate surrender of Kiaochow and other German possessions in Shantung, as though she had herself taken them from the Germans. This insolence, this callous disregard of her obligations to Japan, is the very factor which has made Japan all the firmer in her attitude toward the Shantung question. To illustrate, let us assume a homely case.

A burglar breaks into your neighbor's house, and carries away a valuable piece of jewelry. You waylay the burglar around the corner, knock him on the head, and recover the jewelry with the intention of giving it to the unfortunate neighbor. Just then the neighbor runs up to the top of his house, and calls you names, and shouts to the curious crowd that you took the jewelry from the burglar with the intention of keeping it for yourself. You are naturally indignant and refuse to give up the jewelry until the neighbor comes to his senses.

China's attitude toward Japan, especially at the Peace Congress, has been the attitude of the misguided neighbor in this homely illustration. The sooner she modifies that attitude and shows herself willing to recognize the credit that is due Japan, the sooner will the Shantung question be settled satisfactorily to all concerned.

## THE INDUSTRIAL PLIGHT OF JAPAN

By YAMATO ICHIHASHI

**I**T is now some twenty-five years since Japan and China, who then did not cut much figure in the world, engaged in a war. The world was surprised one morning to learn that big China was unmistakably whipped by little Japan. Japan was to get, among other things, the Liaotung Peninsula as the reward for her victory. But Russia, Germany and France said no, and Japan was forced to abandon the prize. China doubtless smiled then. But her smile did not last long. Her territorial integrity began to be threatened by the very powers that saved her. In November, 1897, Germany occupied Kiaochow Bay, in the Province of Shantung, on the ground that two German missionaries were assassinated by the Chinese. On March 6, 1898, China was prevailed upon to sign an agreement which granted to Germany the lease for ninety-nine years of about 208 square miles of terri-

tory around the bay. The agreement also gave Germany the right to construct railways, as well as mining privileges.

At once Germany converted the once insignificant town of Tsingtao, on the bay, into the most perfectly planned and beautiful city in the Far East. Ostensibly Tsingtao was to be a city for pleasure, but for Germany it was to serve as the base of her military operations in that region of the world. When the war was declared, it was from Tsingtao that the German navy sallied forth and carried on its work of ruthless destruction in Oriental waters. The British merchantmen in the Far East and the South Sea regions were at the mercy of German war-vessels.

In response to the British request, Japan sent an ultimatum to Germany on August 15, 1914, demanding: "First—To withdraw immediately from the Japanese and Chinese waters German men-

of-war and armed vessels of all kinds and to disarm at once those which can not be withdrawn. Second—To deliver, on a date not later than September 15, 1914, to the Imperial Japanese authorities, without condition or compensation, the entire leasing territory of Kiaochow with a view to eventual restoration of the same to China." But the note remained unanswered, and Japan formally declared war against Germany on August 23, 1914. A Japanese expeditionary force of 20,000 was soon dispatched to Tsingtao. This was joined by several thousand Britishers and a few hundred Sikhs. Early in November Japan had captured the important forts, and the Germans surrendered. We need not now speak of how the Japanese chased the Germans out of the Far East and the South Sea regions. But that was how Japan came to succeed to the rights the Germans had previously ac-



quired from China in the Province of Shantung.

It has been claimed that Great Britain blundered when she asked Japan to dislodge the Germans from the Far East: That China was willing to do it and could have done it just as efficiently as Japan. In which case, at the close of the war, the German rights in China would naturally have been restored to the Chinese as a just reward for service in the Allied cause. The issue between China and Japan would thus have been avoided and China could have regained her political prestige.

Right here a word may be said as regards China's attitude toward the war. It is true that in the early stage of the war Japan did not favor China's participation. But by the dawn of 1917 the opinion was unanimous in favor of China's entrance into the war. Japan was no exception. That was perhaps because China had become the hotbed of German propaganda. Now China hesitated. The Allies remitted the Boxer indemnity and made other concessions to China. Yet she did not declare war against Germany until August 14, 1917. The real reason for this belated action was not due to external pressure, but to her own domestic politics; that is, disagreement among the various political factions.

Now, it would be interesting to note how faithfully China has performed her part in the war. The Associated Press sent from Peking the following dispatch under the date of November 4, 1918:

"The British Minister to China, with the concurrence of the other allied legations, has handed informally to the Chinese Foreign Office a memorandum concerning matters in which China is regarded as having been remiss as an ally. Among the instances mentioned are the following:

"The wasting in party quarrels of the Boxer indemnity remitted for the purpose of fostering industries to enable participation in the war.

"Lack of results by the Chinese war participation bureau and the diversion of Chinese troops to civil warfare in the south.

"The appointment of a papal minister without consultation, creating an impression of friendship with the enemy.

"Failure to confiscate enemy property, to impose restriction on enemy enterprise and interpose penalties for trading with enemy subjects.

"Refusal to retire the Governor-General of Oeino for supporting the enemy and the Bolsheviks in spite of the protests of the allies.

"Failure to imprison intriguing enemy subjects.

"Failure to permit allied consuls to witness the trials of arrested spies."

Since the beginning of the war Japan had been exceedingly anxious not to fall a victim of the sinister conspiracy of Germany. Germany was quick to take advantage of Japan's blunder of 1915.

The famous Twenty-one Demands made by the Okuma Cabinet on China and the infamous method it employed in their connection tended to inspire distrust in the Chinese and to cause the nations of the West to suspect Japan's good intentions. These facts were soon fully realized by the Japanese. When Terauchi succeeded Okuma he at once adopted steps to rectify them and to regain China's confidence. In the meantime, as said before, the Germans did not fail to capitalize this mistake of Japan. They almost succeeded in making a case against Japan in this country.

The German propaganda continued in America, and as a result the situation for Japan in this country grew from bad to worse. Japan, realizing the seriousness of this state of affairs, dispatched the Ishii Mission in 1917, to make plain Japan's position in the Far East in general and in China in particular. The Mission was successful, and was even able to bring about a written understanding between the United States and Japan, known as the Ishii-Lansing Agreement.

How cordially America approves of the notes can be easily learned by a glance at the speeches made by the most representative Americans on the various occasions held in honor of the Ishii Mission. These speeches have been compiled and published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Nevertheless, the writer is aware of the fact that there are also adverse critics who see nothing good in Japan or in the Japanese. Among the better known of these may be mentioned Mr. Bertram L. Simpson and Mr. Thomas F. Millard. These have already done a great deal to prejudice the world against Japan.

The war came to a sudden end, and Paris became the chief center of interest. At the French capital assembled the most representative men from the nations involved in the war. The Japanese delegation is headed by Marquis Salongji, a veteran statesman, mature in age and in experience. He was educated in France. In his work at Paris he is assisted by diplomats like Makino, Chinda, Matsui and Ijuin. While educated in America or Europe, none of these gentlemen have acquired fluency in the English language, though they are said to write it well. These gentlemen will never become famous by speech-making. The writer has had the pleasure of listening to Baron Makino. Even his native tongue he speaks haltingly. The Japanese now say that it is too bad that Ishii was not added to the delegation. But even he could not have appealed to the expert ear of Mr. Wilson, impressed Mr. Balfour, amazed Mr. George, and charmed Mr. Borden. As a

general rule, the Japanese are not orators. It is too bad for Japan that oratory still possesses value.

Of the members of the Chinese delegation the most picturesque are doubtless Dr. Koo and Dr. Wang, trained at Columbia and Yale, respectively. We have heard a great deal of these young diplomats of China. Both are determined, energetic men and eloquent speakers. By their perfect mastery of English they practically represent China at the Peace Conference though they by no means hold the highest place in the delegation. Whether the stand they have taken in the Conference is the stand the Peking Government would have desired is a question. Both men are from the south of China, which is antagonistic to the administration. Dr. Wang had already come to America to start propaganda against the Peking Government and was here at the time of his appointment on the delegation. The Government preferred to have him in Paris than in America. Dr. Koo, though China's Minister at Washington, being also a Southerner, is not in sympathy with the Peking Government. These two Southerners have crowded out Mr. Lu, who officially heads the delegation and is in harmony with the Government. Mr. Lu, being peacefully inclined, betook himself to Switzerland to kill his leisure time.

Drs. Koo and Wang demanded of the Council that it should unconditionally restore to China the German rights in Shantung held by Japan. They demanded further that the Council should help China to repudiate the Treaty of 1915 and those that followed it. To accomplish their object they became at times quite unscrupulous. In February the Chinese delegates threatened to make public the secret treaties between Japan and China. When asked to do so, they declared that their copies of the treaties had been stolen from the baggage while they were passing through Japan. This was untrue. Later, Japan suggested to the Peking Government that its delegates at Paris might conduct their work according to the recognized diplomatic procedure. Whereupon the Chinese delegates interpreted the Japanese suggestion as Japan's intention to declare war on China. Thus the Chinese oratorical fight continued at Paris and through the press.

The Japanese people, who had already seen two defeats of their nation at Paris, began to fear that Japan was about to experience the third. First, they expected the unconditional transfer of the Marshall and Caroline Islands. But these were put under a mandatory system, in spite of England's promise to support Japan's claim. Second, Japan

was anxious to have the principle of racial and national equality recognized; but she failed. The Japanese believed that America was responsible for these defeats of Japan. They began to suspect that America was going to help China to defeat Japan in her claims over the German rights in Shantung, and were preparing themselves for the worst to happen as regards the Shantung issue. At this juncture the famous Fiume decision was made. And the excitement in Japan reached its climax.

But by the end of April it became tolerably clear that Japan was to emerge a victor. Nevertheless, the Chinese delegates made their last effort to win. Even the Peking Government, which never seriously entertained the hope of gaining the German rights in Shantung, became now somewhat excited. But the decision came. The Council decided to transfer to Japan the German rights and privileges, leaving details of settlement to the Japanese and Chinese Governments. When the news of the decision was first flashed across the world the Associated Press made a serious blunder. It said among other things that the Council transferred to Japan the sovereignty over the Province of Shantung. The Council never considered it, and Japan never expected it. Naturally, many attempts were made to correct this press mistake, but evidently in vain. In America agitation continues because it is thought that the Council placed the entire Province of Shantung, with its 36,000,000 Chinese inhabitants, under Japanese jurisdiction.

Let us see what really has been transferred to Japan under the so-called Shantung decision. First, there is the Tsingtao-Tsinan-fu Railway, about 280 miles, built and managed by the Germans until captured by Japan. With this goes to Japan the privilege to mine in the district. Second, Japan acquires the right to construct two railways connecting Shantung with the trunk lines from Peking to the Yangtze Valley. Third, Japan acquires the cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and Chefoo built and managed by the Germans until dislodged by Japan. Fourth, Japan acquires all German state property, movable and immovable, in Kiaochow. Fifth, Japan acquires the right to establish a settlement in Tsingtao. Finally, Japan asked and was granted the right to hold Tsingtao while the above rights and privileges are properly adjusted with China. Japan promises to eventually restore Tsingtao to China, and this promise is pursuant to the Japanese ultimatum of 1914 sent to Germany.

But the Chinese delegates say: First, the German rights in Shantung originated with an act of wanton aggression of 1897, characteristic of Prussian militarism. We are inclined to agree with the Chinese on this point. Second, to transfer these rights to Japan is to confirm an act of aggression. In our opinion, before the Chinese should blame the Council, they should acknowledge the fact that they sanctioned that act of aggression twice over. Once they made an agreement with Germany. Again, they made an agreement with Japan. Third, China's declaration of war against the central powers, and the abrogation of all treaties and agreements between China and these powers, caused the German rights to automatically revert to China. But this interpretation seems rather far-fetched, since the German rights had ceased to exist. Japan had driven the Germans from their stronghold. Fourth, Shantung is China's holyland, packed with memories of Confucius and Mencius and hallowed as the cradle of civilization. It is a pity that China should have permitted the Huns to pollute her holyland so long, and then kick because the Japanese are to come in, who worship those ancient savants of China. Why did not China kick out the Huns from her holyland herself instead of leaving the task to Japan? Fifth, if there is reason for the Council to stand firm on the question of Fiume, there would seem to be all the more reason to uphold the claim of China relating to Shantung, which includes the future welfare of 36,000,000 souls and the highest interest of peace in the Far East. China tries to make a case of this point. But in reality neither the territory of Shantung nor its sovereignty were ever considered by the Council. These are not involved in the decision! Japan is not interested in the sovereignty over the Province of Shantung, the Bay of Kiaochow or even the town of Tsingtao. Japan is already suffering from a superabundance of her own humanity. She does not care to acquire an additional 36,000,000 souls, even if they are offered to her. It is with the industrial advantages of the concession that Japan is primarily concerned.

Japan is a small country where nature's niggardliness is conspicuous, yet her population is large, and still increasing. Emigration might offer a partial remedy; but the Japanese are denied the right of immigration into countries with land sparsely settled. So there is only one thing left for Japan to do in order to provide for her population. She must develop industrially. The greatest ob-

stacle in the way of this is her lack of natural resources. She must depend largely upon other countries for raw material.

China is close at hand and possesses what Japan needs; therefore, a friendly attitude on the part of China is most earnestly desired by Japan. But her next-door neighbor has not forgotten the victory of 1895. Besides, there is a set of foreign residents in China who have inherited the old Occidental prejudice against Orientals. These men think they would lose their monopolistic power, be it commercial or racial, unless they fight Japan's activities in China. It is a well-known fact that they have been carrying on a propaganda against Japan all over the world. By such a method they hope to hold their own.

Another obstacle in the way of co-operation between Japan and China is the fact that in the past Japan has made blunders in dealing with China. These have caused many of the Chinese to lose confidence in the Japanese. Some actually distrust them and still others fear Japan.

First of all, Japan must acknowledge her past blunders and endeavor to rectify them, although they were largely due to the unstable character of the Chinese Government and the irresponsibility of certain unscrupulous Chinese officials. The perpetual political turmoil and disorder in China have necessarily interfered with what might be characterized normal relations between nations, whether political, economical or financial. Japan, lying nearest to China, has suffered most. A stable government in China would soon put a stop to the activities of politicians working for their own glory at the nation's expense.

When confidence has been restored between China and Japan then the two nations can co-operate in the true sense of the word with mutual benefit. Having rectified, as far as possible, past blunders for which she was partly to blame, Japan should carefully avoid in future doing anything to irritate the Chinese. Moreover, Japan should adopt some positive measures of service for the benefit of the Chinese. Japan's friendship must be substantiated. Once more, China and the world should be told plainly that Japan is interested in furthering the development of China's natural resources. This is the reason why Japan has gladly joined the new Consortium for Chinese Loans. This arrangement of America, Great Britain, France and Japan is for the purpose of saving China from disintegration and foreign rapacity.



# THE STRATEGIC VALUE OF SHANTUNG

By SYDNEY GREENBIE

**T**HE strength of Japan's grip on North China cannot be appreciated except by considering her position in Shantung in its relation to Manchuria and Korea. Structurally and geologically, the low mountains which stretch across the Province of Shantung are related to the mountains of Korea. Between them is the Chihli Straits, a strip of water about eighty-seven miles across. Japan's strategic control, therefore, of Shantung, and, on the other side of the bay, of Korea and Manchuria, makes of the whole a noose which Japan, with her fleet and army, could throw round the capital of China and cut off all communication of this region with the sea. Tsingtao in China and Kobe in Japan become the ledges upon which she plants her strength.

Japan's mercantile marine since the war has increased effectively and now stands ready to command the Pacific seas with the trade of a substantial part of North China diverted to it via the railroad and Tsingtao. Whoever controls Tsingtao and the railroad controls Shantung. Tsingtao is the finest harbor on the Chinese coast, free of ice all year round. The city is comfortably placed

on the hammock hills, and stone residential buildings give it an air of permanent success. In the settlement are magnificent business blocks, as attractive as any here, and broad, shady roads which the Germans cut through the granite hills. Even the barracks, as compared with the shelters in which the Japanese soldier lives in Japan, are palatial. All this is the work of the Germans. The climate is the attraction of foreigners from Shanghai up. The harbor can receive ships of 16,000 tons capacity. It was fitted with a splendid floating dock, which the Germans sunk, and with cranes for handling cargo.

From all this it is clearly to be seen that when Japan surrenders everything but the economic privileges she surrenders nothing in fact. By purchase and expropriation the Japanese have converted to their control the bulk of the land in Tsingtao within the area they set aside for themselves. If an international concession were established in place of an exclusive Japanese concession, it would first have to gain control of the docks and railroad terminals before there could be an equal opportunity for all nations. The Ger-

man-built portion of Tsingtao, lying outside of the area set aside by Japan for herself, is economically of little utility. It would be used for other nationals than Japanese for the combination business-office residence known so well in the East. No commercially useful waterfronts would be available. The economic head of Tsingtao lies within the territory now preempted by Japan and includes the warehouses, docks and other chief economic centres. The largest area of new construction by the Japanese contains the restaurants, the licensed quarter, and the small retail business houses.

The railroads and the port are, of course, the sources of economic, military and political control, and control of these railways as operated under Japan, considered in connection with Japan's domination of Manchuria, means economic domination of North China. Take as an example Chefoo. Before Germany made Tsingtao a great port Chefoo flourished. Today Chefoo just manages to struggle along commercially. The trade currents of the province were diverted by the railroad to the new port. Is much more pronounced fashion



A MODERN BUSINESS STREET IN TSINGTAO

If It Were Not for the Oriental Figures in the Street and on the Sidewalks, This Tsingtao Avenue Might Easily Be Taken for a Thoroughfare in Any Prussian City. Even the Signs Betray the Presence of German Enterprise in Asia

*Pictorial Photo Bureau*

the trade currents, not only of the whole of Shantung province but of that middle productive belt of North China, reaching over three hundred miles into the interior, will be diverted by the new railroad. The three branch lines arranged for tap the essential productive areas of the province, west, south and north. This trade formerly found its way to the sea, or to Hankow, Shanghai and Tientsin, the main interior trading points of China, by the Grand Canal, or the trunk railroad lines running north and south, the Tientsin-Pukow and the Peking-Hankow railroads. The Japanese-held lines in Shantung, present and prospective, cut these great traffic currents crosswise. They are a middle outlet to the sea for those middle productive regions of North China—among the richest in the country—between the present two great east and west traffic currents to the sea; namely, the great Yangtze Valley belt and that originating in Turkestan, Mongolia, Northwestern China and reaching the sea at Tientsin by way of Peking. Such a developed outlet would normally be a welcome aid to the trade of China and all nations, but under Japanese practices it means death to any trade but Japan's.

And then for military control. Carry the logic of a developed east and west inlet from the sea at Tsingtao west to the vital control centres of China. First of all, consider Dainy, 250 miles by sea from Tsingtao, or ninety miles from Lungkow or eighty miles from Chafoo, the prospective terminus of one of the new lines. Dainy is the debarking point of the Japanese army forces in Manchuria. Another Japanese army is only a few hours away at the port of Fusan in Korea. Kobe, Japan, is only a few hours' steaming distance.

Japanese army forces could be concentrated almost at an hour's notice to occupy Japan's east and west trunk line in China to cut into its heart. Japan by occupying the junction points of her line with the north and south Peking-Hankow and Tientsin-Pukow lines, and by demolishing the Grand Canal, if rebuilt, at any point in Shantung, could instantly cut off Peking and the great north from the prospective industrial south. Naval control of North China by bottling up the entrance to the Gulf of Chihli by means of a Japanese fleet at Shimonoseki is so obvious that need a glance at the map is sufficient to show it. With Kobe offering commerce a port incomparably superior to that of Shanghai, it does not take much wisdom to foretell the defection of China's stores across the Japanese-controlled railway in Shantung and by way of a Japanese-controlled port out into the world.



LABORER HULLING RICE

Rice Growing is One of the Great Industries of Shantung. This Shows the Common Method of Removing the Husk

The Grand Canal runs across Shantung Province from north to south (and has been doing so for 2,400 years), carrying products for 315 miles of Shantung country back and forth between Tientsin and Shanghai. In 1916 the Sino-Carey Railway & Canal Company, an American firm, negotiated with the Chinese Government for the reconstruction of parts of the canal gone into disrepair. Japan, claiming a special interest in Shantung by reason of her possession of the German concessions, demanded participation and secured a forty per cent share in the work. The work has been proceeding. The canal is operated in two sections, south and north, with a section in between blocking through communication. In the southern section 5,000 Chinese sailing boats are engaged principally in carrying lumber, bamboo, hides, groceries, millet, wine, oil and dried fruits across the province. In the northern section fully 300 boats operate; but when the canal was in good repair between 40,000 and 70,000 boats were in operation, against 2,000 boats now, with a total tonnage of 25,300 tons. Through the dishonesty of Chinese officials the canal is in such bad need of

repair and has become so shallow in places that boats which could ordinarily carry thirty tons can now only load fifteen.

The Tientsin-Pukow Railway, built by Germany through Shantung, carried during 1915 a total of nearly 800,000 tons of merchandise through the Tsinan-fu Railway station. This is an indication of some of the traffic Japan's railway line across the province will tap from the north and south lines and the Grand Canal to the sea. In Shantung Province alone upward of ten million people are affected by the canal. Seven large cities will be benefited by its improvement. The jealousy between Shanghai and Tsingtao as seaports is intense. The reopening of the canal to its old capacity will bring Shanghai a largely increased trade. But Shanghai is not as good a port as Tsingtao. It is easy to see how Japan, through control of this railway, will tap the flow of north and south commerce for the benefit of Tsingtao.

But it may be said, Why is Japan not entitled to this trade? The reason is that her administration of railroads has invariably resulted in unfair practices, having the effect of driving her competitors out of business. Almost the complete range of Japan's trade practices in parts of China she controls is shown in the following story told by an American salesman of electrical machinery. This man went up into Manchuria, where he was marked by his Japanese competitors by reason of the large business he did with the Chinese. A Chinese electric lighting company was about to install machinery for a new plant. They wanted American machinery from this salesman. He stayed at the Japanese Railway Hotel. While he was out of his room his baggage was searched. This he expected. He found the next day that representatives of a Japanese electrical machinery company had been to his prospective Chinese customer and told him that Japanese goods should be bought. The Chinese company did not want the Japanese product. They bought the American's.

Immediately they found obstacles put in the way of their regular business. The local Japanese electrical goods company would not sell the Chinese company the incandescent lamps it needed. The company's coal supply was held up by the Japanese railroad, with the result that the company could not furnish its Chinese customers with electric light during the Chinese New Year, losing "face" and business as a result. The company finally bought a large order of Japanese electrical equipment, on an order form which omitted the price or the quantity order in many items. It



C. H. Edwards

#### ON THE BANKS OF THE YELLOW RIVER AT LOW-TIDE

Traffic on This Turbulent Waterway, Whose Lower Reaches Traverse the Province of Shantung, Is Expensive and Uncertain and Most of It Will Probably Be Diverted to the German-Built Railways Now Controlled by the Japanese

was explained that the Japanese company had to make some profit.

This same American salesman sent a telegram from the Japanese hotel over Japanese wires to a Chinese business house in Manchuria he had promised to see when he arrived. There was no answer. He sent another telegram and again received no answer. So he walked to the Chinese telegraph office, quite a distance away, and sent a third. Very shortly the reply came back fixing an appointment and asking why he had not let them know sooner. When he arrived, Japanese trade rivals had already been on hand. Telephone operators, telegraphers, postmasters and hotel room boys are parts of the system of Japanese "watchfulness" in Manchuria. Japan in China has by her practices converted economic privilege into practical political control. By reason of economic privileges in Shantung Japan will certainly compel China to refuse to grant any other nations the right to build railways in Shantung. An amusing story is told which illustrates the extension of this claimed authority into political influence. At Mukden, Manchuria, the present Japa-

nese consul-general is a junior to rank. Notwithstanding, he demanded of the Chinese Governor of the province that in view of Japan's position in Manchuria he be seated in the place of rank at the Governor's dinner to the consular body. The Governor followed the usual Chinese procedure for getting out of a troublesome mess. He gave no dinner.

American traders at Shanghai will pay from \$5 to \$10 a ton more for freight from the United States destined to ports in Manchuria in order to bring it first to Shanghai for trans-shipment. This extra cost will buy a through bill of lading from the South Manchurian Railroad, the Japanese line, to the interior Manchurian destination. But if sent direct from the United States to Dairen, American merchants in so many instances have had their shipments reported "short"—left behind—that they consider it the result of deliberate Japanese discrimination. Japanese checkers employed by Americans to trace such shipments time and again find them lying in the railroad and dock yards not long after they have been reported "short."

In a letter from an American in China

who knows the country from behind the scenes we have the following: "One of the American firms in Seoul (Korea) told me that they had sold a quantity of merchandise for delivery in Manchuria and had placed it on the cars for shipment. The Japanese unloaded it at a way station a short distance up the line. It took the shippers over eight months to find the goods. And when they were found the Japanese government refused to deliver them back except upon payment of storage for the eight months during which they had been sidetracked."

These are some of the reasons why retention by Japan of the economic rights formerly held by Germany means Japanese control of North China.

The import of the Shantung issue may be better understood by referring to China as a great handbag to which Japan now holds the drawstrings. These strings are the railroad lines running up through Korea to Manchuria and round to Peking, coming back again through Shantung to Tientsin. Japan can put her hand into the bag at will, or draw the strings tight against the world, as in Korea and Manchuria.

# THE ILLUSORY PROMISE OF JAPAN

By CHARLES MERZ

**J**APAN is to withdraw from Shantung. That much seems certain now. She will promise before America acts upon the peace treaty, that it is her purpose to withdraw. But on the definition given to that word "withdrawal" may hinge the hope of peace in Asia for many years to come.

As I write, we have reached this point in the clearing up of Japan's intentions: Viscount Uchida, in an official statement issued at Tokyo, has declared that Japan "is quite willing to restore to China the whole of the territory in question"; it is not Japan's intention, he asserts, "to retain or to claim any rights which affect the territorial sovereignty of China in the Province of Shantung." Moreover, "upon arrangement being arrived at between Japan and China for the restitution of Kiaochou, the Japanese troops at present guarding that territory and the Kiaochou-Tsinan-fu railway will be withdrawn." "The Kiaochou-Tsinan-fu railway," says Viscount Uchida, is intended to be operated as a joint Sino-Japanese enterprise without any discrimination against the people of any nation." Finally, the Japanese government has under contemplation proposals for the re-establishment in Tsingtao of a general foreign settlement instead of an exclusive settlement for Japan.

In the eyes of many critics this statement will seem to be nothing less than a complete accession on Japan's part to the claims that China has put forward. Comment in various American journals indicates how likely is this effect. Under the heading "Japan Keeps Her Word," the *New York Globe* says "It is hard to know what more could be asked from Japan in the way of definite promise on the Shantung question than is contained in yesterday's statement by Viscount Uchida." There are other papers which take a similar view. Let us begin, first, by asking whether there are any strings attached to the promises upon which these papers base their optimism.

There are two conditions stated—both of them put in a casual way, after a comma. Japan is to hand back Shantung to China, says Viscount Uchida, "retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany." Retention of these economic privileges constitutes one condition. And at the end of his statement Uchida brings in the other: he speaks of "the agreement of 1915" as something entirely valid.

Now with this latter point the American government has already taken issue. In a specific reply to Viscount Uchida, dated August 6th, President Wilson declares that the assurances Japan gave him in Paris, in respect to her withdrawal from Shantung had nothing to do with the Twenty-one Demands.

What were the assurances? Mr. Wilson reports it for us in a direct quotation from the statement of the two Japanese delegates: "The policy of Japan is to hand back the Shantung peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany, and the right to establish a settlement under the usual conditions at Tsingtao. The owners of the railway will use special police only to insure security for traffic. They will be used for no other purpose. The police force will be composed of Chinese, and such Japanese instructors as the Directors of the railway may select will be appointed by the Chinese government."

Let us, at this point, summarize the evidence of Japan's intentions as contributed by the statements of Viscount Uchida, President Wilson, Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda:

(1) Both Viscount Uchida and the Japanese peace delegates in Paris agree that territorial sovereignty in Shantung is to revert to China. This promise has all the sanction of an official statement, although no guarantee, so far as any one knows, has yet been formally filed with the League of Nations.

(2) It is entirely evident that Japan, in restoring political sovereignty in Shantung, restores none of the economic assets in the province. Viscount Uchida and the Japanese delegates are both clear on this point. And it is important to note that to this pronouncement President Wilson takes no exception. He queries the validity of the agreements of 1915 and 1918; he does not question Japan's claim to the economic privileges in Shantung.

(3) The Uchida statement promises that the Kiaochou-Tsinan-fu railway will be operated as a "joint Sino-Japanese enterprise, without discrimination against any nation." The Japanese delegates, however, do not touch upon this point. Nor does the programme upon which Mr. Wilson compromised contain any mention of such promise.

(4) The Japanese delegates in Paris told Mr. Wilson that police would be used only "to insure security for traf-

fic"; that they would be composed of Chinese; and that such "instructors" as might be chosen by the Directors of the railway would be "appointed" by the Chinese government. Viscount Uchida's statement simply says that Japanese troops will be "withdrawn."

(5) Mr. Wilson was content with a provision that Japan should have the right to establish a colony at Tsingtao "under the usual conditions" (i. e., exclusively Japanese); Viscount Uchida hints that it is possible (he makes no promise) that Japan will establish a general foreign settlement instead; but that hint is coupled with a reaffirmation of the 1915 argument.

(6) And the validity of this agreement Mr. Wilson denies.

With the material thus arranged, we may now examine the character of that Japanese withdrawal from Shantung upon which the peace of Eastern Asia so substantially depends. It is clear, at the start, that in promising to restore to China full political sovereignty in the peninsula Japan makes no substantial concession to American opinion. Even those who try most willingly to defend the Versailles bargain never go beyond a statement that Japan, having driven Germany out of Shantung, deserves—by the law that to victor belongs the spoils—to fall heir to what Germany controlled. "It's like rewarding a person who has driven away a burglar," said Senator Swanson, ranking Democratic member on the Committee on Foreign Relations. But even for those who would accept this view there is no consideration that would sanction Japan in holding political sovereignty in Shantung. For such sovereignty was never held by the Germans. There is no political control for Japan to inherit—there are only economic concessions. Japan may officially file with the League of Nations a guarantee of her intention to restore Shantung, politically, to China. Even so, her action will be no more than an empty gesture.

Why? Because the real issue in Shantung is economic. Because control of railways and resources is nothing less than actual control of the province itself. Let us inspect those economic privileges which both Viscount Uchida and the Japanese delegates in Paris insist, in identical terms, that Japan shall have—and over which the President of the United States tacitly acknowledges her sovereignty.

There is first the permanent "settle-



ment concession" at Tsingtao. It includes all that is worth while in the city commercially. It includes wharves that make Tsingtao a great gateway into China—capable of carrying two-fifths of the entire German colonial trade in 1912. Petroleum, kerosene, paper, cotton goods, and dyestuffs were the principal articles of import; and in 1912 the aggregate value of imports through Tsingtao amounted to \$45,000,000. The following year—the year before the war—the import trade jumped more than \$50,000,000. Along with her concessions in the port there go to Japan the cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto.

Next among the economic concessions which Japan claims are those involving the railways. Before the outbreak of the war Germany had forced from China three important concessions. The line from Tsingtao to Tsinan-fu is a road of 256 miles reaching into the heart of China. It was built at a cost of \$14,500,000, and has carried a heavy traffic since it was put into operation. In the year before the war it carried 900,000 tons of freight traffic, a million and a quarter passengers—and declared a dividend of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The other railway concessions which Germany secured apply to lines not yet constructed—one from Kaomi (near Kiaochow) to Sitchou-fu, the other from Tsinan-fu to Shunteh-fu on the Peking-Hankow line. Together, these two projects cover more than 700 miles. In the case of the Tsingtao-Tsinan-fu railway (already constructed), Japan is to have "subsidiary stock of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock."

Control of the railways in itself constitutes a paralyzing grip in any province of China. But Japan is to have more. She is to have "the movable and immovable property owned by the German state in the territory of Kiaochow, as well as the rights that Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or the expense incurred by her, directly or indirectly"—all of this "free and clear of all charges and encumbrances." Moreover, it is provided in the Versailles treaty that Japan is to have "the mines, plant and material for the exploitation of the mines"—together with "all rights and privileges thereto." For Japan this means acquisition of the great coal-fields at Poshan-hsien (which produced 414,000 tons in 1913), at Hungshou (output in 1914, 414,000 tons), at Fangtze (199,000 tons, in 1914), at Weihsien (199,000 tons, in 1913) and at Yihhsien (198,000 tons, in 1914). All of these rich fields lie within easy reach of the

Tsingtao-Tsinan-fu railway. The Province of Shantung also contains gold mines (at Fengkia and Szemeitze), and iron ore in abundance. The Chin-lieng-chen mine, within seven miles of the railway, yields ore containing about 66.4 per cent of iron. Japan, in fact, obtains what has with some justice been called "the cheapest coal and iron in the world." She falls heir not only to important iron deposits and great coal fields, but to a supply of coolie labor which she can exploit unmercifully if she chooses. Shantung is densely populated. A handful of dry rice is a literal "living wage" indeed. And with exclusive control of the railway concessions no other line than a Japanese line can tap the rich deposits. Finally, to cover her new privileges in the port, the mines and on the railways, Japan is to receive from Germany all "archives, registers, plans, title deeds and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiaochow."

Seldom in the history of modern negotiation has as complete a document been drawn for the surrender of the economic privileges in one country to the ambitions of another. Some of the rights which Japan intends to hold are those which Germany forced from China in 1898. Other privileges have not even this doubtful asset to condone their seizure; they are privileges which Germany had officially returned to China before the outbreak of war in 1914. Still other privileges date back, not to German possession, but to bargains made with certain of those politicians who have so long been handicaps upon the shoulders of a new China. But whatever their several antecedents, in aggregate the privileges amount to nothing less than dominance of one of the richest provinces in China. Japan is to control the harbor and the wharves, the commercially important districts of Tsingtao, the terminals, the yards, the railway that leads to Tsinan-fu, and the mines and resources to which it gives access. Her railway and mining concessions will yield at least forty million dollars a year. It is an empty shell that Viscount Uchida offers when he promises that Japan will restore political rights "in the whole of the territory in question."

About the thoroughness with which Japan intends to hold this vast economic power there can be no doubt. Where I have used quotation marks, it has been to quote from the peace treaty itself. The questions which arise are these: What does such a settlement mean for the future? Is it fair to take issue with

Japan, to oppose her for playing in her own way an imperialistic game that is also played in China by more than one European Power? From several points of view, I think this subject can be approached.

In the first place, quite aside from Japan's intentions, and their similarity, or dissimilarity, with the intentions of other Powers, we have already gone far enough to discredit the cheerful comment of critics like the *New York Globe* who think that Japan is to "withdraw" from Shantung. Japan, so far as any promise even remotely indicates, does not "withdraw." She "restores" a political sovereignty which Germany never legally held—retains an economic sovereignty which exceeds all German consolidations. And in this program she receives, so far as any public statement shows, the tacit support of the President of the United States. Let us be frank enough, in future discussion, to admit this situation. If the American Senate is to make a "reservation" in respect to Shantung, it is upon the question of economic domination that its action must be based.

There is a second general comment that may be made upon Japanese retention of great economic privilege in Shantung: Japan, say many apologists for the Versailles ruling, is securing no more—and playing no different a game—than those European Powers who were her associates in the war are playing in other parts of China. These are questionable assumptions; but even if their validity is granted, it is no defence—for those who sincerely want a new order of international politics—to uphold new imperialism in the light of old ones. There are, no doubt, a good many critics who would condemn Japan for the very acts they would approve coming from their own people. Saints' clothes do not hang well on the French and British concessionists who are outraged by imperialism in Shantung, but find it entirely moral in the south of China. America has no "sphere of influence" in China; we have long fought for an open door; but no American would pretend that we wanted an open door exclusively because of our friendship for China. China is the playground for foreign investment. Young China appeals for the abolition of extraterritoriality, for her own place as an integral nation. In the meantime it is not the part of democratic America to condone the addition of one more exclusive sphere of influence, simply because there have been others in the past.

To this point the assumption has been made that Japan's economic sovereignty in Shantung will differ in no essential from the economic sovereignty of the

European Powers in other provinces. This assumption, however, is by no means a valid one. There seems, in the first place, to be indisputable evidence that Japan, more than any other Power, is willing to discriminate against the nationals of other countries when ports and highways are left in her control. American merchants have been definite and persistent in their complaints on this score.

A summary of the difficulties under which our own merchants have lately operated in Manchuria and Shantung has been furnished by the editor of *Millard's Review*—a publication with a frankly pro-Chinese point of view, but with a reputation for honesty of purpose. This summary is not the work of *Millard's Review* or of any other unofficial agency. It comes from a governmental source, from a special agent of the United States Department of Commerce. And these are some of the difficulties which he lists:

1. Delays at the Japanese banks. Americans and other foreign firms are made to wait while Japanese receive more prompt attention.

2. Holding of goods at the ports of entry and railway stations on various pretexts, while goods shipped by or consigned to Japanese merchants are moved and handled promptly.

3. Similar delays at Kobe, Japan, and at other points of transshipment.

4. Special favors accorded by the railways in China under Japanese control to Japanese shippers, including an obscure system of rates.

5. Manipulation of public utilities controlled by Japanese, like postal and telephone and telegraph communications, to the advantage of the Japanese.

6. Lower rates or rebates to Japanese shippers than to competitors.

It is of course all too easy in the race of international competition to regard as fair and merely ingenious the methods employed by oneself—and as unfair and entirely discriminatory the methods used by a rival. We have ourselves resorted, as any one knows who is familiar with Philippine legislation, to practices which cannot be defended on the principle of the Open Door. Nevertheless it is impossible not to recognize that in few instances of modern commerce is there as much reliable data pointing to the purely national use of economic privi-

lege as in those provinces of eastern Asia which Japan now controls.

What drives this conclusion home, and in fact colors the whole question of Japan's economic claims in Shantung, is the recent history of Japanese diplomacy vis-à-vis China. In January of 1915—while her Allies were stemming the German advance—Japan presented to China an ultimatum known as the Group V demands. She insisted that the central government of China should "employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs." Could there be a more sinister proposal? She demanded that China's police departments "employ numerous Japanese," so that they might "help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese Police Service." What nation would not receive such an offer cynically? She insisted that Japanese technical experts be employed in Chinese munition plants, and that Japanese material be purchased. She demanded the right to construct one railway between Wuchang, Kluksiang and Nanchang—another between Nanchang and Hangchow—a third between Nanchang and Chaochow—great lines spread like three spokes of a wheel from the hub at Nanchang. And finally she insisted that if China needed foreign capital "to work mines, build railways and construct harbor works (including dockyards) in the province of Fukien," Japan should be first consulted.

The Group V demands were withdrawn. Public opinion, in many different parts of the world, would not stand for them. But it is the making of the demands, at a time when the Allied world was at war, that serves as a revelation of Japan's intentions. Moreover, even after the withdrawal of the Group V demands, Japan made no essential change in her policy.

The fact of the matter is that Japan is the one country seriously threatening the sovereignty and the administrative integrity of China. Under a "ninety-nine year lease" Japan already holds control of the Liaotung Peninsula. Manchuria is in her hands. Throughout China she has consolidated her influence through the medium of loans. Security for the two hundred million dollars that she has loaned to China envelops many of that country's richest resources—the great forests in Heilungkiang and Kirin, mining concessions in Hunan and Anhui,

shares in the Lanchow Coal Company revenues of the South Manchuria Railway—the list reads on through properties of vast value. And to Japan the accession of economic power in Shantung would supplement the control she already holds in the north. Nor can any one fail to observe that the road from Tsingtao does more than lead to economic wealth: it constitutes a military asset of the greatest importance. The railway that leads to Tsinan-fu leads also toward Peking itself, cutting China into halves, north and south. And possession of a strategic line, held by a police force "employing numerous Japanese" (see the Group V demands) and led by Japanese "instructors" (see the statement of Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda) might in itself turn out to be nothing less than a de facto military occupation.

In republican China the ultimate issue is the question of extraterritoriality. Sixteen years ago the inoperative Shanghai treaties pledged an end to foreign jurisdiction when a reform of the judicial system was accomplished. Toward that reform China is making progress. Democrats everywhere will stand with her in the plea that this pledge be redeemed. For the immediate issue—in Shantung—the course of America is clear: It is our part to insist that Japan file—not with China alone, but, as befitting a question international in the broadest sense, with the League of Nations—a promise of her intention to restore to China sovereign rights over the economic privileges in Shantung, as well as political "authority," within a definitely fixed time. Upon no other basis can we keep faith with China, particularly after our efforts to bring her into the war with us as an ally; and upon no other basis can China be assured of that integrity which the peace of Asia demands. We send no ultimatum to Japan. It is to the government of that Empire that we address our case. The people of Japan, like the people of Germany, live under a cabinet responsible to no popular body for its control of foreign affairs. With the people of Japan we have no quarrel. It is no less in the interest of their own chances for achieving a democracy than in friendship to China that we protest against the imperialist policy of a government founded on absolutism.





# A TENANT IN SHANTUNG

By ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN

WHILE press and Senate are hotly disputing whether the Japanese have a right to be in Shantung, the question as to what they are doing there is receiving little attention. And yet it is vital. The former question bristles with so many technicalities under treaties and international law that it is easy for either side to make an apparently convincing argument. Both Great Britain and France have wrested more valuable holdings from China than Japan would obtain by the German concessions in Shantung; but neither Power shows any disposition to relinquish them. The United States holds the Philippines under a treaty extorted from Spain by force. The Government declares its intention to return the Archipelago to the Filipinos, but it has thus far declined to give any definite assurance as to when it will do so. In a recent book (*The Mastery of the Far East*) I have freely recognized Japan's paramount interest in China as compared with other nations, and have given a detailed account of her activities throughout the country and the resultant effects. Granting that China is so badly demoralized that she needs outside help, is Japan giving it? Granting Japan's legitimate interest, is she aggressive or conciliatory? Is she exploiting the Chinese for her own ends or seeking to promote their welfare? I cite in this article the major facts of the present situation in the mooted Province of Shantung, with the additional information that I have obtained. Use is the test of stewardship. When one controls another's property, it is fair to scrutinize his administration. I do not write as an advocate of either party. My object is not to make out a case either for or against the Japanese, but simply to set down the facts and incidents of the situation as it is.

First: The Japanese are pouring into Shantung in considerable numbers. Exact statistics are not available, and for obvious reasons; but the few dozen Japanese in and near Tsingtao at the beginning of the war were reported by observers to have risen to 50,000 by the end of 1917. Tsinan-fu, the provincial capital, 250 miles in the interior, which had only a handful of Japanese at the beginning of the war, had 1,400 in March, 1916, and 22,000 a year later. Colonies of varying size are to be found in other important cities, and traders,

engineers, and other Japanese on various quests are in evidence in almost every part of the Province.

Second: What are these Japanese saying about the mooted question of staying? Tokyo officials declare their intention to return Tsingtao to China, but the Japanese on the ground openly assert that Shantung belongs to them "as the prize of war," and that "under no circumstances must this Province ever be alienated from Japanese control." They have posted detachments of Japanese troops along the line of the railway and placed a garrison in Tsinan-fu. Substantial stone and concrete barracks have been erected at convenient intervals. Courts, post offices, banks, and numerous commercial enterprises have been established. The whole outlay of money and labor is so considerable that the Chinese entirely fail to understand how it can be reconciled with a temporary possession.

Third: Economically, the Japanese are in almost absolute control of the Province. Japanese trade with China was rapidly expanding prior to the great war. Their representatives were not only numerous in the ports, but they were to be found in most of the important cities of the country. The British were still the chief factors in the commerce of eastern Asia, although they were meeting increasingly vigorous competition from the Germans as well as the Japanese. But at the beginning of the war there were 244 German companies in China, 3,740 German residents, and a capital investment of \$256,760,000. The enforced withdrawal of the German ships and the absorption of the British in the European conflict naturally resulted in eliminating German companies and ships altogether, and in transferring a large part of British energies and shipping to places nearer home. This left the Japanese a free field, and they have taken over the bulk of the trade that was formerly conducted by both British and German firms. In doing so they did what white men, Americans included, have repeatedly done wherever they have had the chance. Like the United States, Japan at once found an unlimited demand at high prices for every staple article that she could produce, and her export trade quickly rose to huge proportions. An interesting illustration of Japanese shrewdness, which a Connecticut Yankee might envy,

was given in a deal in copper. The war caused an extraordinary demand for this metal, and sent the price soaring. The coin in common circulation in China is the copper "cash," about the size of an English penny, and so small in value that a gold dollar will buy anywhere from fifteen hundred to two thousand of them, according to the rate of exchange. In my travels in the interior of China I had to have an extra donkey to carry the cash needed for my party. The copper cash in the Province of Shantung alone would weigh nearly fifty thousand tons. To buy these cash of the Chinese and sell them to the Europeans, who needed the copper for shells, would yield a handsome profit. The Japanese proceeded to do it. The *Manchuria Daily News* reported that in a single year the purchases amounted to 25,600 tons, and that the transaction was completed at a profit of yen 2,167,000 (\$1,083,500).

The Japanese have not only taken Tsingtao and its hinterland but all the German property and concessions in the province, including the railway from Tsingtao to Tsinan-fu. The mines and all transportation lines are in their hands. While the Germans had employed less than a hundred of their own nationals on the railway, including the officials of the company, and had used Chinese for all the other places, the Japanese staffed and operated the railway exclusively with their own people. They now talk of joint control by Japanese and Chinese, but no one in Shantung believes that the Chinese share of the control would be anything more than nominal.

Fourth: Politically, their ascendancy is absolute. It is true that outside Tsingtao Chinese officials theoretically have "unimpaired sovereignty"; but the average official finds a Japanese "adviser" at his elbow and that it is the part of prudence to heed the "advice" that is given. Japanese influence makes itself felt in the various and more or less mysterious ways which Asiatics know so well how to employ. Ex-Premier Terauchi and his Foreign Minister declared early in 1917 that their policy in China was to be one of "non-interference" with Chinese affairs; but a local observer writes: "This province is quite under the power of the Japanese. There is scarcely a department that has not been entered by them. They are in strategic posts and positions

everywhere. Non-residents of China cannot conceive of the situation. Foreign gold bribes unscrupulous leaders to fight each other. The boundary of the 'leased territory' is being illegally extended."

It is disquieting to find that some careful students of Chinese affairs believe that the Japanese are not free from responsibility for the disturbed conditions in China. After noting a creditable report that there were in 1918 more than 30,000 organized brigands in the Province of Shantung, and that they were suspiciously well supplied with rifles and cartridges, Doctor Arthur H. Smith writes: "The natives who have been subjected to this grilling for two years or more are well aware that many of these weapons and most of the ammunition have been specially imported for them (the bandits) from 'a certain country,' and that but for the help of the natives of 'a certain country' the Shantung people are sure that things could never have come to such a pass." The Japanese referred to may have been acting as individuals or as agents of private companies which have munitions to sell; but their alleged relationship to the disturbances, the fact that Japan is in virtual control of Shantung, and the further fact that these disturbances are assigned as one of the reasons for her maintenance there of a considerable military force make it difficult to contemplate the situation without uneasiness.

Fifth: Japanese treatment of the Chinese and the resultant feeling of the people is indicated in the following extract from a letter I have received from a reliable source:

"There has been an alarming turn of events at Tsingtao since a certain nation, by threats, gained its 'diplomatic' victory at Paris. As a result of the daily new aggressions the people are terrified. The 'Asiatic Prussian' seems to have thrown off all reserve as to motive and purpose and policy, and has set systematically to work to 'hack his way through.' Many people do not dare travel on the railway to Tsingtao for fear of outrage. People carrying Bibles are intimidated. The evangelists and teachers in the east end of the 'leased territory' no longer dare to act. The students from Tsingtao who are attending schools in other cities do not dare to return to their homes. Letters sent on the railway mail train to Tsingtao are opened, and senders and their families seized and punished. These outrages of terrorization and taking over government control extend far outside of the 'leased territory.'"

Many of the people of the Province are so fearful of the wrath of the Japanese that they appear cowed; but others boldly protest. Some of the merchants and people refuse to buy the

Japanese goods that pour into the Province. Students in both government and mission schools have held meetings in which the decision of the Paris Conference has been roundly denounced and the rights of China vigorously asserted. Of course, these things were highly displeasing to the Japanese, and their conception of their authority throughout the Province, as well as within the former German concession, was significantly illustrated when they caused students in Weihai and Tsinan-fu to be punished. In Tsingtao, the following summary tells the story: After several weeks of continuous interference on the part of the police, who came to inspect, asked questions innumerable, and repeatedly got the names, addresses and other details about all the students and teachers, the gendarmes insisted that the Presbyterian Mission School was harboring a spy from Peking. Sunday, April 27, eight men searched the home of the principal, Mr. Wang Shou Ching, and the school office. They also interrogated the missionaries in their homes, and on two occasions a man was found listening at the door of the single woman missionary of the station. May 28, the entire teaching staff, American and Chinese, were summoned to appear at the courthouse at nine o'clock on pain of punishment. Immediately after the staff had left the school, a force of seven soldiers appeared and took possession, photographed the building, and posted a military guard of three men inside. At the courthouse, the teachers and a missionary and his wife were arraigned before the Civil Administrator and two police officers. The charge was that Mr. Wang had written and circulated leaflets calling upon the Chinese to protest against the Paris agreement and to insist upon their rights; but no such leaflets were produced in court. When the Consul asked for the nature of their proof, and that it be presented in open court, the reply was that to produce it would be to show their sources of information, which they would not do. An order from the Commanding General was read demanding that because of disturbances and crimes (the nature of the crimes was not mentioned) and for the sake of peace, the school must be closed at once and all teachers and pupils sent home within ten days. A second order banished the principal from Tsingtao for three years, emphasizing the heinousness of his crime, but not defining it. If the Japanese intend to vacate, why three years? Mr. Wang has been in Mission employ for many years, and has a good reputation. He is a peaceable man, taking no part in politics, and was scrupulously careful at this time. Yet he was condemned

and banished in disgrace as a dangerous criminal, although he was never tried or convicted of any crime. May 28 and 29, a military guard was maintained in the schoolhouse day and night, forbidding any classes, and watching every movement of teachers and pupils. May 30, the mission escorted the schoolboys to the train, but the guard held possession of the school building.

In April, a gendarme visited the Girls' High School of the Presbyterian Mission, at Da Sin Tan, about three miles from the Nantwen Railway Station, and made minute inquiries as to the control and ownership of the school. May 13, while the girls were at dinner, five Japanese soldiers, carrying their guns, came to the gate and demanded admission. The Principal objected, but they said they had come to see the school, and the Principal finally took them to a classroom. After a while, he succeeded in getting them outside the school gate, and the girls finished their dinner. As soon as they had finished, the soldiers again insisted on coming in. When the Principal would take them to one room, a couple of soldiers would wander off, going wherever they pleased. The girls closed their doors, but the soldiers then peeped in the windows.

June 2, a policeman came to an American lady in Tsingtao and demanded the names of the Chinese Christian women who were attending her Bible class, their homes and ages, and asking for her record book. Later, a man from the courthouse came and demanded admission to her house, accusing her of failure to comply with the law in not reporting this class.

June 3, two policemen came and ordered her to open her door and let them in. They said she had not given enough names, that they wished the village, etc. They censured her for not reporting the names as soon as the women came, saying no matter who came, such persons should be reported within twenty-four hours. She informed them she had never been so instructed. (The American Consul himself had never heard of such a rule.) They then in a threatening manner ordered her to get the list of names with villages to them before twelve o'clock.

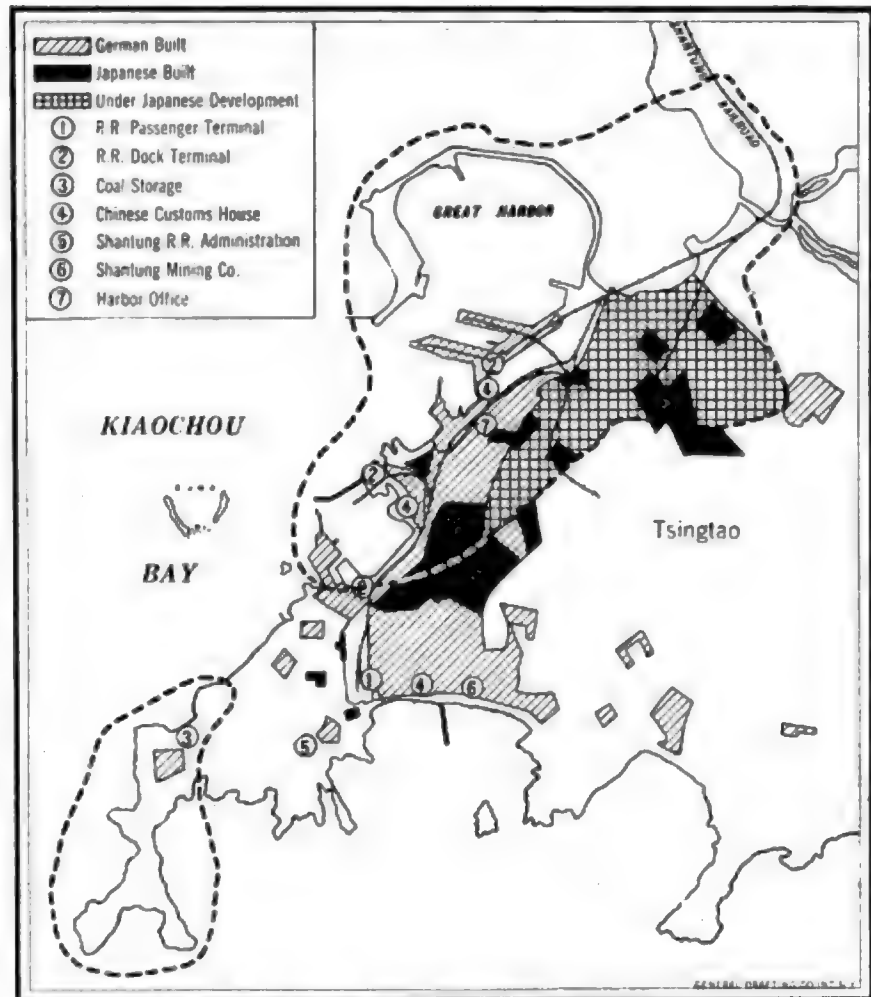
Sunday morning early, before the missionary was up, two officers came over and went into one of the sleeping rooms of the Chinese Christian women and shut the door, insisting that it be kept shut. Then they demanded the names and ages of the women. The first woman gave her Christian name instead of her married name, and the officer made abusive and foul remarks.

Sixth: Japanese hostility to other for-

elgners in the Province is marked. There are many English and American citizens in Shantung, most of them missionaries. The Japanese profess to believe, and indeed openly charge, that the governments of Great Britain and the United States are attempting to gain control of the Province and block Japanese plans, and that to this end they are working through the missionaries of their respective nationalities. Both British and American citizens, and particularly Americans, find themselves subjected to the closest espionage, as the incidents above narrated illustrate. Japanese police frequently visit them in their residences and schools, ask many questions, demand detailed reports, insist upon the names and salaries of all employees, attend religious meetings to hear what is said, and in numerous ways make the missionaries feel that they are regarded as "undesirable citizens." The reports include such statements as the following: "The suspicious nature of the Japanese officials and the frequent attentions of their minions make the situation an undesirable one for ladies while the men are absent"; "they have no idea of people's rights"; "Japanese idea of neutrality seems to be pretty much a German one; viz., active work in their favor," "suspicious and petty annoyances," "frequent summonses to police stations," etc., etc. A missionary from another station who went to Tsingtao on mission business was served on his arrival with a notice from the Police Court that he was not to go up on the Mission Hill or attempt to get into communication with the Chinese Principal of the Mission School.

The Japanese publish or control newspapers in several Chinese cities and I have in my possession translations of a considerable number of articles that have appeared in them. They teem with abuse of foreigners. "The unscrupulousness of propaganda against English speakers in China is terrifying," writes a foreign resident. The British and Americans in Shantung are blamed by the Japanese for the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods and for the protests that Chinese students in schools have made against the Shantung sections in the Treaty of Paris. No charge is too absurd to be trumpeted abroad, as, for example, the assertion that the missionaries are supplying large sums of money to Chinese to campaign against the Japanese, and that a missionary in Weihsen, in a sermon to a large congregation of Chinese, said:

"Assassinate the Japanese officers. If you require arms for assassination, the Church will lend you some and the assassin will be so rewarded that he need fear nothing for the entire remainder



THE PORT DEVELOPMENTS AT TSINGTAO  
Japan is Willing to Internationalize Everything Except the Areas Surrounded by Dotted Line

of his life. If he is arrested, the same reward will be given to the members of his family."

The following extracts from some of the Japanese owned newspapers will indicate their attitude and spirit: The *Jih Pao*, published in Tsinan-fu, says:

"The evils of democracy are that it destroys the national idea, elevates the white races and spreads the Christian religion. It is pro-American and anti-Japanese and makes men rebellious to civil or military authority. . . . Under the specious guise of democracy and equality America hopes to secure the leadership of the League of Nations. By expanding the Monroe Doctrine she strives to establish control over the continents of Europe and Asia, and in order to establish her supremacy in the Pacific she extends her power in China and Russia. She joins with England to boycott Japan and stir up trouble in China. By advocating the right of self-determination and preaching equality and fraternity she incited the Koreans to revolt. From Hawaii and the Philippines the Americans stretch out their poisonous talons to the Far East. By increasing their navy they aim at the hegemony of the Pacific as a step towards world power. They preach equality and fraternity, but

why do they ill-treat the Indians, the original owners of America, and plan their extinction? Thus do their acts belie their words. He who invents such false words to entrap all the nations of the world is the common enemy of mankind. . . . Germany, relying on military power, fiercely wished to conquer the whole world, and America, by the cunning device of democratic ideals, strives to dominate the whole world. Their objects are the same."

Another issue of the same journal vouchsafes the following information:

"Not to mention Europeans, the United States, claiming to have no idea of obtaining Asiatic territory, recklessly and violently tries to separate the two Far Eastern nations which are of the same race and same language, causing them to quarrel daily and making much dissension within their borders. Although they foster and cherish justice and righteousness and the good name of humanity, yet actually their policy is to rend asunder and to devour. They stretch every point to stir up trouble and excite suspicion between the two nations. Bah! The hidden danger of Americans! How deep and strong it is! . . . The power of Europe and America is gradually growing over the yellow race of people. We fear that there is some-

thing in the future too horrible to conceive of or imagine."

On another date, the editor tells his readers:

"They (the Americans) aim at robbing China of her sovereignty after the manner of the Germans and the Austrians. The neutralization of China's railroads, the internationalization of Tsingtao, and the secret sale of arms in Hunan are all the work of the Americans who talk loudly of peace and humanity. Who can accept such selfish foreign policy as righteous and just? . . . They are driving the Chinese to be slaves of a foreign race, while the Chinese and Japanese are brethren of the same race and speaking the same language. They advocate zealously about peace and humanity, while goading Italy to anger. They have no knowledge of the Shantung problem, and they are unreasonable in their protection of China. These short-sighted diplomats are being criticised by the whole world."

The Tsingtao *Shim Pao* argues as follows:

"All the countries of Europe and America are to-day exercising very great power and authority in China. This power is not exercised directly in the control of the country, but in the destruction of the learning and business of the land by means of their powerful weapons; namely, churches, hospitals and schools. . . . They are using every foul means to destroy the good relations between Japan and China and the friendship of Japanese and Chinese which every one well knows is so beautiful. But now a newly fomented enmity has suddenly appeared. The whole body of missionaries has stirred up and set aflame an angry Korean revolt; they have compelled the Peking students to revolt and boycott Japanese in business and social intercourse; they have spread their poison throughout China. For many years a good relationship has existed between America and Japan, and upon first hearing of this affair we thought it only a rumor. But now we know that this relation is in every way broken up, and we are compelled to hate them with a deep hatred."

The *Seitou Shimpō*, Tsingtao, holds forth to the same effect:

"It is in fact America that is boycotting Japan, using China as her tool in order to increase her own power. In order to attain this object they induce Chinese workmen in Japanese employ to strike. They purchase the goodwill of the Chinese by a little outward show of charity and then force them by threats to do their will. The flesh of these missionaries is indeed unfit to eat. To supply weapons and offer rewards for the assassination of high Japanese officials—such vile practices are a relic of the barbarous ages or the work of desperate anarchists."

In another issue, the editor continues his attack:

"Of recent years many European nations and the United States have been striving earnestly to establish their influence among the Chinese, utilizing not only political and economic agencies, but also and chiefly their efforts to civilize the country. These missionaries work under the mask of religion, but their true object is not the salvation of China

but the annexation of China. To accomplish this object they endeavor in every possible way to disrupt international relations between China and Japan."

The *North China Daily News* editorially declared May 23 that this "persistent and extremely scurrilous anti-Anglo-American campaign calls for the strongest possible protest"; that it "is calculated to stir up ill feeling amongst Japan's allies, if not actually to lead to violence"; that "recent history is grossly distorted and America is charged with robbing other nations of their lands, and it is asserted that America is a most dangerous factor in the present Far Eastern political situation."

A resident British observer adds that "the campaign against Christian missions and against Americans in general which has been allowed, and we believe abetted, by the Japanese Government, in all the Japanese newspapers throughout the past months, is an extremely serious matter. America ought to know the facts in the case. It is absolutely fatal for the peace of the world, and especially for the peace of the Orient, for Japan to enlarge her power here in China. People who have not been in China during the last three or four years cannot know how serious the situation is. Japan is worse than Germany ever was." The *North China Star* (Tientsin) observes that "an interesting feature of the case is that although the American Mission in Tsingtao is thus being hindered, the German Mission there is still allowed freedom to operate to the extent of its limited funds, and was allowed this freedom through the entire war, although the German missionaries never ceased to express in the most forceful language their pro-German sentiments."

Seventh: Morally, conditions have become distinctly worse under Japanese influence. The Chinese are far from being a moral people, but vice was never so rampant in Shantung as it is now. The social evil has a closer relation to Japanese officials than among any other people of my acquaintance. When the Japanese enter a country like China or Korea, they build houses of prostitution just as they build courthouses, post-offices and railway stations. They set aside sections for brothels, erect handsome buildings, provide them with music and electric lights, and make them as attractive as any place in the city. Nor are retired locations selected. An elaborately equipped vice district was opened last winter in Tsinan-fu opposite one of the Mission compounds. A writer in *Millard's Review* (Shanghai) declares that only about 8 per cent. of the big business done by the Japanese in Tsinan-fu is legitimate, 42 per cent. being in houses of prostitution, and the 50 per cent. balance in so-called "medicine" shops and allied "joints" is more or less under official and semi-official encouragement.

A particularly embarrassing situation has developed at Tsingtao. One of the early acts of the Japanese was to select

a spacious tract for a "red-light" quarter and to put several blocks of buildings upon it. The site chosen was close to the Presbyterian Mission compound, with its residences and schools. Respectful protests from the missionaries were politely received, but were unavailing, the officials not concealing their surprise that such objections should be made. The buildings are commodious in size, attractive in appearance, and substantial enough to indicate intentions of permanence. When they were ready for occupancy, they were filled with girls, and there was a formal opening with elaborate festivities. Invitations to this opening were sent to all the officials, prominent men, and foreigners in the city, except the American missionaries. Every night the sounds of revelry come from the open-windowed and brightly lighted houses and the tastefully laid out gardens and parkways connected with them. Sleep is often impossible in the front bedrooms of the missionary residences, and the orgy seldom dies down till the early morning hours.

Conditions substantially similar, although on a smaller scale, exist in practically every Japanese colony in Shantung. Even where the number of Japanese is very small, it includes prostitutes. At Weihai, Tsangkou, and other places in Shantung where monthly payments for the coolies in France were made to their families, Japanese prostitutes were sent in to swarm around the simple countrymen who came to receive the monthly wages. These women, ably seconded by Japanese wine shops and "medicine" shops, did a thriving business among their victims. When it is remembered that in the Weihai district alone about \$500,000 was paid out each month for the 50,000 members of these families in France, such a traffic takes on some importance.

I am sorry to write so plainly on this unpleasant subject regarding a people whom I respect and admire in many ways. Judgment of such social and economic conditions in Asia should be tempered by the reflection that the Japanese have but recently emerged from an era of ignorance regarding these subjects that western nations which have known these things much longer still have much to be ashamed of, and that increasing numbers of Japanese are earnestly trying to bring about a better state of affairs. I am glad to know that many lament the virtual partnership of their authorities with the social evil, and would gladly see it dissolved and the vice banished. One of the ways in which the friendly foreigner can help these high-minded Japanese to bring about better conditions is to make it





THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING AT TSINGTAO

*Published under license*

This Pretentious Structure, Formerly the Seat of the German Administrative Authorities, Now Flies the Japanese Flag and Houses the Various Staffs Which Direct Japan's Present Activities in Shantung



THE GRAND CANAL AT TSINAN-FU, SHANTUNG

This Commercial Highway, Over a Thousand Miles Long, is Still One of the Most Important Arteries of Chinese Trade, but Many Stretches Are in Despair Through the Neglect of Government Officials

clear that the public opinion of civilized mankind condemns the social evil and that those who indulge in it lose both their own character and the respect of the world.

The morphine evil presents another serious question. The world followed with admiration the splendid effort which the Chinese made to extirpate the opium vice—the curse of China. Unhappily, as the use of opium decreased, the use of its alkaloid, morphine, increased. The Chinese Government discerned the danger, and imposed a tax that was intended to be prohibitive, and was so, as far as legitimate trade was concerned. Nevertheless, morphine is sold in constantly growing quantities. The Chinese authorities are not ignorant of this evasion of the law, but their difficulties are great. If smugglers only had to be dealt with, the injury would be comparatively small, for the drug would not be common enough to be accessible except to the most confirmed and determined morphine fiends. Chinese dealers, too, can be and usually are severely punished. The mischief is done by foreigners, chiefly Japanese. Dr. Wu Lien-teh publicly stated at a meeting in Peking that no less than eighteen tons of morphine are now being sent to China annually. As one ounce will, so a physician informs me, provide one thousand doses, one can imagine the resultant havoc. What becomes of all this morphine? Let any one go into the villages of Shantung, Manchuria and other parts of China and he will quickly learn. He will find hundreds of Japanese peddlers selling it to the natives under various labels: "White powder," "soothing stuff," "dreamland elixir," and in some instances the real name—morphine. Most of it comes in through the post-office. Several foreign governments, including Japan, maintain their own post-offices in China. The Chinese authorities have no control over their mail and merchandise, unless a letter or package is remailed at a native office. A Japanese trader can therefore send morphine through any of the numerous Japanese post-offices. The Chinese magistrates are helpless, as they dare not interfere with the Japanese. An investigation by a well-known newspaper correspondent led him to believe that in nine months of 1918 the Japanese Government at Tsingtao received, as a "rake-off" for allowing large quantities of opium to come into Shantung via the port of Tsingtao, some eight million dollars (\$8,000,000). This was not the price of the drug, only the bonus for passing it through. That "rake-off" is said to have been used, in part, to push Tsingtao improvements, which presumably will form a part of

the claim upon China in the negotiations regarding withdrawal. A vigilance committee of foreigners in Chefoo found that eight out of twelve Japanese drug stores visited were selling quantities of morphine. The *Tientsin Times* published a blacklist of such shops in various cities, the list for Tsinan-fu being ominously long. An eminent English physician of that city writes:

"I know the wholesale debauchery of the Chinese that is going on at our very doors in morphia shops and houses of ill-fame opened and run by the Japanese. Since their seizure of Tsingtao they have been transporting literally tens of thousands of cases of morphia into China through this port, all of them labelled 'Government Stores.' These are received and distributed by Japanese agents, with the results that hundreds and thousands of Japanese 'drug shops' and peddlers are taking this cursed drug all over the country. Had I not definite evidence of what I write, I would not dream of passing on such a charge. But it is proved up to the hilt. In order to make quite sure that things were as reported, we have sent out our own confidential agent to the various Japanese drug shops in this city, and he actually purchased packets of morphia in no less than ninety-four of them. And this is but one centre of many. The methods in which this morphia is being used are even more sinister. Every one of these drug shops and most of these morphia peddlers possess one or more hypodermic syringes, and for the matter of a few cash the poor Chinaman gets an injection. Only two days ago I heard of one shop where for the first few times the injections are given free. Then, when the victim has got the craving, up goes the price at once."

It will be noted that the facts presented in this article are, to some extent at least, independent of the question whether Japan retains the German concessions which were assigned to her in the treaty of Paris. In any event, the fact remains that the Japanese are actually in Shantung in such numbers, in such relations, acquiring such interests in various parts of the Province, buying up so many of the German properties, and manifesting such intent of remaining permanently, as to make it certain that the Japanese problem will be acute in Shantung for a long period to come.

However, from the viewpoint of this article, the essential question now is not what recognition of sovereignty may be conceded, but what the Japanese are actually doing. We should frankly recognize the fact that the question whether myriads of Japanese should settle in Shantung with or without rights of sovereignty has a large background which is apt to be overlooked. Two features of this background are particularly important. The first is Japan's necessity for expansion. It is easy for the United States, which possesses an enormous and

only partially developed territory, and for other white nations which control so large a part of the habitable globe, including important parts of China which they apparently intend to keep—easy, I say, for them to talk virtuously about the sin of expansion to a vigorous and growing people like the Japanese, who are hemmed into a small territory, only about one-eighth of which is susceptible of cultivation, which cannot possibly produce enough food for her people, and which forces a policy of expansion. So we have no quarrel with the Japanese in seeking expansion. But where? North America says: "We do not want you." When the Japanese attempt to colonize South America, the United States remarks: "Remember the Monroe Doctrine, please." Australia says: "Keep away from us." Where is Japan to go?

In these circumstances, it is inevitable that there should be a great influx of Japanese into Shantung and other parts of China, and white men, who claim and exercise the right to settle and trade in any country they please, cannot consistently object. But we can and we do ask that the Japanese show due regard to the rights of the Chinese, be just and fair to a sister people in a trying period of transition and readjustment, refrain from taking improper advantage of proximity and superior power, and strengthen rather than weaken the moral forces of the country. I know that there are Japanese of high character and humane impulses—as progressive, intelligent and conscientious as the men of any nation. They do not defend the iniquities that are being perpetrated by their unscrupulous countrymen in China. I do not therefore arraign the whole Japanese people, any more than I would want them to arraign all the people of the United States for the gross wrongs that have been committed by some of our own countrymen—the reckless adventurers who have disgraced America in several lands, the unscrupulous "carpet baggers" who flocked into the Southern States after our Civil War, the predatory hordes who swindled the Indians, and the mobs who to-day attack Asiatics and lynch negroes. Every nation knows the evil brood, and decent men in every nation should unite in exposing and denouncing them wherever they are. Japan can secure all that she really needs and ought to have in China by righteous and honorable means, and her friends in other lands should help her best men to rid their country of the type of Prussianized militarists and conscienceless traffickers who are now oppressing and debauching the helpless Chinese. They are Japan's as well as China's worst enemies.

# KOREA ASSERTS HERSELF

By MARJORIE BARSTOW and SYDNEY GREENBIE

**F**EW governments have done more for a country than have the Japanese for Korea, nor made the inhabitants so thoroughly unhappy in the process. All the energy and optimism of colonial success pervades the air of the peninsula, the minute one steps over the border from China—but these brilliant qualities are wholly Japanese, not native. There is, in the Japanese settlements, the brag, the swagger, the spaciousness, efficiency, and comfort of the successful young cities of our own Far West, combined with a naivete in progress and an Oriental ingenuity that have an interest and quaintness all their own. The Japanese have a free hand in Korea, and may there do boldly and sweepingly—and ruthlessly—what respect for the customs and prejudices of their own people force them to do slowly and timidly at home. One advantage of being an imperial power is that one does not have to spare the feelings of the conquered—and the Japanese don't. If there were no Koreans in Korea one would enjoy the spectacle of this almost boyish spirit of progress—and give thanks for hotels and railroads of a quality rare in Asia. One would smile in sympathy with the enthusiasm of every Japanese face on the street which seems to say, "See what a fine new toy we have found!" But, alas! there are always the Koreans—and they are another story.

Initiation into Japanese Korea by way of Manchuria begins with the little railroad restaurant on the border. It is a good little restaurant, clean and cozy, and the buxom, shuffling Japanese misses who wait on you are smiling and polite. "Blessings on modern Japan!" you think. But where are the Koreans? Are the Japanese—English-speaking Japanese at that—the only inhabitants of Korea?

Presently the Koreans begin to emerge. You are gliding through a lovely land, preternaturally fresh and green, under warm mists of rain, sweeping away in low jagged outlines of hills veiled in blue. All along the line are neat little railroad stations beside which are piled great heaps of lumber and produce in boxes and bales. After the enterprising restaurant, this does not come unexpectedly and is another sign of the lively development of the country. When the train stops, crowds of Koreans gather to look at it with apathetic eyes—men in tight trousers and

coats and tall black hats that make them look quite deacon-like, and women with full skirts and tight little jackets, with a display of bare waistlines beneath the breasts. They are dull and hopeless-looking. Somehow they seem to have been left out of the promising enterprise which has invaded their country.

You come at last to Seoul, a great and splendid city held in the hollow of mountains as in a great cup, and find yourself in a hotel such as the wanderer in Asia dreams of but never expects to see. It is the freshest, daintiest, most efficient bit of hostelry in the Far East, provided with bathrooms that are the acme of tiled and nickelled cleanliness and comfort, and with a complete little cinema house all its own. At first sight everything in Seoul seems to be of a similar character—such wide paved avenues, such great bank buildings and post-offices, such hospitals and schools. But, when you look again, it all seems an external, an alien thing, like a false face of rosy youth on a dying man. For behind the fine new buildings stands the imperial city, ancient, sombre, majestic. There are the great red buildings of the old palaces, with massive curled roofs and mighty columns carved and painted in many colors, and open galleries and pillared halls and water-gardens—now dusty and fallen into decay; for the heir of the imperial family has been removed by his tender and loving guardians, the Japanese, to a fine new building that looks like the palace of a soap king on Riverside Drive. Behind the city, the road by which the tribute caravans were wont to make their way to Peking disappears over the mountain. Around the palaces of the old, and the avenues and bank buildings and post-offices of the usurping imperialism, are the clustering masses of little conical mud-houses, like ant-heaps—surely the poorest and meanest of human habitations. These are pierced by narrow alleys, filthy with sewage, in which play the little children of Korea. There are millions of these little places, it seems, and the people who live in them are an humble and brow-beaten lot, brow-beaten now most surely, but perhaps not for the first time in their history. The life of those great red imperial buildings was sucked from these simple souls who lived as the beasts that perish, and the tribute caravans that went over the mountain road to

Peking bore away the earnings of the sweat of their brows. The Japanese insist that with the coming of so many new industries to Korea the coolie class has distinctly profited and many a poor man is now beginning to put away a little money. Perhaps this is so. Certainly there are many signs of prosperity in Korean life. The people who really suffer under foreign rule are not the very poor, who hitherto have suffered under any rule, but the intelligent upper and middle classes who have hitherto enjoyed the sentiment of independence and authority. Perhaps an imperialism which expresses itself in roads and post-offices and sericulture is an improvement—other things being equal—over one which revels only in carved columns and tribute caravans. But other things are not equal. There was a good deal of personal benevolence mingled with the social stupidity of the old regime; and the greater social usefulness of the present rule is more than nullified by a personal attitude on the part of the Japanese that is tactless and cruel in the extreme.

The international world is full of tragedy mixed with false history; that is, nations, having made mistakes, continue making more of them to cover up their past errors. But if this war has added to the list of world crimes, it has at least made us conscious of them. And no country stands as a better example of international injustice than does Korea. It will do us no good whatever to weep over Armenia and Belgium if we are not as sympathetic over every other mistreated country in the world.

The history of Korea extends back some four thousand years. She has a civilization as great as China's in many ways, and greater than Japan's in most. Yet her soil has been invaded three times by her island neighbor. Three hundred years ago, the army sent by Hideyoshi, the great Japanese general, to conquer China, brought back from Korea so many hundred thousand ears and noses that to this very day there is in Kyoto, Japan, a tremendous mound in which they were buried.

Korea became a nation among modern nations at about the same time Japan did, but since then she has seen two bloody battles on her soil between her three neighbors—Russia, China and Japan—and she has been torn hither and thither amidst their squabbles.

Shortly after the Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese Minister plotted with the Korean Tai-won-kun and accomplished the murder of the Korean Queen. Japan was aiming then at complete control over Korea, but, because of the influence of the Powers, was compelled to withhold. But after the war with Russia, Japan set out definitely on a policy which could lead to nothing but annexation. She disbanded Korea's army, she waxed increasingly solicitous after Korean reform, she forced upon Korea her financial advisers, she "induced" Korea to turn all diplomatic affairs over for her to handle, she established a Japanese Resident General, and in 1910

there seems to be ample proof that the conqueror-governor has been even less able to do so.

With Korea now completely under her thumb, Japan had the opportunity to carry out her scheme of annexation and development which has made of the country a shining example, on the one hand, of material prosperity, and of the people, on the other hand, a tragic example of individual and collective martyrdom.

Cheap labor made it possible for Japan to convert certain cities and ports in Korea into remarkable spots. The advantage of the victor, the restriction of foreign competition, all go toward

most pathetic sights in Seoul are the groups of men, women and children, with their little possessions, waiting at the by-stations for trains for the outer world. There are over 300,000 Japanese in Korea today.

From a letter from an American now in China, a man influential in political and commercial affairs, we read:

"Another form of persecution which the Japanese are practicing on the Koreans will, I am sure, startle the world. No rich Korean is permitted to spend his money except on the permission of the Japanese authorities. The Japanese Government has placed in the household of every rich Korean a Japanese officer in the capacity of a butler and cashier, who has the entire run of the house, passing on all the expenses, and no Korean can spend any of his money without the O. K. of this Japanese butler upon it. I state this on the authority of the American Consul here at Seoul, who told me that an American firm here has been trying to sell automobiles to the rich Koreans, who want to buy them, but that the Japanese officials will not permit such purchases to be made. I afterward confirmed this from the American firm located here. In addition to this the Japanese authorities are hampering the American business men in every way possible."

The Koreans haven't the shadow of a fair chance against subsidized Japanese concerns, governmental and individual. Japan guaranteed the Open Door to all foreigners, but as soon as she annexed Korea she shut the doors to all foreigners for eighteen months. That was enough to entrench the Japanese and practically keep all others out. And now everything in Korea is "Government."

Industrial progress in Japan has done away with cheap labor, but it has increased its demand. The supply is found in Korea. And this makes clear the mystery of Japan's marvelous enterprise on the continent. Seventy-five per cent of all of Korea's import and export trade is carried on through Japanese hands.

The Japanese take good care to advertise various improvements in Korean life. In Seoul there is a great display hall which houses a graphic representation of Korea rejuvenated, showing highways substituted for muddy lanes, over which little brown-clad postmen are bearing the mail to every hamlet, and Koreans are jogging along in their wooden carts bringing to far away markets the products that hitherto they could sell only in their own villages. The main carrying trade, however, is now almost wholly in the hands of the Japanese. Japan must indeed be given great credit for the improvement of the industrial conditions of Korea, improvement of postal and telephone service,



WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN A DEVASTATED DISTRICT

The Forlorn Expression on the Faces of These Parents Reveals the Hopeless Mood in Which They Are Returning to Their Wrecked Homes

boldly annexed Korea without the Koreans having a word to say in the matter. America, who still had a perfectly good treaty with Korea, saw fit to forget it—and thus ended the national life of Korea. Yet up to the very day of annexation, Japan was still implying that she intended to return Korea to the Koreans as soon as they could maintain a stable government.

The plea of the modern conqueror is always that the conquered does not know how to govern itself. That was the plea in Korea. Had Korea really governed itself, in the militaristic sense, it would have created friction, and the next plea of the conqueror would have been that he was forced on by the aggressiveness of the conquered. If a country tries to remain at peace, the belligerent attacks. So it was between Japan and Korea. Whether there is any truth in the contention that Korea was unable to govern itself or not—

building up the conquered territory.

The record of Japanese government and private concerns and of individuals is not one of which they can be altogether proud. There have, of course, been many cases in which individual Koreans have been treated with fairness and decency, but these cannot mitigate the injustices which have been heaped upon others. The Japanese have established brotherhood before churches and homes so as to drive out the offended sensitive owners. The Oriental Development Company has bought up the top-most rice patch, cut off the water from the fields below, and thus forced the owners to sell at the price offered. Though Japan is keeping Koreans out of her own islands—where, when they do come, there is conflict between them and the native laborers—there has been a steady invasion of Korea by Japanese, and a similar exodus of Koreans into Manchuria and Siberia. Among the



railroads, encouragement of farming, afforestation, tramways, electric light works, harbor and water works. But, as well advertised as this may be, neither foreigners nor Japanese who have been to Korea are prone to allow themselves too much enthusiasm in praise of the administration.

Korea has indeed been modernized since the Japanese assumed control. Japan has set to work organizing a judicial system, codifying the laws, and eliminating abuses. But these reforms seem to do amazingly little to eliminate discontent among the Koreans.

On the questions of individual rights of Koreans, free speech and assembly are denied to Koreans (except religious, and when special permission has been secured from the police); property rights are insecure; representation is unknown, except in that there are Japanese officials in the Diet who represent Korea. A person arrested is assumed guilty until proved innocent, and it is up to the victim to prove himself so; no bail is allowed, no writ of habeas corpus; and the prisoner is detained almost indefinitely without the right to see relative, friend or lawyer. If acquitted, the announcement is made, "He proved his innocence," but prior to such acquittal he is always referred to as a guilty man. The police have the right to enter and search any Korean home, though that is explicitly guaranteed against under the Japanese Constitution.

The Japanese also lay claim to an improved educational system. But Korean children are educated as members of an inferior caste who must be taught to be useful and docile. They begin by unlearning their own language and learning the new national language, i. e., Japanese. They are then given a good grounding in elementary studies and turned as quickly as possible into industrial and commercial courses, whereas Japanese boys are expected to go on to general courses in "higher education." In Fusan, for example, the school that follows the primary schools for the Japanese is a middle school leading to a higher; for the Koreans, there is a commercial and industrial school which is supposed to end their education. One of the special holds the missionaries have upon the Korean pupils is their interest in educating them as far as possible. The Japanese have instituted militaristic methods into the educational system for Korea. The major part of the educational work in Korea is for the benefit of Japanese children there, though Japan has extended the public school system. All history is written and taught from the Japanese point of view, Korean history being eclipsed, and that which shows from behind the rising sun is not



NOT A GARDEN WALL BUT KOREAN SHOPS WITH SHUTTERS UP  
The Koreans Went on a Shopkeepers' Strike During the Recent Demonstration and Sealed Their Stores to Prevent Looting

much to the credit of Korea. Korean students, 600 of whom are in Tokyo, are not permitted to go abroad for study, except to Japan. Those students who are in America and elsewhere generally have escaped by way of China and Siberia. Passports are hard to obtain from the Japanese for travel abroad.

The Japanese Consulate at Shanghai discovered four Korean girl students, aged 13 to 19, belonging to respectable families at Pingyang, were trying to get passage to America. They were stopped by the Japanese authorities and brought to Japan, then sent home.

On the other hand, Japan has done everything it seems possible for a conqueror to do to tread upon the spirit and sentiments of the Koreans. Aside from the prohibition of the use of their own language, the Japanese, when they took over Korea, made a pile of her historical documents and destroyed them.

The Japanese are taking it upon themselves to invent even ethnological fact. In imitation of England, they are trying to make it appear to Koreans that Japan is their mother country, as England was to America, and invariably speak of it in that manner.



SMILING AMIDST THE RUINS OF HIS NATIVE VILLAGE  
Nineteen Hamlets Were Burned in One District, Leaving Two Hundred Families Homeless

So continuous is this disregard of the people that the Koreans say that all the thrift and industry they gained is little worth to them. "Progress is proved by a series of so-called statistics, most of which have nothing to do with our welfare," says a Korean manifesto, issued here. Now galling it must be to educated Koreans to have the Japanese Government offer 10 yen from the Imperial Donation funds for Koreans "regarded as dutiful sons, virtuous wives, or as persons whose behavior made them models for their fellow villagers," on the other hand, prohibiting them from cutting trees even on their own lands without permission from the government. Japanese rule is still more irritating when it attempts to introduce Shintoism—Ancestor and Emperor worship—into Korea, and prevents them from expressing their political opinions.

Strange as it may seem, in the light of the foregoing, Japanese not about attempting to absorb the Koreans by encouraging intermarriage. The policy of assimilation has been pursued most diligently. To begin with, the Korean Prince Yi was betrothed to the Princess Mako, daughter of the Japanese Prince Nashimoto. After receiving Imperial sanction, the wedding was set for January 25th last, and was to take place in Tokyo. The announcement was made two years ago, and following in its wake there were many Korean-Japanese marriages. So diligently was this pressed that it is now admitted that the policy

of assimilation is at the bottom of much of the present trouble in Korea. And it is known that the ex-Emperor of Korea died rather mysteriously just a couple of days before the marriage of his son was to take place, and that on the same day the father of the girl, who was the desired bride, committed suicide. Rumor has it that the ex-Emperor also committed suicide.

The whole of Japan was appalled at this incident. All the preparations for the marriage were, of course, set aside—and something else seemed to have been suddenly stopped. Japan looked mystified. The 3rd of March was designated as a day of mourning in all Japan for the demise of the former Emperor of Korea. The schools were to be closed. They remained open, however, and things went on pretty much as usual. But then, a few days later, reports began to flood into the Empire of the riots and insurrection in Korea. And the world now has pretty much of the truth. In Japan the truth was suppressed as much as possible. It could not issue from Korea. Whatever got through had been smuggled out of the suffering country. The Japan Chronicle, the leading foreign journal in the Far East, published a leader on the "Nervousness About Korea" and was forthwith suppressed. It had orders from the authorities not to publish anything unauthorized. But all this suppression notwithstanding, there is before the world to-day a mass of material which

no Japanese, however clever, can deny. We wish they could.

For in Korea, one of the most interesting revolutions in history was demonstrating the stupidity hitherto latent in the Japanese rule. The substantial material benefits that Japan conferred on Korea were entirely outweighed by a studied course of personal humiliation. It is difficult to understand why the Japanese ever did some of the things that they did—why, for reasons of pure common sense, they could not have avoided actions that led to no practical good in subjugating the Koreans and would inevitably goad any people with a spark of pride to revolution. There was, for instance, the spy system. Some sort of spy system is, no doubt, necessary in a conquered country, but it works best when it works in the dark and is as inconspicuous as possible. But Japanese spies and detectives apparently existed not for the purpose of smelling out a revolution—they never really got the plans of the revolution of March—but of being as disagreeable as possible to every one who crossed their path. Swanking, suspicious gendarmes, and pompous detectives were always ready to hold you up at any corner and announce, "Sir, I am a detective; how old are you?" What purpose could any system so childish serve except to keep the idea of revolution constantly before an exasperated population?

Similarly, it might be to the advantage of the conqueror to have the con-



KOREANS ARE EXCEEDINGLY DIGNIFIED, EVEN AS REFUGEES RECEIVING RICE

With Soldiers Watching Them at Every Turn They Now Pay the Penalty for Their Outburst of Patriotism

quered learn his language. The Koreans are such natural linguists that they would all have learned Japanese, anyway, had their Japanese neighbors been fairly friendly. But the most disagreeable, suspicious, tactless method of suppressing Korean speech was adopted—which more or less put a premium upon the native language and made men delight to cultivate it in secret. Since every man talks and likes to talk in his own language, no surer way of stirring resentment in every single heart could have been devised.

The cause of the revolution was perhaps not half so much a sense of great national wrongs—this inspired mainly the educated and the philosophic—but the cumulative effect of the personal irritations of every single man against individual Japanese officials who made themselves as unpleasant as possible. The Koreans are a kindly, somewhat passive, dignified people, with a strong sense of personal integrity, who can be coaxed far, but cannot be driven. Decent personal treatment would have gone a long way toward reconciling a people, at once indolent and intelligent, to a really progressive foreign government.

Meanwhile, the Koreans found in an alien institution comfort and strong support for their wounded personal dignity and idealism. The Christian Church—in a simple Protestant form that appealed to their rationalistic disposition—appeared among them. Its chief merit, perhaps, was that it was not supported by the Japanese—while Buddhism and Shintoism were. But it had other merits, too.

To people denied access to the world, imprisoned by hated conquerors, it gave a contact with great far away nations, who seemed to have far kinder ideals than the Japanese, and set every man to dreaming of Utopia. It brought the Koreans disinterested foreign friends, who seemed powerful in their eyes. It gave them a form of social organization, warm with the sense of brotherhood and devotion to common ideals, under foreign protection. So the churches were much more than religious bodies; they were rallying points for nationalistic feeling, and many enlisted under their general leadership without being really Christian at all. The Christians happened to have what the revolutionary cause always needs. They became secret societies of the faithful—and much of the habit of group action and social solidarity that made possible a great concerted movement like that of the revolution of March was learned among them. The churches were little political training schools.

So it came to pass that Christian pas-

sors largely organized the revolution, drawing Buddhists, Heaven worshippers and Confucianists together under their leadership; and the whole plan had a loftiness and sober dignity of thought and speech, in which some fine old strain of Confucianism mingled with rich and fervent Biblical phraseology. It was one of the most remarkable revolutions in history—and one which might well put any Christian nation to shame. The instructions issued should be immortal in the annals of revolt:

"1. This work of ours is in behalf of truth, justice, and life and is undertaken at the request of our people to make known their desire for liberty. Let there be no violence.

"2. Let those who follow us show every hour this same spirit of gladness.

"3. Let all things be done with singleness of purpose to the end that our behavior may be honorable and upright."

In the fine spirit of this manifesto, the revolution was begun on March 1, in a great orderly demonstration by the people simultaneously all over the empire, of their desire for freedom. There were no attacks on Japanese property or persons—simply a cessation of labor, and a gathering of the people for orderly demonstration under the catchword "Mansel." The Koreans, en masse, did not even try to retaliate when the Japanese attacked them. They used neither clubs nor weapons of any sort. And it was against people like these—against this pathetic dignity and high-mindedness in revolt, that the Japanese retaliated with atrocities that rival those of Belgium and Armenia.

There are pictures available which could be published herewith, but they don't bear printing. Though in themselves not proof positive of cruelties practiced on the Koreans by the Japanese soldiers and police, they are horrible beyond measure. A court might question whether they were inflicted justly or unjustly, but in themselves they show that the methods resorted to by the Japanese were beyond all possible justification. What the Japanese would have to answer in an international court would be: Who was the man (in the photograph) so cut up with saber wounds as to be almost unrecognizable? What had he done to deserve this? Were a dozen wounds, indiscriminately cut, necessary to subdue him? In several other pictures which were given us by trustworthy people, but which we cannot use, men's bodies are shown to have been flogged so severely as to have wounds like shell-holes in the flesh. We have it on the best of authority that thirty-five men (Christian and others) were invited into a small building for conference. They were leaders of the revolution. As soon

as they were in the building, soldiers stationed at the windows picked them off with their rifles and, when they attempted to escape, sabered them. Then the soldiers set fire to the structure and razed it to the ground. The list of authentic cases of sheer inhuman cruelty—which to one who knows the Japanese somewhat intimately seem almost incredible—covering nearly a hundred printed pages, and issued by Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America—is simply heartrending. It contains thirty-four exhibits, each of which is horrible. Tales from the war in Europe are modern and painless; these from Korea are reminders of the Spanish Inquisition.

A pitiful example of the methods employed by the Japanese to gain their ends is afforded by the following tragic story.

"On March 27th, at about 9 P. M., a large body of young men gathered at Andong, Seoul, and shouted "Mansel." The shouting had continued for a few minutes when a large force of police gendarmes and soldiers arrived and dispersed them. The above-named young man, like the others, was peacefully going home and alone, was walking along a small street, when suddenly some one pushed him violently in the back, causing him to stumble and fall. His assailant was a policeman who had seen him in the crowd and followed him to the place where he thought fit to make the attack. After throwing him to the ground the policeman drew his sword and literally hacked at him "like a woodsman would attack a rough old oak." His skull was cut right through so that the brain was visible. This had been accomplished by at least three sword cuts falling in or near the same place. His hands were terribly cut, his left wrist was also cut through to the bone. Those who saw the corpse stated that there were twenty sword cuts, but the photograph only reveals ten."

The number of deaths so far is estimated at about 1,000, while those in prison number about 6,000. The people have not one rifle or sword among them. They are quite at the mercy of the Japanese who can use them as they please.

On behalf of some of the Japanese, we are glad to see that the papers and some individuals have raised their voices against this—however academic and equivocal they generally are. Several of the newspapers assailed the existing government, declaring that the practices hitherto adopted must cease, and Korea must be given some form of local autonomy. Among these are some of the big newspapers; among the individuals



#### HOW PUNISHMENT WAS METED OUT BY THE JAPANESE TO ONE KOREAN FAMILY

The Heap of Brushwood and Rubbish Represents All That Was Left of a Prosperous Farm Dwelling. The Earthen Pots and Kettles Comprise the Stock of Kitchen Utensils, the Only Things Not Destroyed in the Conflagration.

we notice Viscount Kato, former Foreign Minister and leader of the Ken-seikai. Military rule in Korea, they urge, will never win the Koreans.

Many, however, are inclined to treat the whole movement with scorn—as though it were a thing unnatural. It originated abroad, they urge. It is known that the statement of President Wilson to the effect that if Korea rebelled she might get a hearing at the Peace Conference, stimulated the Koreans to act as they did.

Again we say, no objection whatever could be raised against Japan's occupancy, provided Japan concerned herself with the welfare of the Koreans and Korea, and not of the few Japanese who are making their profit out of it. Japan can gain more from a strong, self-reliant, friendly Korea than from a diseased possession. Japanese deny that the revolutionary movement was national in its scope—as though saying that it was merely instigated by agitators and assumed by meek, submissive, misguided, misled and blackmailed Koreans proves anything, or solves anything. Rather should the Japanese wish to feel that so thorough has been their reform and rule in Korea that in the past ten years the spirit of national unity has been fostered and encouraged among the peo-

ple. Any nation which pretends to enter another country in order to establish order should see to it that nationalistic tendencies materialize as soon as possible. That it was not a nationalistic movement only reflects upon the protectorate over the disorganized, effete Korea which the Japanese pretend to have taken to heart seriously enough to invade and occupy.

The hand of Japan's government has been forced. Premier Hara, realizing that Japan is shamed before the whole civilized world, has issued a statement to the Commission on Relations with the Orient, which we are glad to reproduce:

"I desire to assure you that the report of abuses committed by agents of the Japanese Government in Korea has been engaging my most serious attention. I am fully prepared to look squarely at actual facts. As I have declared on various occasions, the regime of administration inaugurated in Korea at the time of the annexation, nearly ten years ago, calls for substantial modification to meet the altered conditions of things. Ever since the formation of the present Cabinet, in September last, I have been occupied in working out the scheme of needed administrative reforms in Korea. A comprehensive plan of reorganization with this object in view has already been on the tapis. For obvious reasons it has not been possible to proceed at once to its formal adoption in the presence of the disturbances

which have unfortunately broken out in various parts of the peninsula.

"In view, however, of the recent improvement in the situation, the contemplated reform can now be, in my estimation, safely introduced, and will be carried into effect as soon as the legal requirements of procedure to make them definitive shall have been completed. Announcement of the plan in a more complete form shall be withheld for the present, but I trust that the fixed determination with which my colleagues and I have been endeavoring to promote the lasting welfare of our Korean kinsmen and to insure a distinct betterment of conditions in the country will not be misunderstood or misconstrued."

Japan has certainly done much in Korea which is commendable. But if we are to overlook all considerations of justice and humanity simply because of this, it would lead one who knows the unwholesome conditions prevailing in Japan to believe that the logical thing would be for some paternalistic power to go there and clean it up in the same efficient manner.

The defect of the Japanese system is just this efficiency—a failure to recognize the part that love and stubborn idealism play in the making of human history and their power to wreck in moments of national emotion the best laid plans of sheer materialism.

# JAPAN AS OUR ALLY IN SIBERIA

By DAVID P. BARROWS

THE opening of the war found Japan predominant in Southern Manchuria. By her victory over Russia in 1905 she compelled the surrender of the Liaotung peninsula with its ports of Dalny (Dairen) and Port Arthur and lease of the Manchurian railway as far north as the city of Chang Chun. Furthermore, Japan possessed the railroad from Mukden south-east to the Korean frontier at Antung and, by a close understanding with Russia, had secured mutual support of their respective interests in southern and northern Manchuria. While ostensibly recognizing the sovereignty of China over Manchurian territory, Japan had excluded foreign participation in railroad building or mineral exploitation of the region, had defeated the concession for an American railroad to be built through western Manchuria to Aigun on the Amur River and had blocked Secretary Knox's proposal for the neutralization of the Manchurian and Chinese railroads in 1910. By possession of the port of Dalny and by control of the railroad rates and service, she had reduced or destroyed the trade of other foreign nations. The United States possessed the major portion of Manchurian trade previous to 1905, particularly the trade in cotton goods. But long before the outbreak of the great war this American cloth trade had been practically destroyed.

The outbreak of the war found Japanese advance to the north checked only by the Russian Empire and by the Japan-Russian agreement which recognized the predominance of each country in its special Manchurian sphere. The Chinese Eastern Railroad, which crosses northern Manchuria from east to west and has a southern branch extending southward from Harbin to Chang Chun, had developed in Russian hands into a great agency of Manchurian colonization. The railroad center of Harbin had grown in fifteen years from a Chinese hamlet into a great city of mixed population and perhaps a quarter million souls. More than this, the Russian military establishment in Siberia had advanced in the ten years between 1904 and 1914 until it again overshadowed Japan and threatened to become a menace to her hold on the Asiatic continent. To the well-nigh impregnable harbor and naval base of Vladivostok, there was added an impressive military establishment throughout Russian Siberia and

Manchuria. No one can survey the incomplete fortifications and barracks of Vladivostok, the great army posts at Nikolsk-Ussurisk, Spasskoye, Habarovsk, Chita or Verkhne Udinsk and the vast military provisions of the Russian government in Siberia without realizing that had Russia remained under the old regime and held to the imperial traditions which so long controlled her foreign policy, the time would shortly have come when Japanese rights and possessions on the Asiatic mainland would have been most seriously threatened by Russian power.

The great war involved and eventually destroyed the entire military strength of Russia. The Revolution of October, 1917, and resulting Bolshevism relieved Japan from a struggle which would have strained her resources to the uttermost.

These occurrences opened the way to Japan for the introduction of a new and friendly policy which might have healed Russian animosity, assured China of the actual friendliness of Japan, cemented friendly bonds of all the nations in the Orient, restored violated rights, and definitely placed Japan at the head of all nations in the pursuance of a just and enlightened Far Eastern policy. Japanese statesmanship, however, did not rise to this view of the situation, but apparently saw in the war an opportunity, while other nations were completely involved, to employ all possible means to obtain for herself a position of special privilege and advantage.

In the group of proposals concerning Manchuria and Mongolia, Japan demanded an extension of all leaseholds of territory and railroad rights so that, with one exception, they will outlast the century, and a relinquishment by China of rights previously possessed to repurchase these properties from the actual possessor. Japan also demanded the rights of leasing land, of residence, travel, opening of mines, as well as priority over other nations in any financing or building of railways. Political, financial or military advisers or instructors for this region were not to be secured by China without Japan being first consulted. Japan also demanded that the Chinese government cede for the period of ninety-nine years the control and management of the Kirin—Chang Chun railway. The secretly conducted negotiations of these demands which finally culminated in the Jap-

anese ultimatum of May 7, 1915, did not secure for Japan quite all at first required. The language was modified so as seemingly to leave China still free to dispose of her rights as circumstances might make most advantageous to her. But, as a matter of fact, Japan's position was made impregnable as against the intrusion of any other foreign power.

The Chang Chun-Kirin railway, which the treaty as finally signed requires China to refinance, at an early date, promises to add a new and important extension to the Manchurian railways under Japanese control. This line leaves Chang Chun, the terminus of the Japanese owned Manchurian railway, and leads easterly to the Chinese city of Kirin, the capital of the Manchurian province of the same name. It is well known that the Japanese have long been interested in a line which shall continue easterly from Kirin through the hilly country that borders Manchuria and Korea and lead to a Korean port on the Chinese Sea. Such a railroad would greatly strengthen Japanese hold upon northern Manchuria, and afford her direct access from a port south of Vladivostok into the very heart of the Manchurian country.

Japan's next steps to protect her privileged position were sought through confirmatory agreements with the European nations. This was accomplished, it is believed, by secret treaties with Great Britain and France in 1915, and with Russia in July, 1916. The position of Japan was still further strengthened by the Ishii-Lansing agreement of 1917. The considerations which obliged England, France, Russia and the United States to make these concessions have not been disclosed. Was it a more active participation in the war, or a commitment by Japan to forego peace with the Central Powers until the war should end? The reasons which compelled our State Department, at a moment when the nation had definitely committed itself to military preparation and had mobilized one million and a half men, to yield what, in the days of extreme military weakness, it had never seemed necessary to concede, requires an explanation, which the government at Washington has not made.

The overthrow of the imperial government of Russia and the weakness produced by the revolution greatly enlarged Japan's opportunities and the



FOLLOWING THE "RISING SUN" INTO VLADIVOSTOK

The American-Japanese Negotiations Called for Eight Thousand Troops from Each Nation, but Japan Sent Seventy-Two Thousand

apparent purpose of her statement. These purposes were no longer confined to establishing interests in southern Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. She now saw before her the possibility of acquiring a comparably privileged position in the vast area comprised within northern Manchuria, Outer Mongolia and eastern Siberia. If the Russian state was on the eve of disintegration into a number of independent and revolutionary governments, this was Japan's opportunity to realize a prodigious aggrandizement; to secure eastern Siberia and to succeed to the Russian position in northern Manchuria and Mongolia. She might at least take advantage of the disintegration of Russia to foster a separate Siberian movement and bring the government of this remote region into dependence upon her. The few millions of Russian residents in Siberia or the few hundred thousands living east of Lake Baikal, if detached and erected into a separate east Siberian state, would be able to oppose little resistance to the powerful and highly organized Japanese Empire. This, it seems pretty clear, has been a part of the Japanese aim, and a narration of certain acts of Japan during the last two years would appear to disclose such a policy and justify its imputation.

The possibilities and the general attractiveness of the area in question have been underestimated in America. Northern Manchuria between the Korean Mountains on the east and the Great Hingan Range on the west, which may be taken as the physical boundary

between Manchuria and Mongolia, is an enormous and fertile plain. It is the valley of the Sungari River, and is at least seven hundred miles from east to west and six hundred miles from north to south. It is a still largely undeveloped country. The Chinese towns, while they are old settlements and important as marts, are surprisingly few. Kirin on the upper Sungari, Chang Chun, Tsitsihar on the Nen, the northern tributary of the Sungari, and the settlement of Aigun on the Amur, are about the only notable towns in this great area. The region is crossed by old caravan routes, unimproved wagon roads and trails, and has undoubtedly been known to Chinese traders, fur hunters and gold miners for centuries, but its actual development has waited for the advent of the white race, the construction of the Russian built Chinese Eastern Railway, and the development of steam navigation on the navigable waters of the Sungari. West of the Hingan begins Mongolia, with scarcely a settled community except the Mongolian cities of Hailar and Urya and the Buddhist lamaseries scattered at fortunately chosen points here and there over the vast expanse of steppe and hill. Both of these great regions are capable of agricultural development. They are sufficiently watered and the climate, while rigorous in winter, imposes no unbearable hardship upon European or Chinese. It is a matter of wonder that with the millions in the Chinese provinces in the south, this vast region should have gone so long comparatively unoccupied.

North and east lie the Siberian provinces of Trans-Baikal, Amur and Primorsk. The first two are drained by the Amur and its tributaries, the latter comprises in part the valley of the Ussuri. This great region is not only capable of high agricultural development, but it possesses timber resources, fisheries and mines. The latter comprise the richest gold fields remaining in the world to-day. Further northward stretches the great fur yielding territory, and the adjacent coasts constitute one of the great potential fisheries of the world.

It is not surprising that the Japanese, conscious of their narrow island home, of their constantly increasing population, of their need of new fields for trade and colonization, should view this rich domain as one peculiarly available for themselves. On the other hand, it is Russian sacrifice and enterprise which have done most in this region. It is the Chinese who have the best legal title to a large part of it, and whose pressure of population is no less severe than that of Japan. The non-Asiatic nations who have long stood for the principle of an open door for trade and industrial enterprise in Asia, and who have had their rights repeatedly recognized, could not be expected to yield the field to Japan except under most compelling necessity. Nor could the United States, whose object in entering the war was to destroy systems of military aggrandizement, be expected to acquiesce in the building up in eastern Asia of one of those peculiar situations which it was America's determination to enter the war to end.

The seizure of Siberia by the Bolsheviks in January and February, 1918, increased the prospects that Japan would be able to profit by the demoralization of Russia. The vast resources of Siberia opened to the enemy by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the presence in this country of two hundred thousand German and Austrian prisoners freed by the Bolsheviks, and the possibility that the great military stores at Vladivostok would be sold by the Bolsheviks to Germany and transported to German hands promised to make Siberia an element of importance in the final issue of the war. Japan was close at hand, and she had the forces to prevent such a disaster. Unfortunately, her terms were prejudicial to the interests of the Allies, to the retention of Russian friendship, and to the final success of the war. Japan required, first, the privilege of acting alone. She rejected the principle of an international Siberian intervention. This seemed to be equivalent to giving her carte blanche, and it

was felt that intervention by a single nation, disliked and distrusted by the Russians, would arouse resistance and end in the alienation of the loyal elements of the Russian people. On these or on other grounds, the United States declined to accede to Japan's terms, and Japan in the spring of 1918 apparently dropped the idea of intervening.

There was another condition present in the Japanese proposal, which was that her forces should not be required to move west of Lake Baikal. While a considerable proportion of German and Austrian prisoners were between Lake Baikal and the Pacific Ocean, the majority were between Lake Baikal and the Urals; and in the great central steppes of Siberia and in the Ural Mountains and Turkestan were the accumulated supplies—wheat, butter, wool, hides, cotton, ores, platinum, oil—which intervention would have prevented falling into German hands. The proposal of Japan was, therefore, of very minor utility to the Allies and to the prospects of victory.

In the face of a Bolshevik Siberia, however, Japan did not rest her own activities. She was represented in Manchuria by civil and military officers; she had her agents throughout the country, and she had a definite policy formulated in Tokyo. To the credit of her intelligence and consistency, Japan has never wavered in her opposition to Bolshevism, but she espoused the cause of the anti-Bolshevik Russians in order to win to her side the elements which she believed she could subsequently depend upon to realize her objective of an eastern Siberia, subordinate to her power. The two elements which her representatives believed might be effective for this purpose, and with whom she might form an alliance, giving her permanent advantage, were the "General Horvath administration" at Harbin and the Cossack stocks in Siberia.

General Horvath had been for years the director of the Chinese Eastern Railway. He was a man of great influence, independent fortune, and credited with sagacity and strength of character. Around him in the spring of 1918 at Harbin there gathered many elements from Russia and Siberia, who either hoped to create a resistance to Bolshevism or to find foreign aid. The proclamation of an anti-Bolshevik government was planned. Japan took an active interest in these matters, and about the first of April, General Nakajima, the Japanese military representative at Harbin, brought General Horvath a telegram from General Tanaka, assistant chief-of-staff of Tokyo and now Minister of War in Mr. Hara's cabinet,



JAPANESE WOMEN ARE AS PATRIOTIC AS JAPANESE MEN  
The Red Cross Sent a Contingent of Nurses to Russia Early in the War  
and Japanese Nurses Also Went to the Relief of the Czechoslovaks

which made a proffer of Japanese aid. When, however, General Horvath pressed General Nakajima as to what compensations Japan would expect in return for this support, he received a reply which indicated that the purpose of Japan in offering assistance was not disinterested. For General Nakajima, while disavowing precise instructions, advised General Horvath that the compensations might be expected to include the demolition of the fortifications of Vladivostok and the transformation of this place into a free port; full fishing rights on Siberian coasts and waters for the subjects of Japan; the opening of the Amur to Japanese navigation; and exclusive concessions to Japanese for the exploitation of Siberian mines, forests and lands. Terms nearly identical with these were a little later communicated by Japanese representatives at Tokyo to another organization known as the "Far Eastern Committee for the Protection of the Mother Land." The information of these proposals was given the writer by members of the groups concerned.

As to the first of these conditions it must be admitted that Japan is entitled to some sympathy. The existence of a maritime base in immediate proximity to her own coasts is a menace which Japanese patriotism must recognize to do everything to remove. The other demands, however, are of quite a different character and can hardly be consid-

ered to be proposals loyal to the nations with which Japan was allied, and whose rights she was supposedly protecting against a common enemy. Neither General Horvath nor the Far Eastern Committee, however, reached the determination to declare a provisional government until after the Czechs took Siberia.

Japanese agents accordingly turned their attention to the Siberian Cossacks. These hardy frontier fighters are found throughout this territory, where they have played an interesting and extraordinary part in the conquest and settlement of this immense domain. Had they received adequate support and guidance from all the Allies and from America and been subordinated to a competent commander enjoying the full confidence of the Allies, the situation in Siberia might have been greatly improved. As it was, only one Cossack leader, the Ataman Semenov, an adventurous and experienced fighter, had the hardihood to launch a campaign into Siberian territory. In a desperate endeavor to seize the railroad at Chita and cut the communications of the Bolsheviks of eastern and western Siberia, Japan aided and encouraged Semenov, as she later did Ataman Kaimikov, who organized a small detachment of Ussurisk Cossacks at Pogranitchnyia, on the Manchurian-Primorsk frontier, one hundred and fifty miles northwest of Vladivostok. Had this assistance been directed toward the unification of all Russian elements

under a competent command, Japan would have deserved nothing but praise, but her aim appears to have been rather to disunite and separate the loyal forces and defeat the restoration of a strong Russian power. Her representatives opposed the efforts of Admiral Kolchak in May, 1918, to unite all loyal anti-Bolshevik detachments in one force, and it was largely due to Japanese opposition that, in the summer of 1918, Admiral Kolchak temporarily left the scene. Subsequently, after the capture of Habarovsk in September, 1918, by Japanese and American forces and by the Cossack detachment of Kalmikof, Japan supported this leader as an independent partisan commander. Kalmikof subjected Habarovsk and a portion of the Primorsk province to irresponsible military rule, both ferocious and repellent. He executed without trial a large number of reputed enemies, including Swedish citizens, representatives of the Swedish Red Cross, who, whatever their crimes, were denied trial. He firmly aroused the indignant protest of the American commander by ruthlessly shooting a number of prisoners within sight of the American quarters. He finally rose to such a height of insubordination that he defied the Siberian government at Omsk, the authority of the minister of war, who had come to Vladivostok with the mission of ending local military dissensions, and during all this indefensible activity he had the encouragement and financial support of Japan. At the Ussurisk Cossack "Krug" in the month of November, 1918, Kalmikof unblushingly announced that he owed allegiance to no superior, and gratitude to no ally except Japan, who he admitted had paid his men, furnished his arms and equipment, and had supported him in his stand. The American commander, in an incident which arose out of the mutiny of some five hundred of Kalmikof's Cossacks, who fled to American quarters for the protection of their lives, stood on impregnable ground when he refused to return these mutineers to a leader whose severities had disgraced the anti-Bolshevik and allied cause.

Japanese support and encouragement were likewise given to Ataman Semenov in his long and unhappy defiance of Admiral Kolchak from November, 1918, until practically the present hour. The hostility between these two men, which originated in May, 1918, was aggravated and inflamed by Japanese agents. When the Siberian government at Omsk called upon Admiral Kolchak to take an autocratic direction of affairs in an acute military crisis, Semenov, who had been appointed commander of the Fifth

Siberian Corps, embracing all detachments east of Lake Baikal, with headquarters at Chita, refused to recognize Kolchak's authority. Kolchak was a persona non grata to Japan, and her representatives united with Semenov in augmenting his difficulties. This action was directly opposed to the policy of the allied governments, yet it continued until it became so notorious and drew such active protests from the Siberian government at Omsk, and from the Allies, that Japan was compelled to give assurances that her encouragement of Semenov in his insubordination would cease. Similar efforts were made to detach the Amur Cossacks from the Siberian government and to bring them into dependence upon Japan. The circumstances have been related to me by Russian officers engaged with the Cossacks of the Amur to whom the advances were made. In all of these activities Japan disclosed a policy which finds its counterpart in the confusion and enmity which she has introduced among the leaders of China, a policy based on the old maxim of "divide and rule."

In July, 1918, the American government changed its policy from one of neutrality between the Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks, so as to admit of an allied American-Japanese intervention. The purpose of this intervention was to clear the Siberian railway and extricate the Czechoslovak from their perilous situation. The negotiations were given out with considerable frankness by the government at Tokyo and furnished discussion for the Japanese press. Each nation was not to exceed eight thousand men. This number, with the aid of the Czechoslovak and the loyal Russian forces, was considered to be adequate to open the road. The American army supplied eight thousand men. The Japanese government manifested interest in seeing that this number was not exceeded, but itself put into the field three full divisions and additional auxiliary troops, including cavalry, artillery, railroad and service battalions to make up a total of about seventy-two thousand officers and men. The 12th division from the Island of Hokaido was sent in through Vladivostok; the 3rd division came from Nagoya by way of Korea and Manchuria, and as soon as the Siberian railroad was opened through the hard fighting of the Czechs and Russians under General Gaida, was put into Trans-Baikal province, with headquarters at Chita. The 7th division was brought up into Northern Manchuria and Mongolia, with headquarters at the frontier station of Manchui, on the border between Mongolia and Trans-Baikal. These troops displaced or attempted to displace the Chi-

nese forces which were already occupying the line of the Chinese Eastern railroad and satisfactorily guarding its operation. It was a force sufficient to completely dominate all Siberia east of Lake Baikal and to exclude American and other forces from any general occupation of the railroad line.

This significant action, apparently at variance with the agreement between the American and Japanese governments, has never been publicly explained. Why should the Japanese, without explanation, have gone to the extent of multiplying eight or nine times their agreed military force? Was Japan's purpose in limiting the American army and so greatly multiplying her own to completely overshadow the American expedition? Was it her design to have fully equipped divisions in such positions as to dominate from a military standpoint eastern Siberia, Northern Manchuria and Mongolia? Did Japanese political and military judgment anticipate such an issue of the war as would give her a position of recognized predominance in Eastern Asia, provided that position was strongly supported by irresistible military forces?

The peculiar military position occupied by the Japanese troops in Manchuria, Mongolia and the Trans-Baikal also enabled the Japanese to carry out commercial enterprises little creditable to Japanese policy or common honesty. Japanese merchants, with the connivance of military authorities, carried on large importations of their wares over the railroads of Manchuria and Trans-Baikal in military trains. These wares paid no freight, unless it was to Japanese military authorities. The transportation system of the Siberian railroads had almost completely broken down. Russian merchants were able to move goods only by the payment of extraordinary bribes. Under these circumstances, to employ rolling stock, commandeered for military use, for importing private goods was an act of gross partiality and an abuse of Russian rights. These goods were sent in sealed cars which Russian authorities were not permitted to examine; they paid no duties to Chinese customs nor to Russian. The stores which sold these articles at such Russian cities as Chita paid no licenses to the local Russian administration. The extent of this illicit trade can never be determined but by a revelation of the Japanese themselves. In December, 1918, the writer was sent to Chita with the duty of investigating this condition, and the Japanese commander at this point admitted to the writer that these importations amounted to ten million yen. There is no doubt that the Rus-





JAPANESE TROOPS CROSSING A SIBERIAN STREAM BY MEANS OF A STRAW BRIDGE  
All the Allied Troops in Siberia Were Seriously Handicapped by the Demoralized Condition of the Siberian Railway, Yet Japan Opposed the Employment of American Engineers Sent Out to Reorganize the System

alien population of Trans-Baikal needed these goods and welcomed the opportunity to secure them. Their need might have justified their introduction by military transport, but nothing can justify the secrecy and dissimulation employed, the evasion of custom duties and the failure to conduct this traffic above board.

A further ground of American complaint may be found in the opposition of the Japanese government to the American railroad engineers sent to Siberia for the reorganization of the Russian transportation system. This force was organized following the visit to Russia in the summer of 1917 when the Kerensky government was in power by an American railroad mission headed by Mr. John F. Stevens, formerly Engineer of the Panama Canal. The Russian railroad service had been badly demoralized by the war and was even then quite inadequate to the civil and military needs. It was believed by the Russian government that American help might save the situation. A "Russian Railroad Service" was accordingly organized of picked American railroad men who were commissioned as officers of engineers. A force of three hundred was sent to Siberia by the army transport "Thomas" in November, 1917. The Bolshevik seizure of Russia and Siberia suspended their plans, but when, at the beginning

of September, 1918, the whole of the great Siberian railway system from the river Volga to the Pacific Ocean fell suddenly and dramatically into loyal hands the services of this expert corps of men under Mr. Stevens and Colonel Emerson should have been immediately utilized. Their services were at once tendered. Their help was desired by the Russian railroad people and supported by British, French, Italian, Czechoslovak and Chinese representatives. Japan alone opposed their employment and her opposition was sufficient to delay any agreement until eight months had passed and the population of Siberia had undergone a long and bitter winter.

But perhaps the activity of Japan which most deeply incensed Americans with Siberian experience is the anti-American propaganda due to Japan's influence and money. The dubious policy of America in Siberia, the long hesitation to take a decided position, the neutrality imposed upon the American military forces in a country full of enemy activity and plagued with Bolshevik disorder made the American position in Siberia well nigh unbearable. It forfeited the original confidence and friendliness of Russians for America and threatened to leave us without a single friendly element or party. Japan took advantage of this situation to exaggerate

Russian prejudices against America and to misrepresent American action and intention. This was particularly true of the Kalmikof incident. It was true also of the military situation on the Amur, where Japan made capital out of the refusal of the American commander to send forces into a region which it was Japan's responsibility to guard, and where mismanagement and unconciliatory policy had provoked a minor military disaster. I cannot positively state that Japanese money subsidized Russian papers in Vladivostok to carry on an anti-American campaign, but I am assured, in my own mind, that this was so in the case of two. One of these publications became so outrageously abusive of America and the American army that in the month of April its editor was fined by the Russian military commander of Vladivostok and through refusal to pay the paper suspended.

Amity between America and Japan must be sought, but before its basis can be restored there must be frank expression of just causes of complaint and plain interrogation as to purposes and policies. American interests in the Far East cannot hope to flourish on indifference to Chinese or Russian rights. Japanese friendship is desirable, but it is not worth the price of Russian and Chinese enmity.

# THE REVOLT OF THE CHINESE STUDENTS

By C. F. REMER

"Probably a foreign observer would count as the most precious fruit of the movement the awakening of China from a state of passive waiting. A sharp blow has been given the idea that China itself is helpless and must be saved from without. In spite of the charges of which the Japanese newspapers are full that the movement was instigated, and even financed, by foreigners, especially Americans, it was a strictly native movement, showing what educated China can do, and will do, in the future. The spell of pessimism seems broken. An act has been done, a deed performed. Perhaps there is now a healthier, better organized movement from within China itself for China's own salvation than at any time since the Revolution.

"In no other civilized country of the present day (leaving Russia out of account now as an exception to all rules) is brute force such a factor in official government as in China. But in no other country could moral and intellectual force accomplish so quickly and peaceably what was effected in China in the last five or six weeks."—John Dewey, writing from Peking, June 24, in *The New Republic*.

FROM the fourth of May to the twelfth of June of the year 1918, according to Western reckoning, the eighth year of the Republic according to the Chinese, China lived through something unusual. It was also hopeful, foolish, comic, tragic, futile or inspiring, according to the observer.

This "something" can be best described in a single phrase as a student strike. It may be objected that a student strike is not an unusual thing in China or, for that matter, in any country in the Far East. The answer is that this strike of students was not against teacher, professor or management, but against the central government of the country at Peking.

May seventh and May ninth are days that the Chinese have separated from the rest of the calendar. They are known as days of national humiliation. The Chinese have a fondness for calling things by numbers rather than by names. May is known as the fifth month, and the numbers 5-7 or 5-9 bring a reaction from any Chinese, able to read, whose eye falls upon them. To tell the whole reason is to tell the story of the twenty-one demands over again. These two days have become symbols of their country's weakness, as the Chinese put it, of the country's "shame."

Toward the end of April of this year China was still hoping that something

favorable would come from the Peace Conference at Paris. It was known that the subject of Tsingtao and of the German rights in the province of Shantung were under discussion. A peace conference to bring about the end of civil war in China was in session in Shanghai and there was hope that something might come of this. Both peace conferences disappointed the Chinese. The conference at Shanghai fell apart and internal affairs were and are in as muddled a state as they can well be.

Then came the news from the Paris conference, and the Chinese who can read, especially the students, saw the hopes of months vanish. It was a strange trick of fate that the telegram giving the terms of the peace treaty was published in China on May 7th.

In the midst of rumors that China had lost the diplomatic battle in Paris certain plans were formed for demonstrations at Peking. The students of the Peking Government University were interesting themselves in such a demonstration when they heard that the government intended to prevent the holding of such meetings. In order to anticipate action by the government the students set things going on an earlier day than had been planned. On May 4th a body of them marched through the Legation Quarter of the city, after having duly obtained permission to do so. When they came out of the Legation Quarter they were met and dispersed by Chinese cavalry.

Angered at this dispersal, many of them gathered again and by common consent marched to the house of Tsao Ju Lin, then Minister of Communications, and one of the three men who are held by the Chinese to be responsible for the negotiation of the numerous unpopular Japanese loans of the last two years. The students say this attack was no part of the prearranged plan. About a thousand strong arrived and demanded entrance. They forced their way into the courtyard and here they found Chang Chung-hsiang, Chinese Minister to Japan, another of the three held to be responsible for the loans. Chang Chung-hsiang is said to have been accompanied by two Japanese. He was attacked by the students and severely beaten. He was finally rescued and taken to a hospital, where he is recovering from his injuries.

After the attack upon Chang fire broke out in Tsao's house, which was burned to the ground. The students are accused of having set the fire. This they deny. During the fight in the courtyard one of the students was so severely injured that he has since died.

The police succeeded in arresting a number of students during the affair and, finally, in dispersing the others. The result was the declaration of a strike of all the students of the Peking Government University. The news of all this was telegraphed throughout the country. At Shanghai a mass meeting of "citizens" was called for the 7th of May. At this a discussion took place of a proposed boycott of Japanese goods, expressing the anger and disappointment of the Chinese. One student present is said to have bitten his finger until the blood came and to have written in his own blood, "Give us back our Tsingtao."

They dispatched a telegram to Peking calling upon the government to release the imprisoned students. Similar telegrams were sent from other cities. There are many wild reports as to what the government intended to do to the imprisoned students. As a matter of fact, they were released on the afternoon of the 7th of May.

Immediately upon the release of the students the Chancellor of the Peking Government University, Tsai Yuen-pai, disappeared. Tsai has a reputation among his countrymen as a staunch supporter of all democratic movements and he is respected as one of the most energetic of workers for the revolution of 1911. He has won the hearts of the students. The news of his disappearance and the excitement which followed the confirmation of the news that Tsingtao had been given to the Japanese kept the students in such a state of mind that the strike was continued. On or about the 10th of May they sent a number of demands to the government. They said that they did not intend to resume attendance at classes unless the demands were agreed to. The demands were six in number, of which the important ones were the following: That the three "traitors" be punished; that Tsai Yuen-pai be reinstated; that the Chinese delegates to Paris be instructed not to sign the treaty of peace, and that the students be allowed freedom of speech. The government expressed



BRITISH SOLDIERS TEARING DOWN BOYCOTT POSTERS IN SHANGHAI

Shortly Before the Signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Inflammatory Signs Appeared in the Streets of Shanghai Proposing a Boycott on Japanese Goods. Many of These Were Destroyed by British Infantrymen

some willingness to consider all of the demands except the first, and the students in turn expressed their determination to stand upon the first demand even if they were obliged to give up all the others. Matters were at a deadlock.

The students proceeded with their plans. They organized a volunteer corps and began military training. They sent out lecturers who addressed the people on the street corners of the city and in the villages round about. This has been a characteristic part of the activity of the students throughout. It is not easily understood by Americans who do not know China and who have never been in a country where the mass of the people can neither read nor write. The students, when they are upon these lecturing expeditions, look upon themselves not as soapbox orators, but rather as a vigorous editorial page for the illiterate.

Another student activity was the publication of a newspaper called the Five-Seven. All newspapers in Peking must be registered with a government bureau. The government refused to register this paper and after a few issues it was suppressed.

Other schools in Peking joined the strike. The students at Tsinghua College, the college supported by the share of the Boxer indemnity returned by the United States, joined the movement.

In Shanghai, which is the second educational center in China, was held a series of meetings by the students in general and by representatives of the students of the various schools. On May 15th the students, who had formed themselves into what is called the Students' Union, sent a telegram to Peking demanding the punishment of the "traitors" and the reinstatement of Tsai Yuen-pai. To their demands they added the statement that they would strike if a satisfactory answer were not received within a week.

The government did not answer.

On May 19th a general strike was declared at Peking. It spread to Tientsin on May 26th. In Shanghai one was called for May 22d, but cooler counsel prevailed and it began on May 26th.

By the first of June the strike had spread from city to city until perhaps fifty thousand students were involved. It was the plan of the Students' Union that all Middle Schools—schools of the grade of the American High School—and all college students in China should cease attending classes.

On June 2d President Hou of the Chinese Republic issued two mandates. These followed the offered resignation of Yuan Juiin. The first of the mandates praised the men whose punishment was demanded and the second admonished the students to return to their

books, and intimated that such organizations as the Students' Union and the volunteer corps would be suppressed.

The government had now answered.

The students met and decided to carry on their propaganda on a bigger scale. On June 2d they set out upon their lecturing tours in large groups. During the day many of these groups of speakers were placed under arrest, until the authorities had twelve hundred student prisoners in the buildings of the Law School of the Peking Government University.

On June 4th the news reached Shanghai that these students were being held in confinement in Peking, that they were being prevented from communicating with their friends and were given no food. These reports may or may not have been true. Shanghai was electrified at this news. The people had expected some sort of compromise. They felt that the motives of the students were disinterested and their patriotism beyond question. This they did not feel about the men behind the Peking government.

On June 5th the students in Shanghai turned out and asked the merchants to close their shops. The merchants complied at once. If, in an American city, the business men were to shut up shop the streets of the city would look much the same. There are a few shops in the

main part of the International Settlement in Shanghai that have plate glass windows and doors in the Western style. Most of the shops, however, are closed by putting up heavy boards that seem designed to resist a siege; so when the shops are closed the city takes on a look of expecting invasion and violence.

Then came the news from Peking that the government had released the students. On the afternoon of the fifth of June the guards were withdrawn from around the buildings in which the students were confined. The students refused to leave. From this time the government showed a changed attitude toward the strike. To one who has pieced together the happenings of this eventful week, it seems that the strike was won between June third and fifth.

The government was now as anxious to get rid of the students as it had been to catch them and lock them up. But they still refused to leave; so two men were sent to persuade them to do so. The students say that these two men—one of whom was the secretary of the cabinet—were sent to apologize to them for their arrest. This statement is more likely to amuse the "foreigner," whether in China or at home, than to help him to understand the significance of what happened. In explaining it to me one of the Shanghai students told me that "the government sent men to comfort the students." He was probably feeling for the word "placate."

The prisoners did not leave until late in the afternoon of June 5th. They were called for by several thousand sympathizers and left to the noise of fire-crackers, cheers and all the accompaniments of a celebration.

But the strike could not be brought to an end in this way. The situation was now as it had been on June 1st. The resignations of the three "traitors" had not been accepted. The students had tasted victory and felt their power. The demand that the three men be dismissed was pressed. The other demands seem to have been dropped for the time being. The strike continued to spread.

The government now closed the schools for the summer vacation, which was but a few weeks away. It was supposed that this would scatter the students and make their propaganda less effective. But the students stayed in or near the schools and the strike was kept up. In many cities it had spread to other classes in the community; merchants and laborers were taking part.

The government now gave in. On June 11th reliable news was received from Peking that Tsao Ju-lin, Chang Chung-hsiang and the third of the three men had resigned and that their resignations had been accepted. This brought the strike to an end throughout the country.

The Shanghai business men asked the students to give the word that would open the shops. This the students did to the accompaniment of fireworks and parades on the morning of June 12th. The shops throughout the city opened. The strike was over.

There are several things that need to be said before any attempt is made to generalize.

First, the student movement has been truly a student movement. There has been no charge that it has been used by any party for the advantage of that party and no charge that it is being used by the leaders among the students for any other than patriotic purposes. The students themselves reject any idea that they may in the near future be used by designing politicians. A teacher from Peking with whom I have talked is not so sure. There has been no actual attempt to use the students, he says, but the effect of the movement upon the present government has been such as to bring satisfaction to various parties now out of power.

Next, it needs to be pointed out that the Japanese boycott has not been the first thing in the minds of the students. Ask any student what it has all been about and his first sentence will contain some statement about the Peking government. Ask a man on the street the same question and he will tell you something about the boycott or about the Japanese. The emphasis seems to be on a different part of the movement when you talk to students and when you talk to laborers and small shopkeepers. The boycott has grown with and out of this movement, and the giving of Tsingtao to the Japanese is the source of the trouble, but the student has his mind on his own government.

Third, the whole movement has been singularly temperate. In the summer of 1913 a revolutionary movement against President Yuan Shih-kai started in the Yangtze Valley. There was much bluster and "On to Peking" shouting about it. It came to nothing before long and its leaders took refuge in Japan. This movement, while it has been against the men in power in Peking, the men behind the President, has at no time breathed the cheap fire of a coolie-fought revolt. The students have exercised a control over the people and over themselves that has brought them the respect of most foreign residents.

In general it must be understood that the student occupies a more important place in Chinese society than in American. The Chinese student takes himself much more seriously than does the American student and he is taken more seriously by the people. The position of the Chinese student is something like that of the Russian student, but this is putting it too feebly. The Chinese student is the Chinese student, heir to the respect in which learning has been held for centuries. The student has been, and to a large degree still is, on the road to official position and to power. He is one of the few in China who have any considerable knowledge of the language of their country. Knowledge of the written characters of the Chinese language arouses in the minds of the illiterate masses about the same sort of reverence and superstitious respect that was felt in the Middle Ages for the man who owned a book and could read it.

We have seen this strange sight in China; we have seen a government that was proceeding calmly on its way in the presence of civil war dismiss a cabinet minister because of a student strike!

Western writers are the source of some of the ideas that are influencing the students. Most Chinese who go abroad come back without really getting to know the West. They see our street cars, our subways and our football games; but few of them get to know us and the ideas that are powerful among us. But there is, I am told, a group of young Chinese—they are from European universities more often than from American—who have made some of the ideas of the West their own and have been able to use them among their own people. They are inspired by such men as Ibsen, Shaw and Tolstol. Finally, there needs to be considered what President Wilson has called a great wind of democracy blowing through the world to-day. This movement of peoples that is tossing the surface of Western society and stirring its depths is felt in Asia also.

One who wishes to appreciate the spirit in this movement must take into account the following:

Self-assertion, the feeling that China has been too submissive in the past; democracy, a desire for more popular control of government; a criticism of Chinese conventions; an enthusiasm for socialism; bitter disappointment at the peace treaty; a hatred and fear of the Japanese.

This summer and the following autumn will show whether or no there has been awakened in China a soul that will go marching on, or whether the Chinese must face new and increasing disappointments and sorrows, must in the language of China "eat more bitterness," before hope comes to that distraught country.

# THE CASE FROM THE DOCUMENTS

By CHARLES HODGES

**R**USSIA, not Germany, was the first of the great Powers to reach for Shantung.

It was the Russian statesman who was the quickest to gauge the meaning of China's defeat by Japan in 1894. The following year the Russian fleet used the Bay of Kiaochou as a temporary base. During the months of watchful waiting which ensued after the victory the European Powers were jockeying for position. The weakness of China having been revealed, it became a question of time before some diplomacy more venturesome than the others would lead to a general scramble.

The Cassini Convention, which Li Hung-chang is believed to have signed in St. Petersburg with Prince Lobanov, would have established Russia on both sides of the Gulf of Pechili, a scheme actually consummated twenty years later by Japan, who is now in occupation of both Manchuria and the Shantung Peninsula. The ninth article of this abortive move, initiated probably by conversations between Li Hung-chang and Count Cassini at Peking and completed while Li was in St. Petersburg, provided that:

"Russia has never possessed in Asia a seaport which is ice-free and open all the year." Russia may need a base on the Pacific. "As China has taken this into consideration, she consents to lend temporarily to Russia the Port of Kiaochou in the Province of Shantung, the lease period being limited to 15 years."

"X. As the Ports of Liaotung and Liaochou Kiao (Port Arthur) and Tahenwan and their dependencies are important strategic points, it is incumbent upon China to fortify them suitably and repair all their fortifications, etc., in a way which will guarantee them against future dangers; Russia promises for that all the assistance required to aid in protecting the two ports and not to permit any foreign Power to threaten them." China, on her part, promises never to cede them to another country, "but consents to temporary use of them by Russia."

Characteristic of all momentous diplomatic transactions concerning China, this alienation of territory by the Chinese Empire leaked out through the Chinese Foreign Office. The news that the Taung-li Yamen had apparently allowed Russia to acquire territorial footholds in China immediately brought Germany into action. These Russian labors ascribed to Count Cassini in China thoroughly aroused the European chancelleries. The Russian action had pointed the way toward the exploiting of China's weakness territorially and it

remained for Germany to execute the scheme botched by Russian statecraft.

The pretext afforded by the death of the two German missionaries in November, 1897, of whom the German Government had never before heard, brought the landing of troops on the 14th. The seizure of territory by a friendly Power was accepted on the part of China after tortuous discussions running into the spring of the next year.

An analysis of the German diplomacy shows that the Wilhelmstrasse had the Far Eastern situation well in hand. The Kiaochou Convention was concluded by Baron von Hoyking and Li Hung-chang on the 6th of March, 1898. This first territorial mutilation of China without recourse to war was stated to be given as a special proof by the Imperial Chinese Government "of the grateful appreciation of the friendship shown them by Germany."

This began the vicious circle of demands upon China culminating in the "battle of concessions." Germany's diplomatic method aroused general approval on the part of the European Powers who were envious of her success, and comment from the various chancelleries intimating that this was the proper way to deal with China. They further considered that the comprehensiveness of the agreement made it a model for its purpose, Russia only improving its provisions by originating the method of territorial occupation by garrisoned railway zones now so extensively used by Japan.

Only the first section of the arrangement was revealed. It established Germany politically in Kiaochou leasehold. The second and third sections, to this day never officially laid before the world, provided for the economic exploitation of the Province of Shantung.

In the first three articles Germany is declared to be provisional 99-year leasehold tenant from China of both sides of the entrance to Kiaochou Bay, and the whole water area of the bay up to the highest watermark known, with power to fortify this region. About this territory, in which Chinese rights of sovereignty were alienated, was a 50-kilometer neutral zone in which China reserved her rights, but permitted the free passage of German troops, saving for herself the same privilege of stationing military forces, in agreement with the Germans. With apparent foreknowledge of the problems which were to arise upon the outbreak of the Great War, Article V provided that Germany was not to

sublet the Kiaochou leasehold to any other power, and that if at any time she wished to return it to China before the expiration of the lease, China was to refund her the expenditure she had incurred at Kiaochou and provide her with a more suitable port.

The other sections of the Kiaochou Convention provided for the general exploitation of the province, giving Germany the right to build a railway from Kiaochou to Tsinan-fu and ultimately an extension to communicate with the contemplated Chinese Government railway system running forward from Tsinan-fu. But it was specifically stated that the railway was to be a joint enterprise, carried on by a Chinese-German company, all profits to be justly divided pro rata between the shareholders without regard to nationality. In giving Germany the railway rights China solemnly bound her not to unlawfully seize any land in the province.

Regarding Shantung mining rights, Article IV granted German subjects the development of mining property for a distance of thirty li, or about ten miles, from each side of the railways and along the whole extent of the lines, specifically mentioning some of the more important points. Similar cooperative provisions were introduced in the mining provisions.

In the meantime, Russia had hastened to establish herself in the Kwantung Peninsula, evidencing her intention to outdo here in Manchuria the Germans across the Gulf of Pechili. As for England, Lord Salisbury's government became fairly apprehensive over the disturbed balance of power in North China and moved to secure as a leasehold Weihaiwei. England had refused shortly before to accept an invitation to occupy this base on the grounds that she "discouraged alienation" by China of her territories.

France similarly moved to lease Kwangchowwan, south of Hongkong. During the same period the Great Powers pledged China to accept a series of declarations establishing spheres of interest—Great Britain earmarking the Yangtze region; France securing the pledge of the non-alienation of the Chinese territory bordering on the French protectorate of Tonking; and Japan, following suit, regarding the Province of Fukien. Germany, however, had already seen to it that the Province of Shantung was preempted by German capital, for a portion of the Kiaochou Convention not made public stated in Section III:



"The Chinese Government binds itself in all cases where foreign assistance in persons or capital or material may be needed for any purpose whatever within the Province of Shantung to offer the said work or supplying materials in the first instance to German manufacturers and merchants engaged in undertakings of the kind in question."

With diplomatic thoroughness Germany turned to the development of her Chinese plunder. Kiaochou was declared a free port September 2nd, 1898.

Meanwhile, though Britain appeared not to fear that Germany would use her commercial advantage in China to the detriment of the other Powers, the United States was not so sanguine. Ultimately Secretary of State Hay put up to Germany the well-known Open Door doctrine. This proposes that no Power within its respective sphere shall interfere with any treaty right or discriminate against other nationalities by the manipulation of port duties and railway charges. The conventional tariff as established between China and the Powers applies to all ports within such a sphere unless they are "free ports," the duties to be collected by China.

The economic development of Shantung assumed tangible form when Prince Henry of Prussia turned the first sod for the Kiaochou Railway, September 23, 1899, the Imperial German Government having granted a German-Chinese company the concession for its construction and operation on June 1st of that year. The final arrangements were made through the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank on behalf of the syndicate formed for the establishment of the joint corporation known as the Shantung-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft. This concession clearly demonstrates that the trunk line built by Germany in Shantung was a private railway corporation. The first article temporarily domiciled the German-Chinese company in Berlin, but provided for its removal to Tsingtao within six months; capitalization was placed at 11 million marks, care being taken that:

"Germans as well as Chinese may participate in the public subscription of the stock of the company,"

and specifically providing for the securing of subscriptions in the commercial centers of the Orient. The railway management was placed in Tsingtao, the head of the board of directors and the chief operating official being approved by the German Government. The second article required the use of German materials as far as possible.

The private character of this line stands out in the third article, which placed the Shantung Railway under the necessity of meeting detailed specifications which would not have been stipulated had this been even a quasi state enterprise of the German Government.

A court of arbitration to investigate breaches of obligations on the part of the company was provided for, to which the Imperial Government and the Company each appointed arbitrators. Moreover, during the life of the concession the German Government bound itself not to grant rights which would compete with the economic interests of the railway. Finally, a small portion of surplus profits, arranged on a sliding scale covering dividends over 5% was given to the Kiaochou Government. The transfer of this concession in whole or in part to a company neither German nor German-Chinese was prohibited.

The German-Chinese construction agreement with the railway was signed on March 21, 1900, and studiously protected the Chinese interests along the right of way.

By certain clauses of this agreement it was provided that the Shantung authorities should aid in the protection of the railway from bandits, etc., and it was distinctly stated that the purpose of the railroad was purely commercial and no foreign troops were to be transported by it outside of the German Concession. Title to the railroad lands outside the Kiaochou Concession was, moreover, to revert to the Shantung government. Accordingly, the first section of the line was opened in the spring of 1901 and the road finished in the summer of 1904.

Coincident with these developments, Germany signed, on April 7, 1899, an agreement providing for the predominance of German interest in the Maritime Customs Office at Kiaochou.

1. The Commissioner of the Maritime Customs Office at Tsingtao was to be of German nationality, as well as the European staffing as a rule.

2. Changes were to be made by the Inspector-General in cooperation with the Government of Kiaochou.

3. All correspondence concerning the Customs was to be in the German language; where the Germans were concerned, merchants of other nationalities residing in Tsingtao were at liberty to correspond in their own language, and Chinese could likewise be used.

4. While in effect Kiaochou was made a free zone, the Customs constituted a barrier against goods entering from the German leasehold into other Chinese territory.

This Customs agreement was amplified by an arrangement signed in Peking, December 1, 1905, providing that a free area was to be delimited in Tsingtao, comprising a portion of the port about the Great Harbor, and that 20% of the net import duties collected was to be handed over to the German officials at Tsingtao as a contribution to the expenses of the territory. It should especially be noted that materials and equipment used in the leasehold and "stores and provisions ordered by the military

and naval authorities anticipating all future requirements" were to be entered duty free. Suitable regulations were drawn up to carry out the terms of the agreement.

Such was the basis of the German tenure in Shantung. It is pertinent to inquire into the development of the German policy after the crisis of 1899-1900 had been averted by the Hay Open Door notes, and the subsequent declarations fortifying the integrity of China. It is true, from a legal standpoint, that a practical monopoly of Shantung could have been effected. As a matter of fact, the German manipulation of her rights steadily tended to be liberalized during the years preceding the outbreak of the Great War. American interests, such as the Standard Oil Company, the British-American Tobacco Company, and certain other large corporations, established themselves in the Shantung markets. True, Germany intended to maintain the supremacy of Tsingtao by indirectly placing obstacles in the way of the railway line from Weihhsien to Chefoo, which was allocated to German interests if any foreign capital was needed to carry out the project which the Chinese merchants and gentry in Shantung were attempting to keep wholly Chinese.

The Chinese Government approached Germany in the latter part of 1905, seeking to have the German troops outside of Tsingtao itself withdrawn to the fortress commanding the Bay of Kiaochou. Governor Yang Shih-hsiang of Shantung and Governor Semmern acting for Germany, came to the following agreement November 25, 1905:

1. The German troops stationed at Kiaochou city, which is at the head of the bay of that name and in the neutral zone, were to be withdrawn.

2. The withdrawal of the German troops at Kaomi and Kiaochou to Tsingtao was provided for, and the barracks were turned over to China, after Germany had been compensated.

3. Significantly, it was provided that from the date of the signing of the Convention, "no matter whether the German troops at Kaomi and Kiaochou have completely withdrawn or not, the railways within certain zones would be completely under the supervision and direction of Chinese local authorities."

The development of the mineral resources of Shantung provided for in the Kiaochou Convention was in the hands of the Shantung Mining Company. On July 24, 1911, a German-Chinese agreement was reached delimiting the mining areas, and establishing the German developmental monopolies in particular areas instead of generally along the Kiaochou-Tsinanfu railway zone. This agreement was marked by a voluntary German surrender of the exclusive rights, hitherto held at Poshan and Tsechuen, etc. Two years later an amal-

gamation of the Shantung Mining Company with the Shantung railway was effected; the capital of the latter was increased to 60 million marks.

Several years before the outbreak of the European War Japan actually began scheming to secure a lodgment in Shantung. She had steadily tightened her hold on South Manchuria, the result of the Russian War in 1904-1905, until her politico-economic domination was effected. By 1910 her protectorate over Korea had given way to the annexation of the peninsula and the policy of continental absorption was in full swing. Naturally enough, Japanese interests turned toward the Eighteen Provinces. Less openly than in her invasion of the Yangtze Valley, Japan commenced to evidence her intentions in Shantung.

Across the Gulf of Pechili, less than 100 miles from Dairen, the great Japanese outlet for Manchuria, lay the Shantung Peninsula. The northern part of the peninsula had been isolated economically by the German control over communications; Chefoo was struggling to retain a share of the Shantung trade being controlled by Tsingtao. Japan prepared, by a policy of indirection, to achieve what the Russians had aimed at in the Cassini Convention, now fifteen years abandoned: the domination of North China on both flanks. To effect an economic penetration she selected Lungkow as a base, a roadstead making a port closer to the interior markets and but a little over 100 miles from Dairen. Backed by the sympathetic support of the Japanese authorities across the Gulf of Pechili, S. O. Tanaka became the moving spirit in the efforts to make the port of Lungkow compete against the trunk route building up Tsingtao. The Dairen Steamship Company inaugurated a triangular service embracing Lungkow, Niu-chwang, and Dairen, thus linking Shantung to the Manchurian projects of Japan; prior to the opening of Lungkow as a treaty port a Japanese bank was established and this financial organ was used to gain control of the best localities in the port; Japanese traders appeared from Dairen; and even a light railway was on the tapis to open up the neglected hinterland. China so feared this pressure exercised in Manchuria as well as at Lungkow, that she voluntarily prepared to open to trade five places along the border of Inner Mongolia and the new strategic point in Shantung.

The outbreak of the Great War prevented Germany from carrying out subsequent plans which were provided for in other agreements dated December, 1913, and June 24, 1914, providing for the Tsinan-Shuntien line, running westward in the Yellow River Valley to the Peking-Hankow Railway, and a Kaomi-

Süchou line, tapping the Tientsin-Pukow trunk line in Kiangsu.

By no means was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance the *raison d'être* of Japan's ultimatum to Germany. Much as this was cried during the earlier years of the European War, by July 4, 1917, a former foreign minister on a special embassy to this country—Viscount Ishii—could state in Boston that Japan had not been obligated to enter the war because of the alliance with Britain. In the large, she came into the struggle because it was necessary in the furthering of her interests in the Orient. After discussions between Tokyo and London, of which we know little, Japan served notice on Germany August 15, 1914. This ultimatum stated that Japan, to consolidate the peace of the East, believed "it to be its duty to give the advice to the Imperial German Government:

"First. To withdraw immediately from Japanese and Chinese waters German men-of-war and armed vessels of all kinds and to disarm at once those which cannot be so withdrawn.

"Second. To deliver on a date not later than September 15 to the Imperial Japanese authorities, without condition or compensation, the entire leased territory of Kiaochow, with a view to the eventual restoration of the same to China."

Japan's demands were ignored by Germany; no response was vouchsafed by Berlin within the specified time limit, noon of August 23d, and hostilities were precipitated.

During these critical days preceding Japan's declaration of war the devious force of Japanese statecraft had been thrown against the efforts being made in Peking to keep the war out of the East. Beyond the fact that it had been definitely proposed to neutralize all the leaseholds held by the rival Powers in China—Kiaochow (Germany); Port Arthur and Dairen (Japanese); Manchurian regions occupied by Russia; Weihaiwei and Kowloon (British), etc., little is known. The precipitancy of the Japanese intervention in the Great War, however, certainly ended the neutralization scheme and definitely involved the Kiaochow leasehold in the stakes of the conflict.

China clearly foresaw the results of Japan's entrance. Yuan Shih-kai endeavored to bring China into the struggle on the side of the Allies. But this tentative step toward participating in the Anglo-Japanese operations against Kiaochow was blocked. To quote from an official document of the Chinese Government lying before me:

"Though not previously consulted, the Chinese Government intimated their desire to join in the contemplated course of action in regard to the leased territory of Kiaochow, and ceased to urge it only when they found it was not favorably entertained."

Let me reinforce this by the following quotation from a state paper dated three months later than the above, stating:

"The proposal was not pressed owing to the intimation reaching the Chinese Government that the proposed Chinese participation was likely to create 'complications' with a certain Power."

Apprehensions were justified when China learned that Japan had landed 20,000 troops at the port of Lungkow September 3d. This was 150 miles north of Kiaochow and wholly Chinese territory.

Coincidentally, the Chinese Foreign Office sent a circular note to the diplomatic representatives at Peking declaring that since hostilities were taking place threatening China's declared neutrality, it was necessary to establish a zone of action for the belligerents after the precedent furnished in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War. An understanding was reached with the Japanese Government that the "special military zone so declared extended from the sea to a point on the railway east of the Weihsien railway station, approximately 100 miles west of Tsingtao, and that the Japanese troops should observe the limits and not encroach westward." China, it should be observed, stated:

"That within the districts as designated above, the administration as well as the territorial jurisdiction, the safety of the inhabitants and the functionaries, public and private properties shall be fully respected by the belligerent states."

Japan, however, in proceeding across the entire breadth of the Shantung Peninsula, occupied the cities and towns along the way, seizing the Chinese communications and offices, requisitioning labor and supplies, and outraging the people. The British expeditionary forces, in contrast, landed within the prescribed territory at Laoshan Bay September 23d. Not only did they arrive before Kiaochow as soon as the main Japanese forces; an unwarranted violation of Chinese neutrality was avoided, which, as was shown subsequently, was purely a strategic move of Japan directed against China.

This came out speedily when the Japanese began to encroach westward, violating the military zone by sending a force of 400 to occupy Weihsien railway station. The withdrawal of Chinese troops keeping order, observe, in the vicinity of the railway was forced by the Japanese on October 3d; three days later, riding rough-shod over the protests of the Chinese Government, Japan proceeded to occupy the entire Shantung Railway, 256 miles in length. Japanese troops took possession of all three stations in Tsinanfu, the capital of Shantung Province and the western terminus of the railroad. Immediately thereafter Japanese troops were distributed along the entire line.

The Shantung Railway employees were speedily replaced by Japanese staffing drawn from the South Manchuria Railway. Observe that under German control, of the total of 55 stations, there were but 5 European station masters; of 16 round-houses, but 5 were under European control; at the chief workshops maintained at Syfang, near Kiaochow, the force consisted of 700 Chinese under 16 Europeans headed by an engineer of the German state railways. During this period the mining properties along the line were also seized and the workings reopened.

The fall of the fortress of Tsingtao on November 7, 1914, terminated actual belligerent moves. China, therefore, attempted to restore antebellum conditions in Shantung, expecting to deal with Japan under the conditions of the German tenure. This involved (1) the withdrawal of Japanese forces from the interior of Shantung; (2) their concentration in the Kiaochow leasehold; (3) the removal of the light railway from Lungkow to Chantien; and (4) the removal of the military telegraph which the Japanese had without permission strung on the Chinese telegraph poles. This Japan flatly refused to accede to; and the matter hung fire.

At the same time, the Tsingtao Customs came up. Following up her occupation of the leasehold, Japan had attempted to appoint about forty Japanese subjects to control the Chinese Maritime Customs at this point. China objected, since it not only meant a disorganization of the customs administration and a change in the methods worked out with the Germans, but also threatened the interests of the other Powers, because it meant the disregarding of the regulations concerning the promotion of the officials of the Maritime Customs Service if the exclusive Japanese staff were at once created for Tsingtao. While negotiations were pending the Japanese Military Government at Tsingtao seized the Customs House archives and other properties of the Chinese Customs. This cannot be excused as the irresponsible action of the Japanese occupational authorities; it was done deliberately as a part of Japan's policy, for the action was taken on direct instructions from Tokyo.

Matters moved toward a crisis. Let us for a moment shift the scene to Tokyo. The Japanese minister to China was in the Mikado's capital to consult with the Okuma Cabinet, which had come to its momentous decision regarding the China policy. On December 3 Mr. Hioki was handed the text of the Twenty-one Demands in their five groups. The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Kato, gave the minister to China instructions regarding

this readjustment of the Far Eastern balance of power, making two statements whose significance needs no interpretation. The purpose of this diplomatic assault to be launched on China had for its object the "insuring of lasting peace in the Far East and the strengthening of the position of the Empire" of Japan. Secondly, Japanese statesmen let their usual euphemism drop when speaking plainly among themselves, for Baron Kato bluntly stated Japan's intention to bludgeon China into submission, regardless of cost:

"Believing it absolutely essential for strengthening Japan's position in Eastern Asia as well as for the preservation of the general interest, to secure Chinese adherence to the foregoing proposals, the Imperial Government are determined to attain this end by all means within their power."

Some six weeks elapsed from the time these first instructions were given by the Japanese Foreign Minister to Mr. Hioki to the opportune moment for presentation to China.

It was the last of a series of six notes between the Chinese Foreign Office and the Japanese Minister in Peking, dealing with abolition of the special military zone and the Japanese occupation of the strategic portions of Shantung, which brought down on China the Twenty-one Demands on January 18, 1915. The unusual procedure of presenting the Japanese démarche directly to President Yuan Shih-kai was adopted by Japan's diplomatic representatives. It came but thirty-six hours after the Chinese Foreign Minister, observing that the British had finished evacuation in the two months since the fall of Tsingtao, while the Japanese troops were only withdrawing slowly, expressed the feeling that the military zone should be abolished.

"As efforts have always been made to effect an amicable settlement of affairs between your country and ours, it is our earnest hope that your government will act upon the principle of preserving peace in the Far East and maintaining international confidence and friendship."

Such was Sun Pao-chi's response to the note from the Japanese Minister objecting to China's entire attitude, charging that China

"has ignored all the diplomatic negotiations in the past and now of a sudden performs an act, improper and arbitrary, betraying, in fact, want of confidence in international good faith and regardless of friendly relations."

Thus was set the stage for Japan's first effort to consolidate her position in the Shantung Peninsula. The first of the five groups of Japanese demands consisted of four articles calculated to confirm Japan in her occupation of

Shantung. Group II showed her determination to keep a vise-like grip on North China; the seven demands dealing with her occupation of South Manchuria were to entrench Japan here and westward into Inner Mongolia by the extension of the privileges won from Russia in 1905 for a century. Uncovering the Japanese iron policy, Group III threatened the great Hanyehping interests. The single demand forming Group IV was a blanket clause amplifying the second stipulation in the Shantung series so that it obligated China not to alienate any port, etc., "to a third Power." The Fifth Group was a distinct undermining of the Hay Doctrine concerning the integrity of China, as its provisions certainly threatened "the administrative entity" of the Chinese Republic.

The general intent of Japan in 1915 was obvious. Territorially, she intended to retain complete freedom of action—both regarding Shantung and the rest of the Chinese littoral. Observe how she excepted herself:

#### *Article II. Shantung Group.*

China engages "that within the Province of Shantung and along its coast, no territory or island shall be ceded or leased to a third Power under any pretext."

#### *Group IV.*

China, the better to preserve her territorial integrity, agrees "to the following special article:

"The Chinese Government engages not to cede or lease to a third Power any harbor or bay or island along the coast of China."

Between February 2d and March 3d, six conferences were held which developed the Japanese intentions clearly. The Chinese negotiators first attempted to secure the consideration of the Shantung matters at the Peace Conference. They then tried to get Japan's assent to a formula which would protect Chinese interests by making her an active participant in the post-bellum settlement between Germany and Japan. Both moves were uncompromisingly rejected by the Japanese.

Discussion on the four other groups extended through the spring to May. Let us for a moment observe Japan's diplomatic conduct in her attempt to consolidate her hold on Shantung and the related matters. There is, first, her violation of special pacts. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance states that one of its objects is the "preservation of the common interests of all the Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire," and provides that when either of these rights are in jeopardy, the two governments will communicate with one another frankly and fully. Nevertheless Japan studiously concealed from Britain the existence of the Twenty-one De-



mands as long as was possible and finally communicated them only in part.

In diplomatic methods, Japan betrayed the same sort of evasiveness. She refused to allow any recording or signing of the minutes of conferences; yet she afterward attempted to hold China to Japan's version of verbal agreements made by Chinese plenipotentiaries. Though she had previously forced China to agree upon a fixed number of meetings, she arbitrarily suspended sittings to enforce her views in discussions. She even began the concentration of troops in Manchuria and Shantung, admitted by the Japanese Minister to be for the enforcement of Japanese interests, prior to any ultimatum to China and in direct violation of her treaty regarding Manchuria. On May 7th she came out openly, exasperated by the skilful defense of China's rights by her plenipotentiaries, and launched an ultimatum requiring the Chinese to surrender within twenty-four hours, as Japan's armaments were being moved against the Chinese Republic.

It can be stated authoritatively that Lou Tseng-hsiang, in signing the 1915 Treaties, declared at the time he did so under the belief that they would have to be reconsidered in the post bellum settlement as an integral part of the peace treaty problems.

In the essentials, Japan obtained the substance of her Twenty-one Demands. The settlement of the Shantung question was overwhelmingly in her favor. She gained the strategic rear of Weihaiwei by the provision that if Germany abandoned her rights to the Chefoo-Weihaiwei line, "China will approach Japanese capitalists," and furthermore secured China's full assent to any arrangements the Japanese might reach with the Germans concerning the disposition of the Shantung concessions. Certain commercial ports were to be opened as soon as possible and the treaty was to come in force from the day of its signing.

The only open reservations on the 1915 Treaties from the Powers was made by the United States. On May 16th, America served notice on both China and Japan that she intended to stand by the Open Door policy, stating:

"It cannot recognize any agreement or understanding which has been entered into, or which may be entered into between the Governments of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integ-

rity of the Republic of China, or the international policy, commonly known as the Open Door policy."

Japanese practical diplomacy speedily countered by entering into an alliance with Russia in the summer of 1916, secretly fortifying her policy of flanking North China. Capitalizing German successes in 1917, Japan successively forced Great Britain (February 16), France (March 3), and Italy (March 7) to underwrite her claims to Shantung, the Russian agreement (February 20) lapsing because of revolutionary changes. From 1917, the United States remained Japan's only diplomatic impediment.

It became Japan's heyday in Shantung. She deliberately proceeded to entrench herself further by the establishment of a Civil Administration at Tsingtao under Imperial Ordinance No. 175, in the beginning of October; attached to it were civil bureaus at Fangtse, Chantien, and Tsinan. All of these are Chinese cities lying along the railway outside the leased territory comprising Kiaochow and the 50 kilometer zone, the nearest being nearly 100 miles from Tsingtao. The Shantung railway and the mines were put under a railway department for exploitation, this also forming an organ of the Civil Administration.

Great friction rapidly developed, heightened by the Japanese policy of garrisoning, which was evidently becoming a fixture. In through the zone under Japanese occupation came trainloads of goods admitted duty free under the stamp of "military supplies," and a flood of Japanese riff-raff exploited the Shantung hinterland from the zone as a base. Disorder prevailed; yet the Japanese Government kept pressing on China the need for controlling conditions in Shantung, conditions actually stirred up by Japanese agencies. China made the best of a bad situation and negotiated with Japan a final series of agreements in an attempt to alleviate the conditions in Shantung. A provisional agreement was reached on September 24, 1918, accepting the Japanese financing of two railway projects—constituting a wedge driven from Shantung west into the Yellow River Valley and bisecting the two Chinese Government lines running from Peking to Hankow, and from Tientsin to Pukow on the Yangtze, respectively. The lines were so vital to Japan's economic-political domination of North China that she was

willing to trade off her illegal garrisoning, etc., in part to secure China's assent to the Tainan-Shunteh and Kaomi-Süchou Railways contract, pledging herself in an exchange of notes between Baron Goto, Japanese Foreign Minister, and the Chinese Minister to Tokyo to the following effect:

(1) "Japanese troops along the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway, except a contingent of them to be stationed at Tsinanfu, shall be withdrawn to Tsingtao."

(2) The Chinese Government might organize a police force for the Shantung Railway, the latter paying a "reasonable amount" to defray the cost of their maintenance, but "Japanese are to be employed at the headquarters of the above-mentioned police force, at the principal railway stations and at the police training school."

(3) Chinese were to be employed as part of the railway staff, and the road itself, "after its ownership is definitely determined, is to be made a Chino-Japanese joint enterprise."

Shortly after the Agreements of September 24th had been signed I had occasion to investigate the status of Japan in Shantung. As to the withdrawal of Japanese garrisons, I found the Japanese building in the capital of Shantung new barracks to increase the forces here by some hundreds of men. Towering above the solid stone structures was the aerial of the Japanese-built wireless stretching for two hundred yards down the railway zone; this is a flat violation of China's sovereignty, just as is the Japanese wireless at Hankow, 600 miles up the Yangtze, which is linked to Japan by this station at Tsinan.

As for the Civil Administration, His Excellency Dr. Akiyama, civil governor of Tsingtao, said: "I would like to be able to get rid of all friction with the Chinese, but we are not free to act." He then sent me to the Railway Administration for the rest of the answer, for the arm of the Japanese War Office and Tokyo's plans of state lie here. I talked with those Japanese officials in Shantung who were working out the policy. They were very frank about it, as they showed me how thoroughly Japan had foreseen every contingency; how their new railway lines would be pushed westward perhaps to one point, perhaps to another, as the strategics of the situation demanded; how China did not figure greatly in their calculations as an obstructive factor; and I bore with me as I left Tsingtao for China's capital their polite smiles when the question of the American attitude was raised.





# THE DOCUMENTS IN FULL

## CONVENTION BETWEEN THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND CHINA RESPECTING THE LEASE OF KIAOCHOU<sup>1</sup>

Signed at Peking, March 6, 1898  
(Translation.)

**T**HE incidents connected with the Mission in the Prefecture of Tsao-choufoo, in Shantung, being now closed, the Imperial Chinese Government consider it advisable to give a special proof of their grateful appreciation of the friendship shown to them by Germany. The Imperial German and the Imperial Chinese Governments, therefore, inspired by the equal and mutual wish to strengthen the bonds of friendship which unite the two countries, and to develop the economic and commercial relations between the subjects of the two States, have concluded the following separate Convention:

### ARTICLE I

His Majesty the Emperor of China, guided by the intention to strengthen the friendly relations between China and Germany, and at the same time to increase the military readiness of the Chinese Empire, engages, while reserving to himself all rights of sovereignty in a zone of 50 kilom. (100 Chinese li) surrounding the Bay of Kiaochou at high water, to permit the free passage of German troops within this zone at any time, as also to abstain from taking any measures, or issuing any ordinances therein, without the previous consent of the German Government, and especially to place no obstacle in the way of any regulation of the water-courses which may prove to be necessary. His Majesty the Emperor of China, at the same time, reserves to himself the right to station troops within that zone, in agreement with the German Government, and to take other military measures.

### ARTICLE II

With the intention of meeting the legitimate desire of His Majesty the German Emperor that Germany, like other Powers, should hold a place on the Chinese coast for the repair and equipment of her ships, for the storage of materials and provisions for the same, and for other arrangements connected therewith, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Germany on lease, provisionally for ninety-nine years, both sides of the entrance to the Bay of Kiaochou. Germany engages to construct, at a suitable moment, on the territory thus ceded, fortifications for the protection of the buildings to be constructed there and of the entrance to the harbor.

### ARTICLE III

In order to avoid the possibility of conflicts, the Imperial Chinese Govern-

ment will abstain from exercising rights of sovereignty in the ceded territory during the term of the lease, and leaves the exercise of the same to Germany within the following limits:

(1) On the northern side of the entrance to the bay:

The peninsula bounded to the north-east by a line drawn from the north-eastern corner of Potato Island to Loshan Harbor.

(2) On the southern side of the entrance to the bay:

The peninsula bounded to the south-west by a line drawn from the southwesternmost point of the bay lying to the south-southwest of Chiposan Island, in the direction of Tolosan Island.

(3) The Island of Chiposan and Potato Island.

(4) The whole water area of the bay up to the highest water-mark at present known.

(5) All islands lying seaward from Kiaochou Bay which may be of importance for its defense, such as Tolosan, Chailenchou, etc.

The High Contracting Parties reserve to themselves to delimitate more accurately, in accordance with local traditions, the boundaries of the territory leased to Germany and of the 50 kilom. zone round the bay, by means of Commissioners to be appointed on both sides.

Chinese ships-of-war and merchant vessels shall enjoy the same privileges in the Bay of Kiaochou as the ships of other nations on friendly terms with Germany; and the entrance, departure, and sojourn of Chinese ships in the bay shall not be subject to any restrictions other than those which the Imperial German Government, in virtue of the rights of sovereignty over the whole of the water area of the bay transferred to Germany, may at any time find it necessary to impose with regard to the ships of other nations.

### ARTICLE IV

Germany engages to construct the necessary navigation signals on the islands and shallows at the entrance of the bay.

No dues shall be demanded from Chinese ships-of-war and merchant vessels in the Bay of Kiaochou, except those which may be levied upon other vessels for the purpose of maintaining the necessary harbor arrangements and quays.

### ARTICLE V

Should Germany at some future time express the wish to return Kiaochou Bay to China before the expiration of the lease, China engages to refund to Germany the expenditure she has incurred at Kiaochou, and to cede to Germany a more suitable place.

Germany engages at no time to sublet the territory leased from China to another Power.

The Chinese population dwelling in the ceded territory shall at all times enjoy the protection of the German Government, provided that they behave in conformity with law and order; unless their land is required for other purposes, they may remain there.

If land belonging to Chinese owners is required for any other purpose, the owner will receive compensation therefor.

As regards the reestablishment of Chinese customs stations which formerly existed outside the ceded territory, but within the 50 kilom. zone, the Imperial German Government intends to come to an agreement with the Chinese Government for the definitive regulation of the customs frontier, and the mode of collecting customs duties in a manner which will safeguard all the interests of China, and proposes to enter into further negotiations on the subject.

### SECTIONS II AND III

[Never really made public by the German Government.]

I. The Chinese Government sanctions the construction by Germany of two lines of railway in Shantung. The first will run from Kiaochou and Tsinan-fu to the boundary of Shantung Province via Weih sien, Tsinchou, Poshan, Tschuen and Suiping. The second line will connect Kiaochou with Chinchou, whence an extension will be constructed to Tsinan through Laiwu-hsien. The construction of this extension shall not be begun until the first part of the line, the main line, is completed, in order to give the Chinese an opportunity of connecting this line in the most advantageous manner with their own railway system. What places the line from Tsinan-fu to the provincial boundary shall take in en route is to be determined hereafter.

II. In order to carry out the above-mentioned railway work a Sino-German company shall be formed, with branches at whatever places may be necessary, and in this company both German and Chinese subjects shall be at liberty to invest money if they so choose, and appoint directors for the management of the undertaking.

III. All arrangements in connection with the works specified shall be determined by a future conference of German and Chinese representatives. The Chinese Government shall afford every facility and protection and extend every welcome to representatives of the German Railway Company operating in Chinese territory.

Profits derived from the working of these railways shall be justly divided pro rata between the shareholders without regard to nationality. The object of constructing these lines is solely the development of commerce. In inaugurating a railway system in Shantung Germany entertains no treacherous intentions toward China, and undertakes not to unlawfully seize any land in the province.

IV. The Chinese Government will allow German subjects to hold and develop mining property for a distance of 30 li from each side of these railways and along the whole extent of the lines. The following places where mining operations may be carried on are particularly specified: Along the northern railway from Kiaochou to Tsinan, Weih sien, Poshan-hsien and various other points, and along the Southern Kiaochou

<sup>1</sup> Das Staatsarchiv, vol. 61, No. 11518. Kiaochou was declared a free port on September 2, 1898. See Reichsanzeiger, September 5, 1918.

chou-Tsinan Chinchou line, Chinchou-fu, Laiwu-hsien, etc.

Chinese capital may be invested in these operations and arrangements for carrying on the work shall hereafter be made by a joint conference of Chinese and German representatives.

All German subjects engaged in such works in Chinese territory shall be properly protected and welcomed by the Chinese authorities and all profits derived shall be fairly divided between Chinese and German shareholders according to the extent of the interest they hold in the undertakings.

In trying to develop mining property in China, Germany is actuated by no treacherous motives against this country, but seeks only to increase commerce and improve the relations between the two countries.

The Chinese Government binds itself in all cases where foreign assistance, in persons, capital or material, may be needed for any purpose whatever within the Province of Shantung, to offer the said work or supplying of materials in the first instance to German manufacturers and merchants engaged in undertakings of the kind in question.

In case German manufacturers and merchants are not inclined to undertake the performance of such works or the furnishing of materials, China shall then be at liberty to act as she pleases.

The above agreement shall be ratified by the Sovereigns of both the contracting states, and the ratifications exchanged in such manner that, after the receipt by Berlin of the Treaty ratified by China, the copy ratified by Germany shall be handed to the Chinese Minister in Berlin.

The foregoing Treaty has been drawn up in four copies, two in German and two in Chinese, and was signed by the representatives of the two contracting states on the 6th March, 1898, corresponding to the 14th day of the second month in the twenty-fourth year Kuang-hau.

(Great Seal of the Tsung-li Yamen.)  
The Imperial German Minister,  
(Signed)

BARON VON HEYKINN.

LI HUNG-CHANG (in Chinese),  
Imperial Chinese Grand Secretary,  
Minister of the Tsung-li Yamen,  
etc., etc.

WENG TUNG-HO (in Chinese),  
Imperial Chinese Secretary, Member  
of the Council of State, Minister  
of the Tsung-li Yamen, etc.,  
etc.

#### HAY'S OPEN DOOR POLICY

This is the formula adopted by Secretary of State Hay seeking to establish commercial equality of opportunity in the various spheres developed at this time:

Earnestly desirous to remove any cause of irritation and to insure at the same time to the commerce of all nations in China the undoubted benefits which should accrue from a formal recognition by the various Powers claiming "spheres of interest" that they shall enjoy perfect equality of treatment for their commerce and navigation within such "spheres," the Government of the United States would be pleased to see His German Majesty's Government [Also sent to Great Britain, France,

Italy, Russia and Japan—Ed.] give formal assurances, and lend its coöperation in securing like assurances from the other interested Powers, that each within its respective sphere of whatever influence—

First—Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "spheres of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second—That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third—That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distance.

#### HAY'S INTEGRITY OF CHINA NOTES

The attitude of the United States toward China even during the period of the Boxer Uprising was clearly outlined in Secretary Hay's circular issued to the Powers on July 3, 1900. The document, published in the 1900 volume of *Foreign Relations of the United States*, is here reprinted in full:

In this critical posture of affairs of China it is deemed appropriate to define the attitude of the United States as far as present circumstances permit this to be done. We adhere to the policy initiated by us in 1857, of peace with the Chinese nation, of furtherance of lawful commerce, and of protection of lives and property of our citizens by all means guaranteed under extraterritorial treaty rights and by the law of nations. If wrong be done to our citizens, we propose to hold the authors to the uttermost accountability. We regard the condition at Peking as one of virtual anarchy, whereby power and responsibility are practically devolved upon the local provincial authorities. So long as they are not in overt collusion with the rebellion and use their power to protect foreign life and property, we regard them as representing the Chinese people, with whom we seek to remain in peace and friendship. The purpose of the President is, as it has been heretofore, to act concurrently with the other powers: first, in opening up communication with Peking and rescuing the American officials and missionaries, and other Americans who are in danger; secondly, in affording all possible protection everywhere in China to American life and property; thirdly, in guarding and protecting all legitimate American interests; and, fourthly, in aiding to prevent a spread of the disorders to other provinces of the Empire and a

recurrence of such disasters. It is, of course, too early to forecast the means of attaining this last result; but the policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly Powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

#### THE TAKAHIRA-ROOT CORRESPONDENCE

IMPERIAL JAPANESE EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, November 30, 1908.

Sir: The exchange of views between us, which has taken place at the several interviews which I have recently had the honor of holding with you, has shown that Japan and the United States holding important outlying insular possessions in the region of the Pacific Ocean, the governments of the two countries are animated by a common aim, policy, and intention in that region.

Believing that a frank avowal of that aim, policy, and intention would not only tend to strengthen the relations of friendship and good neighborhood, which have immemorially existed between Japan and the United States, but would materially contribute to the preservation of the general peace, the Imperial Government have authorized me to present to you an outline of their understanding of that common aim, policy, and intention:

1. It is the wish of the two governments to encourage the free and peaceful development of their commerce on the Pacific Ocean.

2. The policy of both governments, uninfluenced by any aggressive tendencies, is directed to the maintenance of the existing *status quo* in the region above mentioned and to the defense of the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

3. They are accordingly firmly resolved reciprocally to respect the territorial possessions belonging to each other in said region.

4. They are also determined to preserve the common interest of all powers in China by supporting by all pacific means at their disposal the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire.

5. Should any event occur threatening the *status quo* as above described or the principle of equal opportunity as above defined, it remains for the two governments to communicate with each other in order to arrive at an understanding as to what measures they may consider it useful to take.

If the foregoing outline accords with the view of the Government of the United States, I shall be gratified to receive your confirmation.

I take this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

N. TAKAHIRA.

HONORABLE ELIHU ROOT,  
Secretary of State.



REPLY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, November 30, 1908.  
Excellency:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of today setting forth the result of the exchange of views between us in our recent interviews defining the understanding of the two governments in regard to their policy in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

It is a pleasure to inform you that this expression of mutual understanding is welcome to the Government of the United States as appropriate to the happy relations of the two countries and as the occasion for a concise mutual affirmation of that accordant policy respecting the Far East which the two governments have so frequently declared in the past.

I am happy to be able to confirm to Your Excellency, on behalf of the United States, the declaration of the two governments embodied in the following words:

(Here Mr. Root repeats verbatim the articles contained in Baron Takahira's communication.)

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

ELIHU ROOT.

His Excellency  
Baron Kogoro Takahira.

TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS AS SIGNED  
WITH GROUP V WITHDRAWN

The treaties and agreements were signed on May 25, 1915, Lou Tseng-shiang, then Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, now one of China's representatives at the Peace Conference, and Eki Hiroki, Japanese Minister to China, acting for their respective governments. The original twenty-one Demands with the famous Group 5 articles, which were withdrawn from this final treaty, were presented January 18, 1915. The documents which are signed follow:

THE FIRST TREATY—RESPECTING SHANTUNG

His Excellency the President of the Republic of China and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, have resolved to conclude a Treaty with a view to the maintenance of general peace in the Far East and the future strengthening of the relations of friendship and good neighbourhood now existing between the two nations.

Article 1—The Chinese government engages to recognize all matters that may be agreed upon between the Japanese government and the German government respecting the disposition of all the rights, interests and concessions which, in virtue of treaties or otherwise, Germany possesses vis-a-vis China in relation to the province of Shantung.

Article 2—The Chinese engage that in case they undertake the construction of a railway connecting Chefoo or Lungkow with the Kiaochow-Tsinan railway, they shall, in the event of Germany's surrendering her right of providing capital for the Chefoo-Weihhsien railway line, enter into negotiations with Japanese capitalists for the purpose of financing the said undertaking.

Article 3—The Chinese government engage to open of their own accord as early as possible suitable cities and towns in the Province of Shantung for

the residence and trade of foreigners.

Article 4—The present treaty shall take effect on the day of its signature.

Following the signing of the above treaty the Chinese Foreign Minister made the following written declaration to the Japanese Minister at Peking:

The Chinese government will never lease or alienate, under any designation whatever, to any foreign power any territory within or along the coast of the Province of Shantung or any island lying near the said coast.

The Chinese Foreign Minister made also the following formal declaration:

I have the honor to state that the cities and towns to be opened in accordance with the stipulation of Article 3, of the treaty, respecting Shantung Province, signed to-day, will be selected, and the regulations therefor will be drawn up by the Chinese government, and will be decided upon after consultation with the Japanese Minister.

RESTORATION OF KIAOCHOU

The Japanese Minister made the following declaration to the Chinese Foreign Minister:

When, after the termination of the present war, the leased territory of Kiaochou Bay is completely left to the free disposal of Japan, the Japanese Government will restore the said leased territory to China under the following conditions:

1. The whole of Kiaochou Bay to be opened as a Commercial Port.
2. A concession under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan to be established at a place designated by the Japanese Government.
3. If the foreign Powers desire it, an international concession may be established.
4. As regards the disposal to be made of the buildings and properties of Germany and the conditions and procedure relating thereto, the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government shall arrange the matter by mutual agreement before the restoration.

TREATY RESPECTING SOUTH MANCHURIA  
AND INNER MONGOLIA EXTENDS PORT  
ARTHUR LEASE

The second treaty, respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, follows:

Article 1—The high contracting parties mutually agree to extend the terms of the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen, and the term relating to the South Manchurian Railway and to the Antung-Mukden Railway, to a period of ninety-nine years, respectively.

Article 2—The subjects of Japan shall be permitted in South Manchuria to lease land necessary either for erecting buildings for commercial and industrial uses or for agricultural purposes.

Article 3—The subjects of Japan shall have liberty to enter, travel and reside in South Manchuria and to carry on business of various kinds—commercial, industrial and otherwise.

Article 4—The government of China shall permit joint undertakings in Eastern Inner Mongolia of the subjects of Japan and citizens of China in agricultural and industries auxiliary thereto.

Article 5—With respect to the three preceding articles the subjects of Japan shall produce before the local authorities the passports duly issued for the purpose of registration, and shall also

submit themselves to the police laws and regulations and taxes of China.

In civil and criminal suits the Japanese consular officer, where a Japanese subject is the defendant, and the Chinese official, where a Chinese citizen is the defendant, shall, respectively, try and decide the case, both Japanese consular officer and the Chinese official being permitted each to send his agent to attend the trial of the other to watch the proceedings; providing that, in civil suits arising out of land disputes between Japanese subjects and Chinese citizens, the cases shall be tried and decided by the joint tribunal, composed of the properly authorized officials of the two countries, in accordance with the laws and local uses of China.

In the future, when the judicial system in the said regions shall have been completely reformed, all civil and criminal suits involving Japanese subjects shall be wholly tried and decided by the law courts of China.

Article 6—The government of China engage to open of their own accord as early as possible suitable cities and towns in Eastern Inner Mongolia for the residence and trade of foreigners.

Article 7—The government of China agree to a speedy fundamental revision of various agreements and contracts relating to the Kirin-Changchun railway, on the basis of the terms embodied in railway loan agreements which China has heretofore entered into with various foreign capitalists. If in the future the Chinese government grant to foreign capitalists, in matters that relate to railway loans, more advantageous terms than those in the various existing railway loan agreements, the above mentioned Kirin-Changchun railway loan agreement shall, if so desired by Japan, be further revised.

Article 8—Except as otherwise provided in this treaty, all existing treaties between Japan and China with respect to Manchuria shall remain in force.

Article 9—The present treaty shall take effect on the day of its signature.

The following note was exchanged:

I have the honor to state that, respecting the provisions contained in Article I of the Treaty relating to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, signed this day, the term of lease of Port Arthur and Dairen shall expire in the 86th year of the Republic, or 1997. The date for restoring the South Manchuria Railway to China shall fall due in the 91st year of the Republic, or 2002. Article 21 of the original South Manchurian Railway Agreement providing that it may be redeemed by China after 36 years from the day on which the traffic is opened is hereby cancelled. The term of the Antung-Mukden Railway shall expire in the 96th year of the Republic, or 2007.

TOWNS AND MINES SELECTED; PREFERENCE  
TO JAPANESE IN LOANS AND ADVISERS

The Chinese Foreign Minister made the following declarations:

I have the honor to state that the cities and towns to be opened in accordance with the stipulation of Article 6, of the treaty respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, signed this day, will be selected and the regulations therefor will be drawn up by the Chinese government and will be decided upon after consultation with the Japanese Minister.

I have the honor to state that Japanese subjects shall, as soon as possible, investigate and select mines in the mining areas in South Manchuria specified hereinafter, except those being prospected for or worked, and the Chinese Government will then permit them to prospect or work the same; but before the mining regulations are definitely settled, the practice at present in force shall be followed.

**Fengtien**

Niu Hsin Tai.....Coal  
Tien Shih Fu Kou...Coal ..  
Sha Sung Kang.....Coal  
T'ieh Ch'ang .....Coal  
Nuan Ti Tang.....Coal  
An Shan Chan region.Iron  
Kirin (Southern Portion)  
Sha Sung Kang.....Coal and Iron  
Kang Yao .....Coal  
Chia P'i Kou.....Gold and Iron

The Chinese Government will, when it is proposed in future to build railways in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, employ Chinese capital for the purpose, and if foreign capital should be required they will negotiate first with Japanese capitalists for a loan; and further, when the Chinese Government proposes to raise a loan abroad on the security of the taxes on the above mentioned regions (excluding, however, the salt gabelle and customs duties which are already made securities for the loans of the Chinese Central Government), they will first consult Japanese capitalists.

If, in the future, the Chinese Government desire to employ foreign advisers and instructors on political, financial, military and police affairs in South Manchuria, preference shall be given to Japanese.

I have the honor to state that the term "lease by negotiation" contained in Article 2 of the Treaty respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia signed this day shall be understood to imply a long-term lease of not more than thirty years and also the possibility of its unconditional renewal.

**FINANCIAL CONTROL OF HAN-YEH-PING STEEL WORKS**

In view of the very close relations subsisting between Japanese capitalists and the Han-Yeh-Ping Company, the Chinese government engages to approve the agreement that may be concluded in future between the company and Japanese capitalists for its joint undertaking, and not to confiscate it, to nationalize it without the consent of the Japanese capitalists, or to permit it to contract any foreign loan other than Japanese.

**AGREEMENT REGARDING THE FUKIEN QUESTION**

I beg to inform you that the Chinese Government hereby declares that it has given no permission to foreign nations to construct, on the coast of Fukien Province, dockyards, coaling stations for military use, naval bases, or to set up other military establishments; nor does it entertain an intention of borrowing foreign capital for the purpose of setting up the above-mentioned establishments.

This declaration was occasioned by a statement by the Japanese Minister saying: "It has been reported that the Chinese government intends to permit

a foreign power to build a shipyard, military coaling station, naval station, and all other military establishments, on the coast of Fukien Province, or that China herself intends to build the above-mentioned establishments with foreign capital," and he requested the Chinese Foreign Minister to inform him whether the Chinese government "has, in fact, such intention."

**THE GROUP FIVE DEMANDS OF JANUARY 18, 1915**

These Demands, part of the original Twenty-one Demands, were left out of the information forwarded to the Powers.

Article 1—The Chinese Central Government shall employ influential Japanese as advisers in political, financial and military affairs.

Article 2—Japanese hospitals, churches and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.

Article 3—Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese police which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the police departments of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese or that the police departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese, so that they may at the same time help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese Police Service.

Article 4—China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war say (50 per cent or more of what is needed by the Chinese Government) or there shall be established in China a Sino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material to be purchased.

Article 5—China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang and Kiukiang and Nanchang, another line between Nanchang and Hangchow, and another between Nanchang and Chaochow.

Article 6—If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways and construct harbor-works (including dockyards) in the Province of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted.

Article 7—China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China.

**THE MAY, 1915, ULTIMATUM TO CHINA**

Relative to this Group V and to the general attitude of the Japanese in these negotiations, the Official Communiqué issued by the Japanese Government from Tokio on May 7th, explaining the ultimatum of the 6th, closes with the following sentences:

"The Japanese Government deeply regret to perceive from the attitude of the Chinese Government that it is no longer any use to continue the present negotiations. Nevertheless, being desirous, with a view to the maintenance of peace in the Far East, to make every effort to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion and thus to avoid complications in the situation, the Japanese Government, taking fully into account the wishes of the Chinese Government, decided with great forbearance, to leave out of the present negotiations and reserve for future discussion all items specified in Group V of the amend-

ed draft, except that relating to Fukien, about which an agreement has been reached. The Japanese Government instructed their Minister at Peking on May 6th that, in conveying this decision to the Chinese Government he should earnestly advise them to give due regard to Japan's sentiment of accommodation and conciliation and express after careful consideration their assent without delay to the Japanese amended draft and at the same time announce that the Japanese Government expect from the Chinese Government a satisfactory response to this advice not later than six p. m. on 9th May."

**THE ISHII LANSING NOTE**

The despatch of the Secretary of State of the United States embodied in the State Department announcement of November 6, 1917, of the Ishii-Lansing agreement read as follows:

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Washington, Nov. 2, 1917.

**EXCELLENCY:**

I have the honor to communicate herein my understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Governments relating to the Republic of China.

In order to silence the mischievous reports that from time to time have been circulated, it is believed by us that a public announcement once more of the desires and intentions shared by our two Governments with regard to China is advisable.

The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and consequently the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of the Imperial Japanese Government that while geographical position gives Japan such special interests, they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other Powers.

The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China, and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called Open Door or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any Government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

I shall be glad to have your Excellency confirm this understanding of the agreement reached by us.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

ROBERT LANSING.

## SECRET COMPACTS REGARDING SHANTUNG

On the basis of the following secret agreements entered into between Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy, Japan forced the Peace Conference to yield Shantung:

BRITISH EMBASSY,

Tokyo, Feb. 16, 1917.

My Dear Excellency:

With reference to the subject of our conversation of the 27th ultimo, when your Excellency informed me of the desire of the Imperial Government to receive an assurance that on the occasion of a Peace Conference, His Britannic Majesty's Government will support the claims of Japan in regard to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shantung and possessions in the islands north of the equator, I have the honor, under instructions received from His Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to communicate to you the following message from His Britannic Majesty's Government:

His Britannic Majesty's Government accede with pleasure to request of the Japanese Government for an assurance that they will support Japan's claims in regard to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shantung and possessions in the islands north of the equator on the occasion of the Peace Conference; it being understood that the Japanese Government will in the eventual peace settlement treat in the same spirit Great Britain's claims to the German islands south of the equator.

I avail myself of this opportunity, M. le Ministre, to renew to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

CONYNORHAME GREENK.

His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador.

To His Excellency Viscount Ichiro Motono, his Imperial Japanese Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

To which Viscount Motono replied:

The Japanese Government is deeply appreciative of the friendly spirit in which your Government has given assurance and happy to note it as fresh proof of the close ties that unite the two allied powers. I take pleasure in stating that the Japanese Government on its part is fully prepared to support in the same spirit the claims which may be put forward at the Peace Conference by His Britannic Majesty's Government in regard to the German possessions in the islands south of the equator.

Three days later, Motono sent the following notes to the French and Russian Ambassadors in Tokyo:

The Imperial Japanese Government has not yet formally entered into conversations with the Entente powers concerning the conditions of peace I propose to present to Germany, because it is guided by the thought that such questions ought to be decided in concert between Japan and the said powers at the moment when the peace negotiations begin. Nevertheless, in view of recent developments in the general situation, and in view of the particular arrangements concerning peace conditions, such as arrangements relative to the disposition of the Bosphorus, Constantinople, and the Dardanelles, being already under discussion by the powers

interested, the Imperial Japanese Government believes that the moment has come for it also to express its desires relative to certain conditions of peace essential to Japan and to submit them for the consideration of the Government of the French Republic.

The French Government is thoroughly informed of all the efforts the Japanese Government has made in a general manner to accomplish its task in the present war, and particularly to guarantee for the future the peace of Oriental Asia and the security of the Japanese Empire, for which it is absolutely necessary to take from Germany its bases of political, military and economic activity in the Far East.

Under these conditions the Imperial Japanese Government proposes to demand from Germany at the time of the peace negotiations the surrender of the territorial rights and special interests Germany possessed before the war in Shantung and the islands situated north of the equator in the Pacific Ocean.

The Imperial Japanese Government confidently hopes the Government of the French Republic, realizing the legitimacy of these demands, will give assurance that, her case being proved, Japan may count upon its full support on this question.

It goes without saying that reparation for damages caused to the life and property of the Japanese people by the unjustifiable attacks of the enemy, as well as other conditions of peace of a character common to all the Entente powers, are entirely outside the consideration of the present question.

The reply of the French Ambassador follows:

The Government of the French Republic is disposed to give the Japanese Government its accord in regulating at the time of the peace negotiations questions vital to Japan concerning Shantung and the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator. It also agrees to support the demands of the Imperial Japanese Government for the surrender of the rights Germany possessed before the war in this Chinese province and these islands.

M. Briand demands, on the other hand, that Japan give its support to obtain from China the breaking of the diplomatic relations with Germany, and that it give this act desirable significance. The consequences of this in China should be the following:

First—Handing passports to the German diplomatic agents and consuls.

Second—The obligation of all under German jurisdiction to leave Chinese territory.

Third—The internment of German ships in Chinese ports and the ultimate requisition of these ships in order to place them at the disposition of the Allies following the example of Italy and Portugal. According to the information of the French Government there are fifteen German ships in Chinese ports totaling about 40,000 tons.

Fourth—Requisition of German commercial houses established in China; forfeiting the right of Germany in the concessions she possesses in certain parts of China.

Russia and Italy also gave their acquiescence in this matter, correspondence between Japan and Italy being exchanged at Rome, not in Tokyo.

## SECTION VIII OF THE PEACE TREATY BEARING ON SHANTUNG

## ARTICLE 156

Germany renounces, in favor of Japan, all her rights, title and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines and submarine cables—which she acquired in virtue of the Treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinan-fu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and material for the exploitation of the mines, are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German State submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges, and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

## ARTICLE 157

The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiaochow as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her directly or indirectly in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

## ARTICLE 158

Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial, or other, of the territory of Kiaochow.

Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements, or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding articles.

## UCHIDA-WILSON STATEMENTS

Virtually the last official words on the Shantung question were those issued by Viscount Uchida, Japanese Foreign Minister, and supplemented by President Wilson on August 6th. In his pronouncement, Viscount Uchida, besides restating the now well-known conditions upon which Japan intends to return Kiaochow, said: "At the same time abiding faithfully by the pledge which she gave to China in 1915, she is willing to restore to China the whole territory in question," etc. President Wilson's statement reads in part:

"No reference was made to this policy being in any way dependent upon the execution of the agreement of 1915, to which Viscount Uchida appears to have referred. Indeed I felt it my duty to say that nothing that I agreed to must be construed as an acquiescence on the part of the government of the United States in the policy of the notes exchanged between China and Japan in 1915 and 1918, and reference was made in the discussion to the enforcement of the agreements of 1915 and 1918 only in case China failed to cooperate fully in carrying out the policy outlined in the statement of Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda."

# SHANTUNG!

*(Pronounced Shahn-dung, the u as in full, d not t)*

## This spells the Alsace-Lorraine of Asia

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80 Wall Street, New York

For Year Ending December 31, 1918

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P. G. Sherwood	Asst. Treasurer

## Counsel

Sullivan & Cromwell

## Auditors

Price, Waterhouse & Company

NEW YORK, June 30, 1919.

## To the Stockholders:

The following report of the operations of your Corporation for the year ending December 31, 1918, is hereby submitted:

### CAPITALIZATION

At a meeting of the stockholders held February 21, 1918, the total authorized capital stock of the Corporation was increased from \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000, consisting of 200,000 shares, of one class, having a par value of \$50 each. During the year, \$1,634,050 par value, of the unissued capital stock of the Corporation was issued or subscribed for at par for cash, the total amount of the stock of the Corporation issued and subscribed for on December 31, 1918, being \$5,772,700. The plan submitted to and approved by the Stockholders of setting aside 10% of the subscribed stock of the Corporation for sale to employees has been carried out. Over 190 members of the staff of the Corporation and its subsidiaries have subscribed for stock at par for cash payable in installments. The item of \$116,225 appearing in the balance sheet as due on subscriptions, is the amount due on employees' subscriptions accepted at that date.

### BUSINESS AND SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES

As the number of stockholders of the Corporation has very largely increased during the past year, the following summary of the statements appearing in the First Annual Report relative to the business of the Corporation and its subsidiary companies is included in this report.

The Pacific Development Corporation was organized as the result of twenty years of work

in building up an American trading business in the Orient. The Corporation is primarily a holding company, experience having shown that the various activities of the Corporation could best be carried on by independent companies financing their own business and operating under local management in the various countries where they did business. The Board of Directors believes that the success of foreign enterprises depends primarily upon the efficiency of the local management in those countries where the enterprise is located. The business of the Corporation is:

(1) Foreign trade, especially with the Orient, conducted through a group of trading companies, all of which have developed their business in the countries where they operate over a period varying from twenty to eleven years. Each of these companies began business in a small way, has built up its capital largely out of profits, and is being operated by the same men who organized it.

(2) Developing industrial enterprises co-ordinating with foreign trade, which experience has proved can best be carried out through separate, but allied companies rather than through the trading companies themselves.

(3) Acting as representative of American capital in those countries where its various subsidiaries operate.

The following table gives a list of the subsidiary companies controlled by the Corporation, together with the percentage of stock owned by the Corporation, all as of December 31, 1918:

## Second Annual Report Pacific Development Corporation

	Percentage of Stock
	Owned:
Pacific Commercial Company.....	80.43%
Andersen, Meyer & Company, Limited.....	99.75%
Hartmann Brothers, Incorporated.....	100.00%
International Vegetable Oil Company.....	100.00%
American Machine & Manufacturing Company.....	100.00%
New York Pacific Commercial Company.....	100.00%

*The Pacific Commercial Company* was organized in December, 1911, to take over and carry on the business of Castle Bros., Wolf & Sons, which was organized in 1899. The head office of the Company is at Manila and it maintains branches at the leading commercial centres of the Philippine Islands; at Sydney, Australia; and Kobe, Japan.

*Andersen, Meyer & Company, Limited*, was organized in June, 1915, to take over and carry on the business of the partnership of Andersen, Meyer & Company, which was established in 1907. The head office of the company is at Shanghai and it maintains branches at twelve of the leading commercial centers of China and Eastern Siberia.

*Hartmann Brothers, Incorporated*, was acquired by the Corporation as of April 1, 1917, the present business having been begun in 1907. The head office of the company is in Boston, and it maintains branches at New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, and owns a controlling interest in R. H. Gonzales & Company, with offices at Buenos Aires and Bahia Blanca in the Argentine. The business of the Company is primarily importation of foreign merchandise and, in addition to doing business with countries where the Corporation is not represented by subsidiaries, it acts as the representative in this country for the sale of merchandise shipped from our subsidiaries abroad.

*The International Vegetable Oil Company* controls a group of cotton seed oil mills in the South and has extended its business, in the operation of its southern mills, by the purchase of oil bearing nuts and seeds from abroad. The Corporation is planning to extend its business to the Orient through the erection of mills there.

*The American Machine and Manufacturing Company* was organized in 1908 and has conducted a profitable business in producing a full line of vegetable oil machinery with plants at Atlanta, Ga., and Greenville, S. C. Since its acquisition by the Corporation its business has been largely extended through the sale of its products by our eastern trading subsidiaries.

*The New York Pacific Commercial Company* was organized during the year to take over and carry on the offices in New York, San Francisco, and Seattle, which had heretofore been jointly owned by Andersen, Meyer & Company, Limited, and the Pacific Commercial Company. This corporation acts as the buying agent in this country for our foreign subsidiaries and plans to build up an export business from the United States to Countries in which the Corporation has no direct representation.

### 1918 EARNINGS

The net profits of the Corporation, on the basis of a consolidated statement for the year ending December 31, 1918, after making provision for the estimated amount of income and excess profits taxes were \$1,736,905.10, or \$15.04 per share on the capital issued and subscribed at that date. The average paid in capital of the Corporation for the year ending December 31, 1918, was \$4,951,813. The percentage of net profits on the average paid in capital was 35.08 per cent. The following statement shows the above earnings of the Corporation for the year 1918, as compared with the earnings of the Corporation for the year 1917, and the earnings of the subsidiary companies for the year prior to its organization:

	Fiscal Year 1918	Fiscal Year 1917	Fiscal Year 1916
Net Profits .....	\$1,736,905.10	\$1,226,624.28	\$996,475.93
Cash Dividends Paid.....	330,390.99	112,311.77	25,000.00
Percentage Earned on Average Capital.....	35.08%	50.79%	39.13%

## Second Annual Report Pacific Development Corporation

### QUARTERLY DIVIDENDS

Quarterly dividends at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum have been paid, on February 15, May 15, August 15, and November 15.

### BALANCE SHEET

The net worth of the Pacific Development Corporation, on the basis of a consolidated balance sheet, was on December 31, 1918, \$8,968,665.55, giving its stock a book value of \$77.68 per share, as against its par value of \$50 per share; \$47.16 per share is represented by quick assets. The total net worth of the Corporation and its subsidiary companies, on the basis of a consolidated balance sheet, including minority interests in its subsidiaries, was on December 31, 1918, \$9,891,670.71. Attached hereto is the balance sheet of the Pacific Development Corporation as of December 31, 1918, certified by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Company.

### 1918 BUSINESS

No new business was undertaken by the Corporation during the year; the policy has been continued of retaining in its subsidiaries the bulk of their large current earnings only withdrawing enough profits to meet the expenses and dividend requirements of the Corporation, these excess earnings and the money derived from the sale of stock being used to strengthen the position of its existing subsidiaries, each of which has shown substantial growth during the year.

In the Philippine Islands the abnormal prosperity brought about by the war continued practically throughout the year, the foreign trade of the Islands reaching the total of \$233,793,694, this total being \$72,392,356 in excess of the trade of the Islands for 1917—the record year up to that date. The 1918 trade returns show imports of \$98,599,212, and exports of \$135,194,482, or a balance of trade in favor of the Islands of \$36,595,270. The Philippine Islands, as American territory, suffered less than any other Oriental country from the war restriction imposed on trade during 1918. During the four years from January 1, 1915, to December 31, 1918, the Islands have accumulated a favorable balance of trade of \$96,745,979, as against a total unfavorable balance of trade of \$18,694,608 for the preceding sixteen years of American occupation. While the prosperity of the Islands for the last four years has been largely due to the increases in the prices of commodities produced, there has been a substantial increase in the quantity of production. Based on the most authentic information available, the average value of the products of the Islands has increased from approximately \$90 per metric ton in 1914 to approximately \$187

per metric ton in 1918, while the amount produced in the same period has increased approximately 50 per cent.

Some recession in the value of the trade in the Islands must be expected during a period of return to normal prices. On the other hand the falling tendency in prices has to date been gradual and any decrease in trade from this source is being counteracted by the increased production and the rapid strides which the Islands have made during the past four years in improved agricultural methods and in utilizing these increased resources to provide adequate and modern facilities for development. This is particularly true of the Sugar business where efficient centrals are rapidly replacing the small antiquated mills formerly in use.

The Pacific Commercial Company with its experience derived from twenty years of successful business in the Islands, its resources more than tripled as a result of the large profits of the last four years, its thoroughly trained organization covering the entire Islands, through branches at the principal ports, traveling salesmen and trading schooners and accounts on its books with more than 8,000 merchants who are looking to it for the regular requirements of their business, is in a sound position to continue to do a profitable business and maintain its position as the leading import house and one of the leading export houses in the Islands.

China has benefited less by the war prosperity than any other country in the East. The prevailing high rates for silver have gone far to neutralize the high gold prices of the exports of China and the war restrictions placed on foreign trade have increased both in number and effect during the year. The collapse of the Russian Government virtually suspended the market there for tea and a considerable amount of internal unrest produced as a result of the conflict between the North and South of China seriously interfered with production in a number of Provinces.

In spite, however, of all these adverse conditions, the foreign trade for China for 1918 was the highest on record, the total being Haikwan Taels 1,040,776,113, an increase of Haikwan Taels 28,325,709 over that of 1917. This total on the basis of average rate of exchange for the year was equivalent to \$1,303,193,239. The restrictions on trade, with the prevailing high prices of commodities, resulted in an unusual degree of prosperity in the industrial plants in China and the termination of the war has shown a marked increase in industrial activity produced not only by the excellent showing made by existing enterprises

## Second Annual Report Pacific Development Corporation

during the war but by the increasingly obvious difference between labor conditions in China as compared with conditions in the United States and Europe. There is no Bolshevism or social unrest in China. The labor wage in silver throughout the country has not materially increased as a result of the war and Chinese labor is showing itself, under proper supervision, able to compare favorably on the basis of unit production with labor in other parts of the world.

During the last three and one-half years we have been devoting the activities of Andersen, Meyer & Company primarily to building up the organization, especially in its engineering and machinery lines, to take advantage of the development which we believe was coming in China. Andersen, Meyer & Company, during this period, has grown from a well established house having one office and an engineering staff in Shanghai, to an organization having thirteen offices in China and eastern Siberia, a trained staff of more than 175 Americans and Europeans, in addition to a large Chinese organization, with adequate office and warehouse facilities at its different branches, and having exclusive representation in China for a group of the leading manufacturers of machinery and equipment in this country. The expense of this expansion has been met out of the current earnings of the Company with a substantial margin of net profits remaining. On April first Andersen, Meyer & Company had on its books orders for machinery and equipment in excess of \$8,000,000, and today is the leading American commercial house in China and the leading machinery and engineering house of any nationality.

The import business into this country from the Orient during 1918 was affected even more than the export business out of this country, by the restriction placed on foreign trade and the shortage of tonnage. The high silver exchange complicated the situation, so far as exports from China were concerned, but in spite of this disability Hartmann Bros., Inc., our American subsidiary, made substantial growth during the year and extended its organization to efficiently handle additional lines of foreign merchandise in this country. It is a source of gratification to the board that in the two years since this Company was acquired by the Corporation it has succeeded in earning net profits equal to the amount which it was estimated the Company would make in three years.

Owing to local conditions which developed in the Philippine Islands, an opportunity presented itself to dispose of, at a satisfactory profit, the interest of the International Vegetable Oil Company in the Philippine Manufacturing Company.

The business of the American Machine &

Manufacturing Company showed a substantial growth during the year as a result, primarily, of large orders for oil mill machinery placed by the company through our Far Eastern subsidiaries. The contract with the Government for the manufacture of 155 m/m shell was cancelled at the conclusion of the war and since January 1st settlement has been reached with the Ordnance Department which closes the business with a small margin of profit to the company, and has liquidated the indebtedness incurred by the American Machine & Manufacturing Company and the Corporation in connection with this business.

Plans are being discussed and will shortly be submitted to the stockholders for securing an increase in our resources through a stock issue to enable the Corporation to proceed with its logical growth and accept a reasonable proportion of the profitable business which is now being offered.

### IN MEMORIAM

The Board of Directors record with deep sorrow the loss during the year of two of their fellow directors: Mr. Chester P. Siems, who died in New York on November 23, 1918, and Major Willard Straight, who died in Paris on December 1, 1918.

By order of the Board of Directors:

Respectfully submitted,  
EDWARD B. BRUCE, *President*.

NEW YORK, May 9, 1919.

### CERTIFICATE

We have examined the books and accounts of the Pacific Development Corporation for the year ending December 31, 1918, and certify that the accompanying balance sheet is correctly prepared therefrom.

The audited accounts of the subsidiary companies have not been received and only the dividends actually received or declared have been credited to the profit and loss account of the corporation.

We have verified the securities for the investment by certificates from the duly appointed custodian of securities, or by actual count.

Cash in banks has been verified by certificates from the various depositaries and we have satisfied ourselves that full provision has been made for all ascertained liabilities. Provision for federal taxes and managers' compensation are estimated, as it is impossible at this time to determine the exact amounts.

Subject to the foregoing, we certify that, in our opinion, the attached balance sheet is properly drawn up to show the true financial position of the Corporation as a holding company at December 31, 1918.

PRICE, WATERHOUSE & CO.







## SPECIAL NOTICE

As this issue of ASIA goes to press, a strike of printers in New York City, to go into effect October 1, appears probable. The strike will compel suspension of publication by a large number of New York periodicals. In the event of suspension by ASIA, the co-operation of readers is asked over the period necessary for an adjustment.

## Contributors and Contributions

F. L. BIRD lived in Persia from the time of the financial reorganization of the country in 1911 until the close of the war. As an instructor in history in the large American School in Teheran, he had ample opportunity for studying the political situation of the country.

M. D. C. CRAWFORD is curator of the costume department at the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, and is design editor of *Women's Wear*.

AMEEN RIHANI is a Syrian poet and author.

H. M. HYNDMAN is an English Socialist of long and faithful service to his party. His two most recent books are *Clemenceau, the Man and His Work*, and *The Awakening of Asia*.

LOWELL THOMAS, associate editor of ASIA, whose second article on Arabia and Palestine appears in this issue, is now conducting a lecture season at Covent Garden, London, which is bringing unusual acclaim from London audiences.

*The Daily Mail* said: "One of the strangest sights to be seen by the Londoner at present is a large queue waiting in the vestibule of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, to buy seats just before the evening entertainment. Such an event is beyond imagination. The reason is that Mr. Lowell Thomas gives an amazingly graphic account of these campaigns which freed the Holy Land."

WILLIAM L. HALL is an American physician who has spent a number of years in China as a medical missionary stationed at Suining, an interior city. He has recently returned to this country.

H. V. ANDREWS, through missionary work in India, has come into unusually intimate contact with the social caste system of India and its governing ideas.

STEWART CULIN is curator of ethnology at the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

JOSEPH AUSLANDER is one of the promising young poets at Harvard University.

SILAS BENT is a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Times*.

SYDNEY GREENBIE has recently returned from two years in Japan, where he was instructor in English in the Imperial Government schools and a member of the staff of the *Japan Chronicle*. Mr. Greenbie is at present on the editorial staff of ASIA.

ZOE KINCAID has made an exhaustive study of the Japanese drama. She is an associate editor of *The Far East*, published in Tokyo.

# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

VOLUME XIX

NUMBER 10

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Louis D. Froelick,

and Editor of ASIA.

Secretary and Publisher

Roscoe G. Kincaid, Treasurer and Business Manager

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ARTICLES and pictures on matters of Oriental interest are invited, but the responsibility is not assumed for the safe return of material submitted. Return postage should be enclosed.

# THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

## THE PURPOSE of The American Asiatic Association is—

"To contribute to a satisfactory adjustment of the relations between Asiatic countries and the rest of the world by the removal of sources of misunderstanding and the dissipation of ignorant prejudices; and to co-operate with all other agencies, religious, educational and philanthropic, designed to remove existing obstacles to the peaceful progress and well being of the peoples of these countries."—Section 5, Article II, of the Constitution.

In publishing ASIA it will be the policy of the editors to regard with sympathy the attitude and activities of all Eastern countries. Nevertheless, the independent privilege of criticism will be steadfastly retained. No hampering restrictions will be placed on contributions on important subjects, regardless of the source from which they may come, Asiatic or American; and articles considered able and having value, whether they tend to inspire controversy or not, will be considered as beneficial to the promotion of knowledge and the removal of misunderstandings, and will be published in spite of the fact that the editors may not agree entirely with the opinions expressed.

ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP in The American Asiatic Association is open as provided in Section 1, Article III, of the Constitution, which states that—

"Any person of full age who is in sympathy with the foregoing objects and purposes (quoted above) shall be eligible to membership in the Association."

The annual dues of an Active Member—who participates in the policies of the Association and has power of voting on them—are \$10.00 per annum, which includes subscription to the magazine and any other publications which may be issued, and also admission to any lecture which may be given under the Association's auspices.

## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

JOHN FOORD, *Secretary*,

AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION,

627 Lexington Ave., New York City.

I desire to become an Associate Member of the American Asiatic Association and to subscribe for ASIA—*Journal of the American Asiatic Association*, for one year, for which \$2.75 of the annual membership dues of \$3.00 is payment.

Name .....

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Annual associate membership dues are \$3.00 in the United States and possessions, Mexico and Shanghai; \$3.50 in Canada; elsewhere, \$4.00.

M-9-19

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Paul Thompson

#### ADMIRAL HUGH RODMAN, COMMANDER OF THE PACIFIC FLEET

Rear-Admiral Rodman was in command of the Sixth Battle Squadron which cooperated with the British Grand Fleet during the war. The fleet he now commands is composed of 14 battleships, 10 armored cruisers, 108 destroyers and 14 submarines—one-half of the entire strength of the United States Navy. For the first time a large fleet of warships passed through the Panama Canal, and the ovation given it on the Pacific Coast was tremendous. Considerable discussion has been aroused by this partitioning of the navy, some contending that it has nullified its usefulness in so doing. But Secretary Daniels answers that "Once every year they (the divisions) will come together as a mighty armada, sometimes in the Atlantic and sometimes in the Pacific." There is still a third division—the Asiatic fleet—with Admiral Gleaves in command.



*From Black-White Review*

#### MIRZA ABDUL ALI KHAN, NEWLY APPOINTED PERSIAN MINISTER

Mirza Abdol Ali Khan, now representing the Kingdom of Persia at Washington, comes from one of the oldest and most distinguished families of his land. He is the grandson of the Prime Minister of Fath Ali Shah, second King of the present Gadjar dynasty. His father was a nephew of that Shah, and the master of ceremony of the household of the court of the late Mozaffar-ed-din Shah. He was born in 1876, and was educated at Muzaffary College, Tabriz. At the age of twenty-one he was appointed Chamberlain at the court, with the title of Sadigh-es-Saltaneh. He entered the diplomatic service in 1899, and later became Imperial Commissioner at London. In 1910 he was appointed Counselor of the Embassy, and five years later the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary was conferred upon him. He and his brothers have been great constitutional leaders of Persia, and have done much to bring about the new Constitutional Government.



*From Illustrating Review*

#### VISCOUNT UCHIDA, WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER

Viscount Yasuya Uchida is the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Hara Cabinet, now in power in Japan. He is a graduate of the College of Law of the Tokyo Imperial University, and entered the diplomatic service as Attaché to the Legation at Washington in 1887. After numerous important political posts at home, he was appointed Minister to Peking in 1901 and to Vienna in 1907. Two years later he was made the Ambassador to Washington, and subsequently Ambassador to Petrograd. Viscount Uchida is strongly in favor of ratifying the Treaty of Peace as it stands, and has committed himself to the return of Shantung to China. His experiences outside Japan have made him well acquainted with world affairs. He is progressive in tendency, though conservative in politics. Viscount Uchida was still Ambassador to Russia when the Bolsheviks came into power, and declared himself as in favor of recognizing them. He was likewise opposed to an Allied expedition for intervention in Siberia.



*Edmond Sestier*

ANCIENT RUINS IN SEISTAN, SOUTHEASTERN PERSIA

The Crumbled Tower and Walls of a Mosque at Zahidan, the Former Metropolis of Seistan. Bearing Mute Testimony to the Receding Power of Mohammedanism, Which the ex-Kaiser Fruitlessly Tried to Stir into a Conflagration Based on the Pan-Islamic Idea

# SOLVING THE PERSIAN PROBLEM

By F. L. BIRD

THE recently negotiated Anglo-Persian treaty which has been the subject of so much criticism in this country and in France brings to a possible settlement an international problem of two hundred years standing. The following quotation from the apocryphal "Will of Peter the Great" gives the key to the Persian policy which Russia initiated early in the 18th century and which she consistently developed from that time to the downfall of the Imperial Government in 1917. "Bear in mind that the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and that he who can exclusively control it is the dictator of Europe; no occasion should therefore be lost to provoke war with Persia, to hasten its decay, to advance to the Persian Gulf, and then to endeavor to reestablish the ancient trade of the Levant through Syria." It is the development of this policy which has brought about the eternal fear and hatred of Russia on the part of the Persian people.

The gradual absorption of the Persian provinces in the Caucasus was brought to completion by the results of the Russo-Persian War of 1826-28, which gave Russia entire control over the Caucasus and set up the present Persian boundary. Turning her attention to the expansion of her territory in Central Asia she completed the conquest of the independent khanates of Turkestan with the annexation of Merv in 1884 and brought her borders to march with Afghanistan. The Russo-Persian boundary in Trans-Caspia was carefully adjusted to separate the fertile territory at the foot of the northern slopes of the Elburz from the barren and rocky mountain sides with which, perforce, the Persians had to be content. Nor was this the limit of Russian aggression. Just as surely as the slow advance of a great glacier, she moved on toward the south seas. In the northwestern and northeastern corners of Persia, Azerbaijan, Persia's most wealthy province, and Khorassan, most prominent in Mohammedan history, became the next objectives; and more recently she pursued an undeviating course of interference with the internal affairs of the government itself.

History has long established the defenselessness of northern India before onslaughts from the northwest, by conquests from the time of Alexander the Great to the Moghul Emperors and Nader Shah, the last great Asiatic conqueror, who in 1739 extended the boundaries of Persia to the Indus. Recent times have given us not only the great Russian movement, but a plan for the invasion of

Hindustan through Persia by Napoleon, and a remarkable scheme against India by Germany, as we shall see, in the recent war.

That England was long ago awake to this menace against her Indian possessions and to the necessity of maintaining Persia and Afghanistan as barrier states is shown by a preliminary Anglo-Persian treaty of 1809, in which it was expressly provided that the king of Persia should not "permit any European force whatever to pass through Persia either toward India or toward the ports of that country." In the light of this danger to her Asiatic possessions, the policy of non-interference which England has long followed in her dealings with Persia can be explained only by a tendency on the part of home officials to minimize or overlook the gravity of the situation and a natural desire on the part of a democratic people to refrain from what would seem an act of aggression against a nominally independent state.

Meanwhile the long standing problem of commercial supremacy in Persia was rapidly approaching a crisis. We have again the contrast of policies of the Russian and British governments; Britain, who had been a pioneer in commerce in the south, content to develop her trade on the basis of an equal opportunity for all; and Russia, striving for a commercial monopoly by unscrupulous means. Great Britain's attempts at carrying her trade into competition with Russia in the north by such legitimate means as the building of caravan roads and the opening up of rivers for navigation were frustrated by Russia with such ruthless expedients as a subsidy to Persian importers of Russian goods sufficient to cover all transport and customs charges; a secret preferential Russo-Persian customs agreement; and the establishment of a quarantine barrier in Seistan to check the spread of Indian plague, and, incidentally, Indian trade. Russian officials were always prominent in such activities, and in this connection it should be remembered that the appointment by Russia of a consul to any district in North Persia was always equivalent to the assignment of a governor. In 1888 five miles of railway were opened at the capital; the first and last in Persia before the war, because Russia immediately secured a pre-emption over all railway concessions until 1905 or later, in return for Russian loans, a dog-in-the-manger policy which has entirely prevented necessary railway development in Persia.

In the midst of this struggle important domestic

changes were taking place in Persia itself. The Persian people, long-suffering under the extortion and oppression of the selfish and short-sighted autocratic rule of a weak dynasty, were beginning to protest. The influence of western civilization was gradually making itself felt when the growing discontent was suddenly brought to a climax by the results of the Russo-Japanese War which exerted a profound influence upon the Persians as an example of what one small eastern nation could accomplish with western military methods, against their own powerful, hereditary enemy, Russia. In 1906 the Persian people, headed by royal princes, government officials, and prominent members of the priesthood, united in demanding government reforms. By a bloodless revolution, they obtained a constitution and a parliament, and Persia was launched upon its experiment in democratic government.

It may be well to enquire briefly into some of the problems confronting Persia, at the time of her constitutional reform. Aside from the weakening influence of Russian interference, Persia was reaping the results of years of misrule. In the main she required administrative and financial reorganization. All progress had been checked by corruption and although she possessed extensive resources she was bankrupt and financially in the power of Russia. It was thought in all sincerity by the Persians themselves that a modification of the autocratic character of the sway of the Shah and the adoption of democratic rule would solve their difficulties. But Persia was not ready for this step as the facts of her forty per cent of nomadic tribesmen and her mere handful of educated men show. A temporary middle course with the means of liquidating the Russian debt and of establishing a friendly and judicious supervision would have saved the day. Here again British and Russian policies were at odds, for the Nationalist movement was befriended and encouraged by Great Britain while the reactionaries were strenuously supported by Russia, who realized that it is a much simpler problem to control a handful of corrupt aristocrats than it is to deal with a progressive and patriotic democracy.

In 1907 announcement was made of an agreement between Great Britain and Russia concerning their affairs in the Middle East which, the Persian Government was informed, was to remove the antagonism existing between the two powers. By its provisions two spheres of influence were defined, the Russian sphere covering the whole northern half of Persia, the British sphere including the southeastern corner of the country, and the intervening territory becoming a neutral zone. This treaty has been looked upon both as a diplomatic victory for England and as a too large con-

cession to Russia. It is commonly referred to as "the partitioning of Persia." In all fairness it cannot properly be called a partition of territory, but was a diplomatic compromise recognizing the already existing fact of Russia's grasp on North Persia. It was a "peace at any price" concession by Sir Edward Grey, the immediate result of which was to give added protection to the borders of India and to extend to Russia valuable political and commercial advantages in exchange for the limiting of her line of progress southward. Nothing would have been more pleasing to the British government than to have been able to demand the absolute removal of Russia from Persian soil; but this compromise was the best that could be effected without injuring her necessary friendly relations with Russia in the light of the menace of Germany and the Triple Alliance. Russia in this agreement displayed a rather unusual amount of good feeling toward England. England's attitude was selfish but in self defense, for she was evidently moved by a rightful desire not only of halting the advance of Russia but also of being able to give her unimpeded attention to the threatened approach of Germany to the Persian Gulf via the Bagdad Railway.

Although Bismarck had negotiated a commercial treaty with Persia in 1872, German influence was not felt until after the beginning of the present century; but the Bagdad Railway was to link closely the Near and Middle East. The time was coming when Germany would thus reach the Persian Gulf, which would become as strategic a necessity for the holding of India as the Suez Canal. England had guarded the Gulf through 300 years of friendly relationship with Persia. Confronted with this new menace, she could not now afford to relinquish her control.

The Anglo-Russian agreement represented a diplomatic advantage accruing to Persia, but was not so understood by the Persian people because of their inability to realize the part they were playing in a great international problem; it was looked on rather as a selfish defection on the part of their former friends to the side of the despised Russians. In spite of Great Britain's loss of prestige, it must be remembered that the seat of British trade in Persia was expressly excluded from the scope of the convention and that she entirely refrained from any sort of intervention even in her own sphere until forced to do so by the violation of Persian neutrality by Germany. It is interesting to note that two chief figures for England in the transaction were such upright men as the late Sir Cecil Spring-Rice and Viscount Grey, the recent and the newly appointed British ambassadors to Washington.

To return to Persian domestic affairs, in this same year of 1907, within a few months of the



TODAY, AS FOR CENTURIES, CAMEL CARAVANS MAY BE SEEN WINDING THEIR WAY ACROSS THE PERSIAN PLAINS

Partially As a Result of Russia's Selfish Policy of Preventing All Railway Concessions in Persia Without Herself Constructing Any Lines, This Is Still the Chief Means of Travel

granting of the constitution, the problems before the new government were seriously complicated by the death of the old Shah; for the new king, Mohammed Ali, immediately upon his accession to the throne, inaugurated a policy of opposition to parliament in which he was encouraged and supported by Russian officials. Through natural inexperience, lack of judgment, and susceptibility to corruption, the new government played into the hands of unscrupulous leaders. The enthusiasm of patriotic men, however, prevailed over reaction, and the Shah, with the help of the Russian officers of his guard, finally resorted to intimidation, imprisonment, bloodshed, and open warfare. Even these weapons were insufficient to restore the old régime. At last Mohammed Ali was deposed and exiled, and his young son, the present Shah, was placed on the throne with the Nasr-ol-Mulk, an able man and an Oxford graduate, as regent. But this struggle, at the very time when the new government most needed all its strength, had so totally impaired its possibilities of success that the outlook seemed hopeless.

At this stage America became directly interested. As a result of Persia's request to the United States for the recommendation of an adviser to try to untangle their financial difficulties, Mr. Morgan Shuster, a former director of the Philippine customs (now President of the Century Publishing Company), was selected and went to Persia in 1911 with a large corps of American assistants to assume

the office of treasurer-general. He encountered a situation in which the financial part of the problem offered the easiest solution. The country was overrun by brigands who kept the trade routes practically closed, there was no organization for the collecting of taxes, there was opposition not only by the Russian officials but by wealthy Persian reactionaries under Russian protection, and there was corruption among the supposedly patriotic government leaders. Mr. Shuster, in the face of this discouraging situation, made immediate progress in putting Persia in a state of financial solvency, with England hoping for his success and the Russians placing every possible obstacle in his way. As a financier he had extraordinary success, but his diplomacy in a very trying situation was inadequate. In endeavoring to hold the British Legation to a rash promise, he gave Russia a pretext for accusing England of a treaty violation, and finally incurred the suspicion of being in British employ; and Sir Edward Grey was forced by M. Sazonoff to acquiesce in Russia's demand for Mr. Shuster's dismissal, after less than a year of remarkable service in which he had started the country well on the way to financial order, made himself virtual dictator of Persia, and become the idol of the Persian people.

This brings us to the time for the opening of the Great War. In Persia the scenery was all arranged for the performance. Hostility to Russia and to England, her ally, made the occasion ripe for the

promotion of the German cause; and Germany was soon to reveal one of the most daring and insidious plots in history for the overthrowing of a great empire. Pushing Turkey into the war, Germany set about developing her plan for stirring into flame the smouldering antagonism between the Cross and the Crescent, for rousing the three hundred million Moslem peoples against the allied powers. Glancing at the map you will see that the Moslem countries roughly assume the shape of a great arch extending from Egypt in the west through Arabia, Turkey, the Caucasus, Persia, Turkestan, and Afghanistan, to India and the Indies in the east, and the keystone is Persia—the unimpaired Russian power to the north and the seas to the south guarded by the British navy, making it the only means of union between the Moslem peoples of the East and the West. Not only is Persia geographically the Islamic keystone, but for centuries she has been the cultural leader of Islam. Therefore this country was the critical factor in the development of the pan-Islamic movement and a hotbed of ruthless intrigue.

The proclamation of the Sheik-ol-Islam in Constantinople for the *jehad* (Holy War) had little effect upon the Persians; but there was still the political situation for the Germans to fall back upon. With the reappearance of the German minister, who had been hastily recalled to Berlin just before the opening of the war, with a host of agents augmented by subsidized German merchants and by German and Austrian prisoners escaped from Russia already on the field, a course of unscrupulous propaganda was begun. German boastfulness and German money made headway with the grasping nobility, the misguided patriots, and the restless tribal chiefs. The *mollahs* were hired to preach the *jehad* in the mosques, and German agents, lowering themselves to apostasy to Islam, proclaimed that Mohammedanized Germany and the Kaiser Hajji Wilhelm Mohammed II, had become Persia's protectors and leaders against Russia and England. A German wireless station in Ispahan spread the good news of continuous German victories, and armies were raised among the tribes by payment of German gold and promises of plunder. The only large efficient military force in Persia was the Swedish officered gendarmerie organized by Mr. Shuster. The low class of adventurers who had gradually supplanted its original corps of fine officers became willing tools of the German agents and succeeded in turning over to them the entire force of 10,000 men; thus depriving Persia of her only safeguard against outlawry.

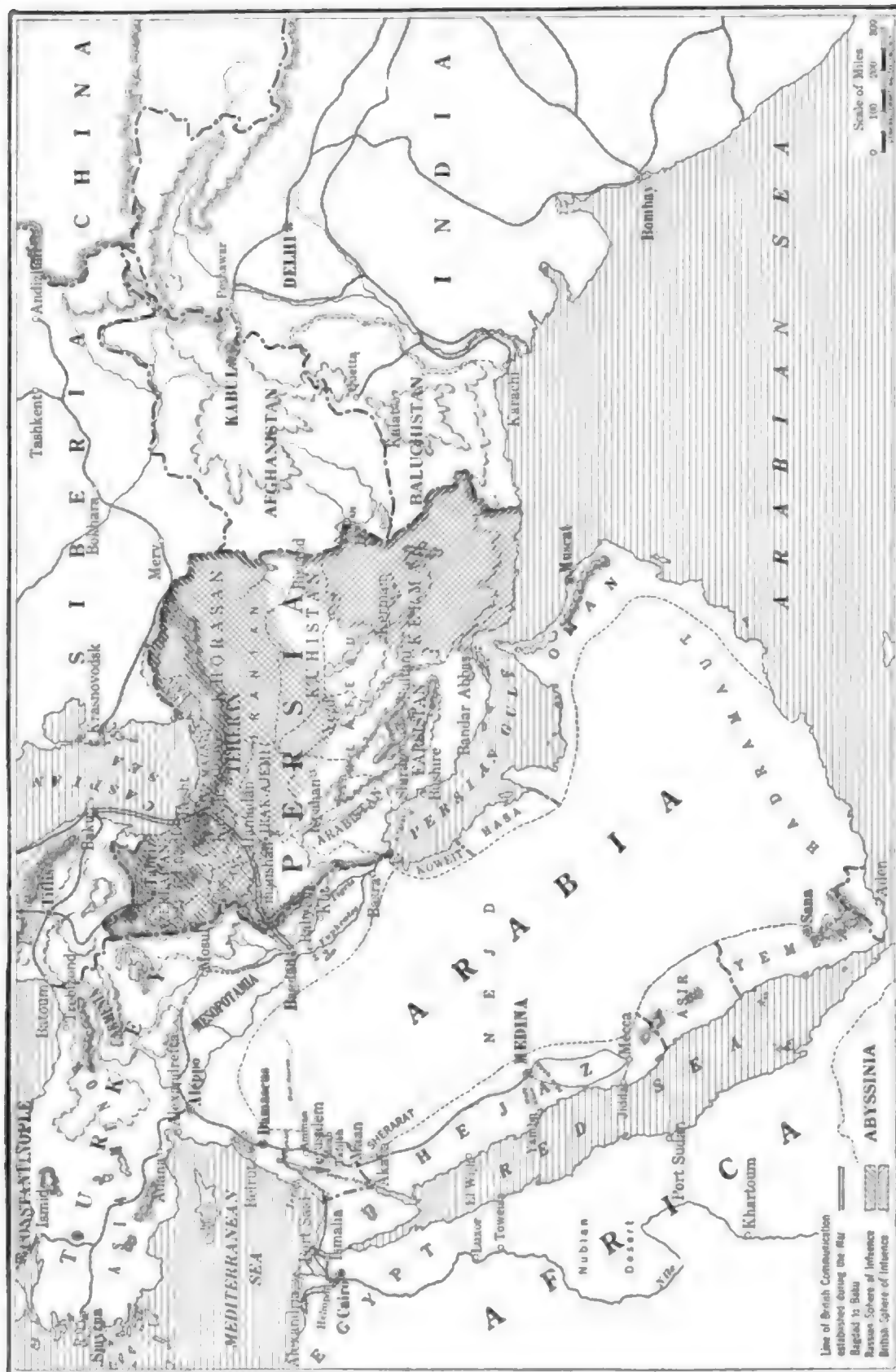
So blindly prejudiced and so thoroughly the dupes of Germany had the Persians become, that they entirely ignored Germany's violation of their fancied neutrality and, urged on by a specious German sophistry always appealing to the Oriental

mind, gave their entire attention to the issuance of ultimatums for the withdrawal of the Russians stationed for a generation in Azerbaijan, in order that their Caucasus flank might be turned by the advancing Turks.

The British and Russian home governments, their strength concentrated elsewhere and perhaps not recognizing the full significance of the German move in Persia, were slow to act. But with the Persians unable, and perhaps unwilling, to halt this menace to the peace of Asia, intervention became a necessity. In the summer of 1915 the Russians, landing 20,000 men at Enzeli, began an advance toward Tehran. The German plan, already provided against such a contingency, was to induce the Shah and his government to move south to Ispahan where, safely removed from the surveillance of the allied legations and from Russian military intervention, they could set up a new government, mobilize their tribal mercenaries, and declare war on the allies. The young Shah, disinclined to such exertion and somewhat friendly to the allied powers, opposed the plan. But a large portion of the nobility, their pockets well lined with German money and their equanimity disturbed by the advance of the Russian army, added their pressure to the persuasion of the German and Turkish diplomats. In the Shah's decision lay the fate of the Mohammedan world, perhaps of the British Empire. In spite of the efforts of the allied legations the plans for the departure were finally complete. On the day appointed the German leaders, triumphant in their success, marshalled their forces on the great plains south of the city for a grand review by the Shah, who was to leave the palace at ten o'clock. Early that morning thousands gathered before the palace to bid farewell to their king. At half past nine a carriage dashed through the crowd and the Russian and British ministers entered the palace for a final remonstrance. Ten o'clock came and half past ten and the Shah did not appear. Another hour passed and the crowds became uneasy. Within, as the hours crawled by, these two men labored for the safety of their cause. Finally, in the afternoon, a royal attendant appeared and announced to the wondering people outside the gate that the Shah was not leaving. The German scheme was thwarted, the tables were turned, and before long the enemy forces were driven from northern Persia and the Russian army advanced to the borders of Mesopotamia on the road to Bagdad.

In the spring of 1916 the British, with the permission of the existing Persian cabinet (a grant afterward denied by the Persian government) undertook to organize a constabulary to replace the Swedish gendarmerie undermined by the Germans. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, author of the most reliable history of Persia, landed at Bander





THE MOHAMMEDAN ARCH OF SOUTHWESTERN ASIA, WITH PERSIA AS THE KEYSTONE  
 The Shaded Lines Within the Persian Boundary Indicate the Russian and British Spheres of Influence According to the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. Russian Aggression Has Now Been Entirely Wiped Out, Leaving Britain in Practical Dominance



ONE OF THE TWELVE GATES OF TEHERAN, THE PERSIAN CAPITAL.  
Teheran is Surrounded by Fifteen Miles of Mud Walls, Pierced at Intervals by Brilliantly  
Colored Gates of Tile

Abbas with a handful of troops and gradually got together a Persian force with which he was able practically to clear southern Persia of all German agents. Thus the first phase of the war in Persia ended with the advantage to the British and the Russians.

Germany's underhand intrigue had failed; there remained the possibility of an open military invasion to win over Persia. It was an auspicious time. Kut had fallen and Persian refugees in Bagdad gave assurances of Persia's readiness to help. Late in this same spring an army of 20,000 Turkish regulars accompanied by a motley array of Persian gendarmes and tribesmen crossed the Persian border and advanced on the Russian defensive position in the mountains in the direction of Kermanshah. The Russians, outnumbered and weakened by disease brought on by the strange climate, began a slow retreat, fighting as they went, through Kermanshah and Hamadan. A stand was made midway between Hamadan and Kazvin where they had the advantages of mountain protection and a good military road to the Caspian Sea, while the Turks had been drawn 300 miles into Persia with a precarious line of communication behind them. The road to the capital lay open to the Turkish army, but they dared not advance with the Russians so strongly established on their left flank. So here the two armies faced each other, largely inactive, through the autumn and the severe winter, until the British advance on Bagdad early in the spring of 1917, threatening to cut off their retreat, forced a hasty retirement through the

mountains into Turkish territory. The whitening bones of thousands of mules and camels and the rusting frameworks of huge Pierce Arrow and Packard motor trucks which probably can be seen even now strewn along the winding steeps of the great Assadabad Pass are fitting reminders of the Turkish flight and the Russian pursuit.

Were Persia's troubles over or would Germany make another attempt? The net result so far had been to render the Persian government helpless in the control of domestic affairs, which had passed under the influence of a dangerous and lawless element helped into power by German intrigue. Although the northern cities

were comparatively quiet and the new gendarmerie was maintaining peace in the southern towns, the country districts, and especially the main routes of travel, were so beset by robber bands that intercourse and trade were brought to a standstill. Even in the capital it was unsafe for intelligent men who had begun to see Persia's position in its true light to favor publicly a new policy, or even to attempt to curb the anarchistic element; any such movement was promptly quelled by the assassination of a few daring leaders, among them a prominent newspaper editor and the splendid young Persian chief of police.

To complete the destruction the most terrible famine of her history, brought on not only by a general failure of crops but by the profiteering of the great land owners, ravaged Persia from one end to the other in the winter of 1917-18. Hundreds of thousands fell victims to starvation, typhus and cholera, until the spirit of the people was entirely numbed by suffering.

Meanwhile great changes were taking place in the outside world which were to give Persia a part in one more bold stroke at southern Asia. With the Bagdad Railway in British control the Germans must needs secure a new route to India. The Russian revolution, the rapid disintegration of social forces into Bolshevism, and the separate peace of both Russia and Roumania, had opened a new gateway to the East. This route was provided by right of free military passage through Roumania; thence via the Black Sea to Batoum and by rail through Tiflis to Baku, with possibilities of

recruiting among the Mohammedans of Russia. From Tiflis it was possible to enter Persia by the new line to Tabriz, from whence German influence might be brought to bear on the Persian government or a flanking movement through western Persia might be attempted against Bagdad. Krasnovodsk, the terminus of the Central Asian Railway, just across the Caspian from Baku, would form the base for operations in Trans-Caspia and Turkestan, where assistance was waiting in the form of Bolsheviks, German and Austrian prisoners, and the forces of the liberated principalities of Turkestan. Afghanistan would welcome these augmented forces with open arms and a descent would be made upon India. Napoleon and Paul I of Russia planned such a scheme as this, called fanciful and impossible by military experts; but it must be remembered that such an expedition in the last year of the war would not only have direct and well-developed lines of communication but would have its left flank protected by the weakness of Bolshevik Russia and its right guarded not only by the Turkish armies, but by Armenian and Kurdish mountains, and Persian mountains and deserts hundreds of miles deep. Daring and unfeasible as the plan may seem, it had possibilities of success.

In the spring of 1918 Turkish armies moved into Azerbaijan and the Caucasus. Great Britain faced a situation the gravity of which she only too well foresaw. The control of Baku and the Caspian Sea were vitally important, for once Turco-German leadership and reinforcements reached Trans-Caspia, the Mohammedan East might be set in such turmoil as could not be quelled for years to come. Between the British in Mesopotamia and Baku lay the Iranian plateau, its endless ranges of mountains passable only by the roughest of roads. With the coming of winter these would be closed by the snows while Germany would be free through the slackening of pressure on her other fronts to send constant reinforcements and supplies via her direct rail and water route.

The British sent as large a force as could be spared into Persia through Kermanshah, Hamadan, and Kazvin. This is the criticised British military occupation of Persia. It was the same type of violation of neutrality as the recent raids of the United



*Courtesy of "Press"*

#### A GATE TO THE ANCIENT CITY OF SHIRAZ

Shiraz Is Famous in Persian History and Legend Through Its Association with the Names of Two Great Poets, Sadi and Hafiz

States into Mexico and even more justifiable, for the impending Turco-German drive to the East had to be met. From Kazvin there was the option of advancing westward against the Turkish army in Azerbaijan, of continuing northward through the Elburz mountains to Enzeli and across the Caspian to Baku, or of dividing the force for both objectives. The second plan was adopted and in the race to Baku the British won. Most of their force was behind, guarding six hundred miles of communication lines between the Persian border and Enzeli; but they were joined in Baku, as planned, by an Armenian army of about 50,000. A victory over the advancing Turks outside of Baku was followed by the sudden disintegration of the Armenian army through Bolshevik influence and the jealousy and distrust among the different factions, leaving the handful of British to make their escape back to Enzeli as best they could. The control of the Caspian was still in the hands of the British, but the Turks occupied Baku, celebrating their entrance by the massacre of 36,000 Armenians. Meanwhile, British troops who had advanced through Baluchistan and Seistan were fighting the irregular forces east of the Caspian and a railroad was being rushed into eastern Persia. At the same time Armenians and Syrians on the borders of Azerbaijan were continuing a plucky but losing fight against the Turks advancing in that region. Agha Petros with his 3,000 Jilou mountaineers in nine months defeated overwhelming forces of Turks and Kurds in fourteen battles. But this accomplishing of the impossible could not go on forever without help, when

was not forthcoming; and another massacre, which almost completely wiped out the Syrian nation, was added to the bloody annals of religious and racial hatred along the Turco-Persian borders. The Turks occupied Tabriz, where they looted the American Consulate and the property of the American Mission, the British holding with difficulty the pass between Tabriz and Kazvin.

In fairness to the Persian government and for an unbiased view of the situation, it must be understood that Azerbaijan is a province which presents a very distinct problem of religious and racial rivalry. The language spoken is not Persian but a form of Turkish and a large part of the Moslem population is not of Aryan but of a fanatical Mongol Turkoman descent. Its large Christian population has always furnished a pretext for the devastating ravages of the neighboring Kurds. The Persian government should not be accused of instigating the recent persecutions and massacres in this province. It was practically seized by Russia many years ago and upon her withdrawal Persia was in no position to force a peaceful settlement of the confusion.

Through the summer and early fall, the British armies held their own in western Persia and Trans-Caspia but with poor prospects of maintaining their position with the coming of winter; so, the news of the signing of the armistice came as a very timely relief to the defenders of Southern Asia.

Persia has come through the war with an absolute disunion of domestic affairs, with the power of the central government so restricted as to be almost negligible, with the spirit of the people broken, and with bankruptcy staring her in the face. It must be remembered, however, that this is but an exaggeration of pre-war conditions. There still remains the fact that the most significant result of the war for Persia is the withdrawal of Russia from the scene. Almost as by a miracle Persia finds herself freed from the steadily increasing pressure of the Russian yoke and England sees the unexpected possibility of making the whole Iranian plateau a protective barrier for India.

The Persians are an optimistic and resilient people and, even in their present condition of decadence, if there were domestic unity and concord, might be able to help themselves. But far from such a condition of unity, the country is torn by contending factions ranging from the old reactionary royalists to the most radical anarchists, men who have everything to gain and nothing to lose by helping to prevent the restoration of any semblance of order. Far-sighted, conservative leaders must hold their peace, for constructive statesmanship is not popular; it is not sufficiently sensational. The man who catches the public eye, as we have plenty of evidence in our own country, is the poli-

tician who inveighs in resounding tones against some real or fancied aggression against Persia's rights. In fact, the carrying on of this unproductive sort of talk marks the limit of a large part of Persian patriotism.

Negotiations which have been in progress for nine months have resulted in the conclusion of a treaty whereby Great Britain undertakes to assist and advise Persia in reconstruction and development. The first article of the agreement pledges Great Britain to respect absolutely the territorial integrity and independence of Persia. A uniformed constabulary force is to be established and put under the instruction of British officers. Great Britain will advance Persia £2,000,000 to tide her over the present financial emergency and will furnish a financial adviser and his assistants. Persia will also be supported in her claims for war indemnity and for certain frontier rectifications.

These terms of the treaty mean the reestablishment of a gendarmerie force which will not only secure the reopening of the roads for commerce and travel and the subjugation of the various semi-independent tribes, but will aid in placing Persian finances on a sounder basis by providing a means for the collection of taxes. The need of a foreign financial adviser to check the mismanagement and corruption in the handling of the country's money was recognized by the Persians themselves at least as long ago as 1911 when they employed Mr. Shuster. Accurate figures are not obtainable but these approximate figures given by one of the most capable members of the Persian treasury department show that the 1916 budget, which was not met, called for less than 6,000,000 *tomans*, while the sum that should have been turned into the treasury under the existing circumstances was 25,000,000, and the amount obtainable under proper control, with little change in the revenue laws, 100,000,000. Persia, with her almost untouched resources, is amply able to finance her own development given an efficient and honest government.

Turning to the subject of indemnities first, the balance of the Russian debt amounting to about 30,000,000 roubles should be cancelled to pay for damage done by Russian troops after the Revolution. The Turks must settle a heavy bill for their ravages in Azerbaijan and a large part of this must go to the devastated Christian population. Germany, directly and indirectly responsible for the whole disaster, should be forced to shoulder a larger portion of this reparation. The British government can be trusted to make a fair adjustment for the advantages and disadvantages accruing from the British occupation.

As to boundaries, the minimum to be considered should be the securing of Azerbaijan and its ever-restless peoples to Persia, and a rectification of the

boundary in Trans-Caspia to restore the fertile desert fringe taken by Russia.

The treaty would seem to provide for the very things which are most needful for the future welfare of Persia, yet there is criticism from France and from Persia itself. We hear that Persia is now a British protectorate, that Great Britain excluded the Persian delegation from the Peace Conference, that the treaty was not submitted to the Persian parliament and is therefore invalid, that its acceptance was engineered by a British-made Persian cabinet, that it is not acceptable to the bulk of the Persian people, that it is in defiance of the League of Nations. It is amusing to hear of France's newly aroused solicitousness for Persia. Possibly it is the new spirit of international good will, but more probably it is that her new territorial interests lie in the direction of Persia.

But what of Persia's objections? If the Persian parliament had been in session and had the treaty been submitted it would probably have been rejected, in keeping with the policy of, "Get rid of the foreigners and run things to suit ourselves." The attitude encountered by the American Commission to Persia in 1918 was one of utter self-sufficiency. It may possibly be that England influenced the Persian Cabinet, for during the crisis in the summer of 1918 she had to demand the dismissal of a radical cabinet bent on withdrawing concessions and abolishing the capitulations of a hundred years' standing. The bulk of the people in Persia is too untutored to have an opinion on the treaty; and of those qualified to consider it, if we exclude those who oppose it for selfish reasons, there are a great many more in favor of it than dare to say so.

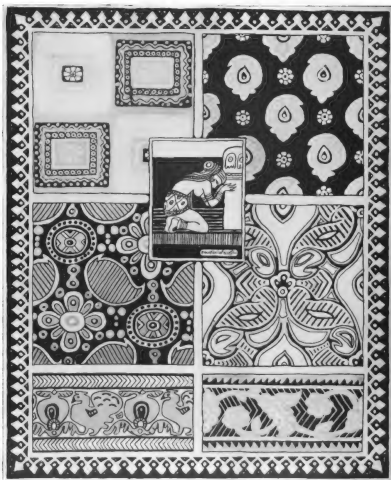
The very fact that the treaty has been negotiated shows some opinion in favor of it, and for a large part of this sentiment the United States is indirectly responsible; not only because of our final alignment with Great Britain in the war, which very soon placed the allied cause in better repute in Persia, but because of the American Commission to Persia headed by Dr. Judson of the University of Chicago, which reached Tehran early in the autumn of 1918 while the British were endeavoring to reoccupy Baku. The Persian government, which looked upon the advent of this commission as a possible means of getting America's help in ousting the

British, were soon given to understand that the United States was an ally of Great Britain in a much greater cause; and the Shah was finally led to see the situation in its true light.

It is more difficult to understand the exclusion of a hearing for Persia's demands from the Peace Conference and it would have been better if a satisfactory adjustment of Persia's and England's interests could have been made through its channels. But the following points must be considered before England is denounced. A weak Persia stands as a constant menace to India, for with Russian affairs in a state of utter uncertainty there is no knowing what new force might take form in the north hostile to India; and the malign influence of Germany is still abroad, as the Afghan War has shown. Persia was invited to join the League of Nations, elevating her to a class where diplomacy might ignore her domestic short-comings. The Persian claims at the Peace Conference that England, Russia and Turkey had violated Persia's neutrality were distorted and unfair. Germany with her dastardly record in Persia was, by some devious method of reasoning, to go unaccused and unpunished. In this light England, with the opportunity of an age to protect her Indian Empire, could hardly have been expected to sit around waiting for a new theory of universal peace to materialize.

The recent Anglo-Persian treaty can by no means be said to form a protectorate over Persia. It contains no clauses, in so far as revealed, not in agreement with the League of Nations. It was not secretly made in defiance of the League of Nations for the League was not yet functioning at its conclusion. It helps to provide a justly desired defense for India; but more than this, it provides for the free development of the Persian people under the guidance of a high-minded Power which leads the world in successful government of undeveloped peoples. The treaty should be confirmed and given the sanction of the League of Nations to remove any tinge of a British attempt at domination in Persia and to provide for the ultimate withdrawal of her influence when Persia is able to stand alone. The real friends of Persia, held by the romance of Persia's former glory, and long desirous that she might be freed from the bonds which held her from without and within, are hopeful that she may be able to use this means for her restoration.





Decorative de Courtois R. 1923

MODERN DESIGNS FOR JACQUARD BROCADES,  
SUGGESTED BY OLD MATERIALS, IN WHICH VERY  
LITTLE MODIFICATION HAS BEEN MADE

# EASTERN CRAFTSMEN AND WESTERN MARKETS

By M. D. C. CRAWFORD

NOT since the voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1497 has Asia been so important to the western world. In our commerce we need Asiatic merchandise as much as in our arts we need the Asiatic traditions. On the other hand, Asia requires many of the objects we produce in America, though in many ways our need of Asia is greater than Asia's need of us. But if we are to develop markets that will endure, they must be established on an intelligent basis of exchange, and this means emphatically the modification of certain preconceived notions now entertained by both worlds.

Intelligent trade must be built upon a mutual understanding of the needs and preferences of peoples and the prevailing industrial and economic conditions. But more particularly does trade depend upon a knowledge of the ability of peoples to make certain articles in demand. This is the day of the specialist in commerce as in other matters, and the time has come for a broader commercial vision and more scientific application. Let us, therefore, turn away as rapidly as possible from the fallacy of the "dumping-ground idea."

We must study Asiatic commerce in the light of present-day problems and avoid the myths of the past. Out of these confusing reconstruction times, two solid facts are recognized as the basis for sound reason. All over the world there is greater need for production, and production that follows the line of least resistance. In other words, the all too evident shortage of labor makes it necessary that we regulate production as far as possible so that the tasks may fall upon those best qualified to perform them with the least waste of labor time.

If one race or nation is trained to hand-work and another has a similar penchant in favor of mechanical production, these very pertinent factors deserve as much consideration as the more obvious problems of propinquity to raw material. Therefore, at this time to divert established productive forces into exotic, unaccustomed fields of endeavor, in an attempt to build up industries through sheer material force, regardless of local conditions, is as senseless as trying to grow oranges in Dakota or wheat in Florida. The world has now no leeway for such diminishing of resources and waste of material substance.

If I have chosen an obvious example in the use of material, the facts are no less obvious in the matter of human penchants and adaptabilities. The commercial history of the world has been a series of dreadful disasters due to the fact that

stronger nations and peoples have often attempted to dictate or restrict the forms of commercial endeavor among weaker peoples. While at times this control may be paternalistic, generally it has been dictated with regard to the interest of the stronger people. It is high time that we learn the lesson that good business consists as much in buying as in selling—and in buying those things which are produced to the best advantage in the foreign market—and in selling such as are produced most advantageously in the home market. In each instance the selection of commodities should be regulated by the ascertained needs and tastes of the people who are to receive them.

America has an unusual genius for serial production by mechanical agency while the Orient has a correspondingly developed inclination for individual and group craftsmanship. True, there is in this country a very important group of craftsmen developing definite forms of art of the highest importance. On the other hand, in the Orient (especially in Japan), there are powerful groups of modern manufacturers operating factories in the most efficient manner. But these, in both instances, are the exceptions, and while they deserve consideration, and may grow in importance in the near future, for general purposes the distinctions I have made hold true.

There is a market in the Orient for many of our machine-made commodities. We have advanced standards of production to such a degree that our merchandise is of the highest quality with the lowest consistent price. At the same time, the taste of the western world in all matters of industrial art also has advanced greatly during the last generation. New mechanical discoveries and greater familiarity with the machine has made it possible for us to supply a certain part of this demand mechanically, but it is equally true that the potential demand for hand-made merchandise of higher artistic quality has increased at a greater ratio. This is not difficult to understand, since our desires for ornament are limited only by our intellectual appreciation which has been vastly stimulated by educational forces of comparatively recent development. At present our needs greatly exceed our productive possibilities.

Before the war Europe supplied us with a great deal of merchandise made either wholly or in part by hand processes. Indeed, in certain parts of Europe, especially France and Italy, the character of production was not unlike that of the great trade





Courtesy, Bonwill Teller & Co.

**AS WESTERN TASTE MODIFIES AN EASTERN COSTUME.**  
The Inspiration for This Garment Was Two-fold. The Straight Lines  
Were Borrowed from Bokhara and the Design from a Piece of  
Bengal Embroidery

guilds of India. There was, of course, a much greater use of machinery and a much higher degree of organization. It may be a more truthful comparison to describe the European markets before the war as occupying a stage between the modern serial production of America and the Simon-pure handicraft of the East. During the war we were shut off almost completely from these European markets, and although peace has reestablished some of them their produce is obtainable only at prohibitory prices and in very insufficient quantities.

This condition unfortunately is not a transient one. The immense disorganization and destruction of property and loss of life in Europe place at a very remote time indeed the date when she may assume her former relative position. Trade no less than customs and boundaries are modified by great

military epochs. The events of the last four years indicate that the turning point in the history of the world has been reached. We should not, therefore, expect former commercial relations to be immediately resumed, or resumed on their old basis of exchange. Indeed, there is no certainty that they will ever be resumed. The shortage of labor in Europe is bound to stimulate and speed up mechanical processes. Finally, it is well known that if tradition and training be broken for a single generation, they are, to all intents and purposes, lost.

Let me make myself clear on one point. It is not my intention or wish to divert any possible business from Europe, either in the interests of Asia or in the interests of America. I look upon the commercial and industrial upbuilding of Europe—the restoration of coördinated industry among our Allies—as of vital importance to the prosperity and security of this country. But we are facing facts, not theories. We are dealing with material things, not sentiment, and it is as foolish as it is impossible for any individual, or group of individuals, effectively to oppose universal tendencies. And if Europe is forced to abandon many of her old methods of production, we must face this fact and pursue a policy in accordance. Again, we are face to face with the fact that the world needs every variety of merchandise that can be produced, with a proper regard to labor and raw material, and at reasonable prices. Our first duty in this situation is the re-creation of wealth where it has been destroyed. And the more we devote our attention to this problem, in its relationship to evident

tendencies, the more satisfactory will be the result. If it is an obligation we owe to Europe to help restore its prosperity, we cannot escape the fact that an Asia, reasonably prosperous, continuously employed in the production of desirable commodities, will go a long way toward quieting the unrest among great multitudes of people. And no one doubts that the world needs peace and quiet. No one doubts that every method which actually reduces the cost of living is a contributing agency to this end. If, then, we can show the Orient the way toward diverting her surplus energy and productive power into forms of production which will find their markets in America, we shall go a long way toward bringing prosperity to the Oriental peoples. That in turn will make the East a better market for such forms of production as readily fit our genius.



This is obviously a problem for professional buyers. Unfortunately, too many of the buyers from America who have gone to the Orient, particularly to India, have approached the problem with a rather superficial knowledge of prevailing conditions and the traditions of craftsmanship or the history of her great arts. The fact that labor per day or hour is cheaper in India than in Europe or America has led them to seek the cheapest kind of material in the market. What we need in the Orient is the same type of buyer that goes from this country to Europe. In other words, the successful buyer in the Orient must be an individual of taste who understands thoroughly the types of design, color and composition which will be desirable in America, and has had at least the rudiments of training in the ancient and modern history of the Orient. There are unquestionably large groups of craftsmen all through the Orient, more particularly in China, India, and the Malay Archipelago who, with some little instruction, can be directed into modifying their present crafts so as to make materials highly desirable in this country.

Costuming in the Orient has settled into more or less definite lines which are prescribed by custom, religion and limitation of material. Design on fabrics has become regulated by these costume needs. In America, however, styles vary constantly, although within much narrower limitations than the public believes, and in addition we require seasonable changes. The point of difference, however, is that we cut our materials, whereas in the East it is a more general practice to use an entire piece of goods, without cutting it. Therefore, the main point is to show the craftsmen in India that we desire continuous patterns by the yard, rather than separate pieces. Many of the materials that already come to us from India in color and design are highly desirable, but the particular composition places them in the class of exotic objects. What both India and America need is that we should treat these objects as articles of contemporary commerce.

It is surely unfortunate that the East should imagine that our taste is entirely for the garish and untasteful in ornament. We have been misinterpreted in many instances. This is very unjust, as much of the good taste now developing in America is the result of the reaction from the earlier, greater periods of Oriental art. We have learned, and



*Courtesy, Bennett Teller & Co.*

**A 16TH CENTURY COAT IN NEW YORK**  
Designers of Today Are Going Back to the Artistic Orient for Many of Their Ideas, Which Must Be Modified, However, to Suit the Needs of a Different Environment

learned deeply, from the great collections of Oriental art which now exist in this country. Asia is the mother of loveliness. There is hardly an expression of ornament, scarcely a philosophy that adorns and enriches western intellectual life, that cannot be traced to some Oriental source. Yet it all belongs to the past. Asia today is not the Asia of the golden centuries, any more than Europe today is the Europe of the Middle Ages or the Renaissance. If at first sight it seems presumptuous to think of the West teaching the East, it must be admitted that even Europe, with its traditions of art second only to Asia, has been able to learn something in the practical application of taste to production for commercial exchange from the criticisms and advice of the intelligent American buyer.

In such relationship there is nothing that en-

dangers the traditions or imperils the skill of Oriental artists. Indeed, they will gain in vitality and vigor from modern contact. Oriental artists of the 16th century learned much from the Portuguese, Spanish and Italian arts of that period. The arts of one people as a rule must be interpreted before they can fit the needs of another, and where this interpretation is brought about in an intelligent, rational manner, it can do no harm to the arts of either people. Every race and every age have produced various modifications in expression. Art is a mobile rather than a static force. Surely at a time when the arts of all the world are at the lowest ebb, we should be very stupid to attempt to compel an awakened Orient to continue in the use of forms which have largely lost their meaning, or to prohibit them from extending their research and creative power into new fields.

Let us briefly outline the situation as it applies to fabrics: it is a conservative estimate that an export business of \$250,000,000 in fine cottons alone was destroyed in northern France by the war. It will take years of patient labor to accomplish even its physical rebuilding. In England, though a far more hopeful condition exists, disorganization and unrest have diminished production to a great extent. In our fine yarn mills in America there has been a retrogression of almost a quarter of a century, due to the fact that our mill owners have paid more attention to immediate profits than to future possibilities. In other words, decorative cottons of distinction have become extremely rare. This is a great pity, since for many purposes cotton is the ideal fibre, and its absence from the market has a detrimental influence on other industries. In my belief, the East can supply a large part of this valuable material.

Almost all forms of decorative cottons a century ago came from India; the collection of fabrics which possesses even a few of these early specimens is rich indeed. But it is a great mistake to think that the art of the cotton print in India is dead. Even to-day we are importing block printed curtains that, in point of design and color, lack little of the ancient traditional value. The Oriental block printing method differs from the European counterpart in that the pattern is composed from a number of small blocks rather than from a single composite. Many of the details could therefore be used just as they are in making fabrics for dress wear. Color, design and texture are perfectly satisfactory, but the composition is not adapted to our needs. This is little to be wondered at, since in India, and the East generally, there is not that sudden change in type of garment which, however to be deplored in certain respects, lies at the basis of our prosperous fabric business.

The static condition of costuming in India has

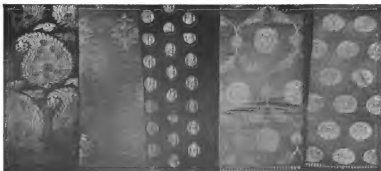
led to the adoption of certain conventions in design. Therefore the Indian printed cottons, while beautiful in themselves, have the charm of exotic textures rather than of fabrics of general use. What the director of Indian craftsmen should do is to induce the craftsmen to compose these units and certain others that will naturally suggest themselves, for printing by the yard. Our conditions of wear, and requirements as to fastness in washing, also require consideration. It is not a difficult problem, but one that will solve itself very quickly. It should not be approached, of course, from the idea of inducing the Indian craftsmen to substitute our more or less banal decorative art for their own, which has stood the test of centuries of good taste.

The gold and silver brocades of India are another example in point. Indian gold and silver threads do not tarnish, and are made so that they do not fray to the same degree that the European threads do. I have before me as I write a collection of weavers' samples from Ahmedabad which are forty years old, and every piece is as bright as the day it left the loom. But a great many of India's most delightful and most useful designs are woven as borders to the scarfs. Here again a slight modification in composition would make fabrics that would be marketable in large quantities.

What has been said in respect to weaving can be applied with equal, if not greater, force to embroidery. All-over patterns by the yard, a little stronger perhaps in line, a trifle less exquisite in texture, would fill a great need. We are to-day buying brocades from the hand looms of Lyons that run in wholesale price from \$50.00 to \$85.00 a yard, and the prospect is that even these high prices will advance. An embroidered blouse purchased for a few rupees in India a decade ago would cost \$100 to duplicate in America to-day.

More attention has been paid to the adaptation of fabrics for interior decoration, but there is still much progress that can be carried out even in this connection. There was a time when the American home had the appearance of a curiosity shop, and anything of an exotic character had a place. But during the last few years there has come a change in the type of house, method of lighting, and general interior arrangement, and this change has been for the better. Quite naturally, therefore, we require different materials, modifications of color schemes, and simpler composition in fabrics. If the East is to hold her position in this market, she must pay some attention to these changes.

There has been, and still is, in this country, a large market for block printed French, English and Belgian cretonnes. The limited supply of such fabrics prevents a development of a much more interesting market. Many of the coarser cottons, especially such as were made on hand looms, would



SAMPLES FROM AN INDIAN WEAVER'S PATTERN BOOK OF FORTY YEARS AGO

Eastern Costumes, as a rule, are draped rather than cut. This means that their designs are constituted with reference to the piece, instead of goods by the yard, and thus come under the head of Exotic Art. American buyers hope to influence Eastern craftsmen to study the needs of Western Markets and supply the present deficiency in textiles.

lend themselves admirably to this purpose. Again, however, our method of cutting material makes it necessary that the design run by the yard, not in individual pieces.

Perhaps the finest opportunity lies in rugs. It is a matter of comment that the restlessness of the more intricate oriental designs makes them more or less undesirable for the modern type of house and system of lighting. Of course, in this generality I do not include the true antiques which are, properly speaking, objects of art, and assert their

position by their esthetic value. But since Persian rugs are being made in India and Chinese rugs in Bokhara, and all types in Japan, the original significance and romance of the knotted carpet has in a measure been destroyed. Indeed, even the initiave have come to understand that most of the modern rugs, while woven in the East, are designed in London, Paris or New York, and the thought naturally arises, why can we not have rugs which, in design, are more sympathetic with contemporaneous environment? It has ceased to become an

antiquarian problem and has become frankly a commercial matter, and it is the part of good sense, as well as good taste, to accept it in this spirit. No floor covering that exists can compare with the pile knot carpet; and yet, certain qualities that are creeping into the design and the color schemes are gradually creating a popular feeling against the rug. It is a very serious matter and one which, if permitted to take its own course, may in time come to be a disaster.

It is far from my thought to create the impression that such a change in commercial relations as I have suggested can be accomplished either quickly or by simple methods. Obviously the subject is too great for hasty generalizations, and we must be patient in awaiting results. But surely it should not require argument that commerce which is mutually beneficial ought to be built upon a knowledge

of the needs of the peoples concerned. Surely the anomaly can escape no intelligent person that the average modern Oriental shop is filled with objects that have little relationship either to our lives or our taste, and that the objects of art from the same people of other ages are among our most priceless possessions. Therefore, it seems to me that really the most vital service we can render to the East to-day is to lead her craftsmen back to the appreciation of the fact that there is a market in this country for their finest workmanship, and that all that is necessary to bring about a revival of those arts in India is a little change in the method of expression.

If we bought and sold goods in India with the same intelligence that we buy and sell between Chicago and New York, or Boston and San Francisco, the problem would almost solve itself.



## THE SOUFI

By AMEEN RIHANI

*Lulled in the purple darkness is my soul,  
Behind the curtain, Allah, of my sight,  
Where recreative waves of wonder roll  
From sad seas of color over dead seas of light:—  
I close my eyes and lo, the laden Night  
Stops at the ivory gate to pay thy toll  
To my soul.*

*And with it Wealth in Destitution's van,  
And Power in the chariot of dole,  
And Fame upon the skeleton she stole  
From Death, Ambition too amidst her clan,  
Spurring her jaded nag:—the Caravan  
Of Life is at the gate to pay thy toll  
To my soul.*

*They pass: I open my eyes: and as I try  
To con the cruel pages of the scroll  
Which Censure left in fragments at their goal,  
Then suddenly, illumining the sky,  
A Form of grace and beauty I descry.  
'T is Love, O Allah, come to pay thy toll  
To my soul.*

*But once, while lingering in the doleful shades,  
Among the fallen, wine-stained colonnades  
Of what was long thy temple, where still troll,  
With languid step, the spirits of pagan maids,  
I saw thee, Allah, coming through the glades  
With food of Love and from thy scrip I stole  
A jasmine for my hungry soul.*

# DROPPING THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN'

By H. M. HYNDMAN

**D**URING the greater part of the nineteenth century the peoples of European race claimed to have a manifest superiority over Asiatics. But history demonstrates conclusively that such superiority does not exist. Nor was this the attitude of European travelers and adventurers in the East in the first instance. Most of these men, persons of ability, knowledge and repute in their own countries, were amazed at the civilization, wealth and magnificence of the Courts they visited and the general well-being of the populations under native rule, which also they admired. For many a long day deference rather than arrogance was the tone of the white men towards the Emperors and Kings, Maharajahs and Nawabs, Viceroys and Mandarins whom they encountered. The high qualities and great attainments of these potentates and their ministers then obtained due consideration. The arts and sciences, philosophy and jurisprudence of these remote societies were appreciated and respected. The infinite obligations of the West to the East were still recognized: the capacity of Asia, in war as in peace, was not forgotten.

Then the eastern world lay dormant for a time. Europe advanced rapidly in material development and scientific knowledge and acquirement, while Asia ceased to discover, or invent, or even to adopt and absorb. Improved weapons and the new great machine industry gave Europeans the temporary advantage in war and in trade. But how long will this last? What security have we of the permanence of this superficial predominance?

It is well to recall that, within comparatively recent times wave after wave of conquering Asiatic armies broke in upon Europe; and barbarian as most of these warlike hordes were, great generals, great organizers, great administrators rose up from among them, both in West and East, whose equals could not be found in the Europe of their day. The Arabs of Spain, the various Moslem rulers of Bagdad, Egypt and Adrianople left, directly or indirectly, their mark on the civilization of the West. The Moguls of Delhi, the Bahmani dynasty of the Deccan, Kublai Khan in China, and the rulers of the Khanates of Central Asia showed splendid capacity, in arts as in arms. These men and others built up empires which the white races saw and heard of dimly from afar. But whether as distant rulers or as terribly near invaders, these Asians were formidable foes, and in the changing course of time we may yet have cause to fear them again.

We now know to our cost what a war to the death between nations and races, provided with equal means of destruction, really is. In the long run, should no exceptional military genius manifest himself, nor any incalculable spirit animate one of the combatants, the number of the trained soldiers on either side determines who shall be the victor. In numbers the East has an enormous advantage over the West. And there is no reason why a really great admiral, or general, should not appear in the countries which border upon the Pacific Ocean, as well as in those whose outlet is the Atlantic.

While all the Powers of Europe were engaged in a desperate war of resistance to Teutonic aggression, and we were looking on, practically helpless, at the internecine butchery of the white race, there has been a steady revival among the vast populations which inhabit the territories extending from the Persian Gulf to the Sulu Sea, and from the Amur River to the Straits of Singapore. Nevertheless, we still talk with confidence of capturing more of Asiatic trade and influencing for all time Asiatic development.

Not long ago, European nations were calmly discussing and deciding among themselves how much more of sleepy Asia they should appropriate, for the benefit, no doubt, of the peoples brought under this foreign rule. But now our sense of conscious superiority is being shaken, and when we find the inscrutable Asiatic learning to meet us successfully with our own weapons, we draw back a little. We even begin to see that he may have good grounds for regarding his white rivals as the uncultured and discourteous barbarians that, in many respects, we really are.

Compared with the madness of Europe, also, the comparative quietude of Asia has been sanity itself. Yet this may not endure. With all the facts before us, and with prejudice thrown aside, we are still unable to lay bare the causes of the gigantic Asian movements of the past. They were certainly not all economic in their origin, unless we stretch the boundaries of theory so far as to include the massacre of whole populations and the destruction of their wealth within the limits of the invader's desire for material gain. And, whether these movements arose from material or emotional causes, they have been before, and they may occur again. Forecast here is impossible. A new Mohammed is quite as likely to make his appearance as a new Buddha, a reborn Confucius, or a modern Christ.

Asia owes to Europe little or nothing. At most,

'This article is the concluding chapter in Mr. Hyndman's *The Awakening of Asia*, published by Boni and Liveright.

white men are teaching her improved methods of slaughter, and providing her with more perfect appliances for creating and distributing increased wealth for the few. As against these very doubtful services, the record of the white man's atrocities is ugly indeed. Trade has been opened up with unwilling peoples, in almost every instance, by bloodshed or threat of bloodshed. Thenceforward, it was spread by all the horrors of war and the permanent evils of unjust annexation. The traffic itself was often by no means advantageous to the country upon which it was thrust. Where the poisoning of millions of industrious and simple Chinese folk was profitable to the foreign traders and merchants, there poison was forced upon these peaceful people at the cannon's mouth. In cases where emigration for the coolies meant certain death within a short period for the unfortunates who were kidnapped and shipped off, all the remonstrances of the Government of China, whose subjects were thus outraged, failed to obtain redress.

Japan herself, whose leadership of Asia, afield and afloat, may yet, unless we are very careful, teach white men a lesson all over the world, was driven into close contact with Europe and America against her will, first, by Commodore Perry's dexterous diplomacy, supported by the power of the United States, and then by the much less justifiable measures of other white nations. Japan was, in fact, compelled to enter upon foreign commerce with Europeans by the familiar process of bombardment and butchery, which their immensely superior weapons of offence rendered merely a passing amusement for the civilized aggressors. That was but yesterday. It would be a desperately dangerous experiment to repeat today. Well for us if it is forgotten tomorrow. Asia raided and scourged Europe for more than a thousand years. Now for five hundred years the counter-attack of Europe upon Asia has been going steadily on, and it may be that the land of long memories will cherish some desire to avenge this period of wrong and rapine in turn. The seed of hatred has already been but too well sown.

The continent which has long regarded itself as the home of the progressive peoples and the hope of the entire planet is beginning to forfeit its assumed supremacy. The warlike and industrial potentialities of the near future are passing slowly but surely to the Far East. However the recent stupendous war may finally end, the whole of educated Asia can read its meaning written across the map of the world. If all those portions of the globe which are inhabited or dominated by the white races are seriously taking account at the present moment of their strength, their population, and their possibilities for the increase of their wealth on a larger scale than ever before, we may be sure

the ablest men in Asia are not blind to what can be achieved in their own countries in peace and in war. It is true that the differences between the Asiatic peoples are as acute as any which exist in Europe. But against the white man they are practically all at one.

Yet the white man still holds control over nearly half of Asia and its vast population. Asia comprises, including its islands, little less than 1,000,000,000 of the human race. England, France, Russia, Holland and the United States are all deeply concerned in the future of this mass of people, in view of the scope of territory and population they control. All will be greatly affected by the general political, economic and social movement of Japan, China and India. In a word, the position of Great Britain foremost, and of the other Powers in their degree, is now being steadily undermined. The determined effort to secure Asia for the Asiatics, once begun as earnestly in action as it is now being seriously considered in thought, might spread with a rapidity which would paralyze all attempts at reconquest, if, indeed, such attempts could ever be effectively made. The West deprived of British India, the Asiatic Provinces of Russia, French Tonkin and Cochin China, Dutch Java, Sumatra and the Celebes, the Philippines under the United States, would be a very different Europe from that to which we have been accustomed.

That is a possibility of which the West, with forces now weakened and depleted to a wholly unprecedented extent, must soon take account. Unconsciously, but none the less certainly, it is making way. Where fifty or even twenty years ago the continuous expansion of western domination over the East was taken for granted, now an uneasy but not yet openly admitted feeling is growing that the tide has turned and that ere long the area of European influence in the East will be considerably reduced. The partition of China among the "Great Powers" is not today within the sphere of practical politics, and Japan pursues her policy in respect to that magnificent country with little regard to the susceptibilities of the white man and his burden. The appeal of China herself to the White Powers, that they should aid her to resist the unwarranted demands of Japan, has met, at least temporarily, with a cold rejection. But while "The League of Nations" is being generally discussed it is certain that, in the opinion of the Chinese, the national independence of China is seriously menaced if the much-cherished Open Door is being carefully, though silently, closed.

All this is more remarkable since the Ottoman Turks, for centuries the advance guard of Asia in Europe, are at last being driven from their hereditary camping-ground. Even their mastery over Asia Minor, irrespective of the baffled German pro-



gramme of appropriation, is obviously threatened by Great Britain and France. What, under other circumstances, would undoubtedly be considered additional evidence of the growing predominance of Europe, seems today scarcely a make-shift against the probable insecurity of the white race in the Far East. The practical occupation of Persia now proceeding attracts little attention when the permanence of British rule in India is questioned, not so much from without as from within. Russia is incapable of any warlike policy and will probably be so for a long time to come. The French, too, will not long be able to retain undisputed possession of the territories they have seized from China. The difficulties to be faced at home, with a decreasing population, increasing financial burdens and the probable inability of Russia to pay interest on her enormous debt, so largely in French hands, will be such that withdrawal from her Far Eastern possessions can scarcely fail to be a matter of imperative necessity. The retention of the Dutch Archipelago, were Holland's ownership ever directly challenged, would be impossible. Certainly, without a powerful European ally, or active support from unready China, America would have to strain all her great wealth, extraordinary energy and enormous industrial resources in order to continue to hold what is really no use to her in the Philippines.

Asia, in short, is already far from being the Asia which was fair game for adventurous European experiments. New conditions must be dealt with by a new policy.

And who shall say that the frank abandonment of the fallacious polity of Imperialism will not greatly benefit the countries which boldly enter upon this honorable course? The possession of India has been a curse to England, alike in her domestic and foreign affairs. Democracy at home has greatly suffered from the maintenance of despotism abroad. The two can never be harmonized, nor kept simultaneously in being, without danger to the popular cause. The fear of what might happen to the English in India has frequently perverted the action of British policy. In economics also the tribute from Hindustan, which must be paid, no matter at what price, in saleable commodities, has done mischief to the producers of Great Britain as to the ryots of India.

So with France and her Asiatic possessions. What have the French peasants and *bourgeoisie* to gain, from any point of view, by retaining provinces that must be defended at the cost of their blood and treasure, and must introduce a dangerous military sentiment into the management of their affairs?

Happily the same views as to the madness of modern warfare which are now being forced upon the

rest of the world are also making way with Asiatic statesmen. They, too, see that friendly coöperation for common advantage might be far more advantageous to all than rivalry for power or competition for gain. Freedom of nationalities, equality of rights, respect for treaties and conventions, international arrangements for securing permanent peace are as important for Asia as for any other continent. But the responsibility for adopting them, should the Japanese democratic party prevail, and India and China press their demands without violence, rests entirely with Europe. The Asiatic nations are so far threatening no legitimate European interest: they ask only that the principles for which the Allies justly claim they fought Germany should be applied in the most populous regions of the world.

But it is useless to disguise from ourselves that this concession would involve of itself a complete revolution in the East. For such policy honestly applied would mean:

1. The emancipation of India from foreign rule by peaceful agreements with its numerous peoples.
2. The cessation of attempts to force foreign capitalism and foreign trade upon Asiatic countries.
3. The recognition that Japanese and Chinese are entitled, in countries and colonies inhabited or controlled by Europeans, to rights equal with those of Europeans in China and Japan.
4. The granting of similar rights to Indians on the same basis.
5. The acceptance by Europeans of the principle of "Asia for the Asiatics" as a rightful claim.

But no student and no statesman would contend that such a wide policy of justice can be suddenly realized. Yet if in the near future public opinion in Europe and America were to endorse such a program, and the nations interested would take the first steps towards its realization, much of the antagonism which is already manifesting itself in Asia might be removed. Past injuries cannot now be remedied. The most to hope for is that, in the Asiatic mind, they may be held to balance those eastern attacks upon the West which belong to a past more remote.

We are turning over a new page in the history of the human race. What will be written upon it depends on the men and women of the rising generation. If, in international relations, the old race and color prejudices are maintained, if trade and commerce, interest and profit, continue to be the principal objects of our statesmanship, then troubles may easily ensue beside which even the world war may take second place. On the other hand, should wider views and nobler aspirations animate both branches of civilized mankind, then indeed a magnificent vista of common achievement will open out before our immediate descendants.

# WITH LAWRENCE AND FEISAL IN ARABIA'

By LOWELL THOMAS

*Photographs by the Author and Staff*

ONE day we were trekking along the Wady Ithm. Behind us were 8,000 Bedouins mounted on the fleetest racing camels ever brought down the Nejd. The Bedouins were improvising strange war songs describing the deeds of Shereef Lawrence, Prince of Mecca, the youthful English archaeologist who had just made himself the uncrowned king of Arabia. Lawrence and I were riding at the head of the column. He paid no attention to the song, lauding him as a modern Abu Bekr. He was telling me about his archaeological work in Mesopotamia and was describing to me certain ruins north of ancient Babylon. Suddenly he broke off to remark: "Do you know, one of the most glorious sights I have ever seen is a trainload of Turkish soldiers going up in the air, after the explosion of a mine?"

I suggested to Lawrence that it would be a good idea for him to arrange a little dynamiting party for my benefit. Three days later we started off at night with 200 Howeitats in the direction of the Pilgrim Railway. After two days' hard riding across a country more barren than the mountains of the moon and through valleys that would make Death Valley look like an oasis, we reached some low hills a few miles south of Maan. At a signal from Lawrence we all dismounted. Leaving the camels, we walked up to the summit of the nearest hill and from between the boulders of lava we looked down across the tracks of the railway.

This railway had been built some years before by the Turkish Government in order to keep a closer hand on Arabia through transport of troops, as well as to furnish transportation for pilgrims to Medina and Mecca. The Turks never got the railroad farther than Medina, several hundred miles north of Mecca. Medina was garrisoned by an army of over 20,000 Turks and was very strongly fortified. Lawrence and his Arabs could have cut the railway line at any time, but they preferred not to. Trainload after trainload of supplies and ammunition must be sent down to Medina over that railway. Whenever Lawrence and his Arabs ran out of food or ammunition they had a quaint little habit of blowing up a train or two, raiding it, and disappearing into the blue with everything that had been so thoughtfully sent down from Constantinople.

I discovered that Lawrence knew as much about the handling of high explosives as he did about archaeology, and that he took great pride in his ability as a dynamiter. The Bedouins, on the other

hand, were entirely ignorant of how to use dynamite; and so Lawrence nearly always planted all his own mines and took the Bedouins along with him merely for company and to help carry off the loot. He had blown up so many trains that he knew the Turkish system of transportation and patrols as well as the Turks did themselves.

In 1917 he blew up in all twenty-five trains, participating only in two rather unsuccessful adventures. On one of these occasions he blew up the engine as usual. It happened that Djemal Pasha, the commander in chief of the Turkish armies, was on board the train with 1,000 troops. Following the explosion the Turks ran out and put up such a terrific fight that the Arabs had to hurry off as fast as their camels could carry them.

We crouched behind great chunks of lava for several hours until finally a number of patrols began passing by. Lawrence satisfied himself that they were going along at intervals of every twenty minutes. Just as the fifth patrol disappeared, Lawrence slipped down to the railway line and, walking a short distance on the sleepers with his bare feet in order not to leave any impression on the ground which might be seen by the Turks, picked out what he considered a proper spot for planting a charge. Whenever he wanted merely to derail the engine of a train he would use ten pounds of blasting gelatine; when he wanted to blow it up, he would use from forty to fifty pounds. On this occasion, in order that no one might be disappointed, he used slightly more than fifty pounds. It took him only a few minutes to dig a hole between the ties, bury the explosive, run a fine wire underneath the rail and down the embankment. Then as a last precaution he took a camel's hair brush and brushed the ground smooth. Picking up the wire he came back up the side of the hill for about seventy-five yards. And then he calmly sat down on a rug right out in the open and waited in leisurely fashion. The guards on top of the cars and in front of the engine, who were always stationed there with their rifles loaded, saw nothing more extraordinary than a lone Bedouin sitting on the hillside with a shepherd's staff in his hand. Lawrence allowed the front wheels of the engine to pass over the mine and then, as we lay there half paralyzed behind the boulders, he sent the current into the gelatine with a roar like the falling of a six-story building. The engine rose from the track. It broke squarely in two, the boiler exploded and chunks of iron and steel showered the country



for a radius of a hundred yards. Numerous bits of boiler plate missed Lawrence by inches.

Instead of provisions, this train carried some 400 Turkish soldiers on their way to the relief of Medina. They swarmed out of the coaches and started in a menacing manner toward Lawrence, standing just a few yards away. By this time the Bedouins lining the top of the hill near him were popping at the Turks. Evidently one Turkish officer recognized that the lone Arab was the mysterious Englishman for whom a reward of \$500,000 had been offered. He shouted and the men, instead of shooting, ran up to Lawrence as though expecting to take him prisoner. Lawrence stood watching them as coolly as though the Turks were his best friends. He allowed them to get within about twenty paces of him, and then with a speed that would have made an Arizona gunman green with envy he whipped his long barreled Colt's automatic from the folds of his gown and shot six of the Turks in their tracks. He always carried this heavy American frontier model automatic. Although very few persons ever saw him at it, it was well known among the British officers that he spent hundreds of hours at target practice, and as a result had made himself an almost perfect shot. The Turks suddenly lost interest in the possible reward for Lawrence's head and scurried back. Lawrence made a dash for the summit of the hill, and succeeded in rejoining us. Then we all ran back, climbed on our camels and swung off across the desert as fast as we could. The Turks had not followed us to the summit of the hill because they had no idea how large a force of Arabs were waiting there to trap them. As a matter of fact, they outnumbered our Arabs to such an extent that it would have been folly for Lawrence and his men even to attempt to scupper them.

Lawrence usually spent his time blowing up trains when he was not engaged in a major movement against the Turks or in mobilizing the Bedouins. When he first arrived in Arabia Shereef Hussein had just captured the holy city of Mecca and the revolution was at a standstill. Lawrence asked the King to permit him to start up the coast of Arabia from Mecca and attempt to build up an army as he moved north. Emir Feisal accompanied him. They started out with just three other companions, all Arabs. That was early in the winter of 1916. By June, 1918, this beardless young Englishman had raised an army of approximately 50,000 Arabs. He had marched 700 miles across the desert, most of the time along the coast of the Hejaz. From time to time he would attack a Turkish garrison at one of the towns on the coast. He maintained a perfect liaison with several British cruisers in the Red Sea, and whenever he made an attack from the land, the British navy would open

hostilities by shelling the Turks heavily for a few hours in advance, whereupon Lawrence and his Bedouins would sweep down and finish the job. He succeeded by this method in capturing the important seacoast towns of Yambu and Wijn.

The capture of El-Wijn took place on January 25, 1918. Wijn stands at the southwestern corner of a small corraline plateau, bounded on the west by the sea, on the south by a Wady and on the east by an inland plain. The British warships bombarded the Turks out of their main fortress by firing from a distance of 14,000 yards, which made it possible for them to keep far outside the range of the Turkish guns. The day before the city fell Lawrence led his Arabs right into the heart of Wijn, subjecting himself and his men to the shells from the battleships, and fought the Turks in a hand-to-hand battle in the streets. Following this, came the capture of the seaport of Yambu, which is the port of entry to that part of southern Arabia in which Medina is located. Colonel Lawrence described the entry of the victorious Arabs as follows:

"The order of march was splendid and barbaric. Feisal rode in front dressed in pure white. I was on his left, also in white, and on his right was another shereef wearing a red head-cloth and a tunic and cloak dyed with henna, and behind us were Bedouins carrying three banners of purple silk, topped with gold spikes, and behind them rode three drummers playing a march, and they were followed by a wild, bouncing mass of three thousand camels which constituted our bodyguard, all packed together as closely as they could be, the men in every variety of colored gowns and head-dress, and the camels equally brilliant in their trappings, and the whole crowd singing at the top of their voices a war song in honor of Feisal and his family." Lawrence failed to mention, by the way, that this column of victorious Arabs sang a war song about him as well as Emir Feisal.

It was by the process of accretion that Lawrence built up his army. He and his few companions, after leaving the Mecca country, stopped at every Arab village and nomad encampment in the desert on their way north. In his masterly and convincing manner, Lawrence would call the Arab sheiks together and explain that the Turks were so busy fighting the British, French, Italians and others, that they could not possibly devote the full force of their energies to Arabia. He set forth the situation somewhat in this fashion. "The Turks are the enemies of Great Britain, just as they are your enemies, and the Turks are under the control of a still more domineering race, the Germans. Both the Turks and the Germans are attempting to destroy the power of Great Britain, and since they are our common enemies, why isn't this the proper

time for us to unite and destroy their power? I am authorized by His Majesty, the King of England, to promise you that in the event that we are successful in overthrowing the Turks, Great Britain will do everything in her power to restore the peoples of Arabia to their former freedom and position of influence. The Shereef of Mecca, your leader, has asked for our coöperation, and we have promised it with the understanding that we are to help a people who are first of all anxious to help themselves."

The fact that Lawrence was accompanied by Emir Feisal, the most popular of Shereef Hussein's sons, assured him of the heartiest possible welcome wherever he went. He would sit around the camp fires with the Arabs discussing the past greatness of Arabia and her present condition of servitude, until he had every member of the tribe worked up to a high pitch of frenzy. Over cups of sweetened tea and roasted goat killed in his honor, in faultless Arabic, he would discuss with the Arabs the possibility of their being able to drive out the Turks. The decision, however, was usually left to the leading sheik of the tribe. But Lawrence's greatest problem was that of convincing the Arabs of one tribe that they should renounce their blood feud with the members of another tribe and unite against their common enemy, the Turks. That he succeeded in an astonishing and incredible way is demonstrated by the fact that within less than a year he had loosely united most of the peoples of holy Arabia. The first three tribes which he brought together were the Harb, inhabiting the desert regions between Medina and Mecca; the Juheina, inhabiting the country between Yambu on the Red seacoast and Medina in the interior; and the Billi tribe, near Wijh. The first of these, including over 200,000 people, is one of the largest tribes in all Arabia.

After he had captured both Yambu and Wijh, where large Turkish garrisons were stationed, Lawrence moved north toward Akaba and Maan. There he came in contact with the Beni Atiyeh, obtaining from them some 3,500 fighting men. The Beni Atiyeh are true Bedouins who know nothing about the cultivation of land and whose only animals are camels.

In northern holy Arabia near the head of the Gulf of Akaba the Turks had many strong garrisons. Before the Arabs could hope to sweep their oppressors out of the Hejaz, the problem of overcoming those garrisons faced them. With the Turks driven from the Hejaz, Lawrence knew it would then be possible for the Arabs to join in an invasion of Syria. Of all points in that region the most important was Akaba, the ancient seaport of King Solomon, because Akaba was the only seaport in that section of Arabia and was the best possible

place to use as a base for an invasion of Syria, in coöperation with Allenby's program.

On June 18, 1917, with about 800 Bedouins of the Toweih tribe, 200 of the Sherarat, and 90 of the Kawachiba, Lawrence set out for the head of the Gulf of Arabia. He left 200 picked men on guard over the tribal tents in the Wady Sibran because it is customary in Arabia for wandering bands of nomads to sweep down on camps and carry off everything in sight, provided they are not sufficiently protected. The passion for looting is one of the cardinal sins in Arabia.

As an illustration of how Lawrence handled his troops in spite of his complete lack of military experience, I remember how on one occasion, in order to fool the Turks and take them by surprise, he sent a flying column of Bedouins on fleet camels to make a feint against the Turks at Amman several hundred miles north, just west of Jericho and the hills of Moab. They occupied the attention of the Turks so completely that the latter failed to discover that Lawrence was approaching Akaba. It is only some 60 miles from the head of the Gulf of Akaba to the Hejaz Railway, and in order to prevent the large Turkish garrison at the town of Maan on the railway from coming to the relief of Akaba, Lawrence personally led another flying column in that direction. Seventeen miles southwest of Maan he swept down on an important Turkish post and wiped it out completely. The Turks at Maan sent out a crack regiment in pursuit. But the young Englishman and his band of Bedouins disappeared in the blue, swallowed up in the desert so far as the Turks were concerned, until the evening of the following day, when they reappeared out of the mist many miles distant at another point on the railway. Here Lawrence merrily planted a few mines, demolished a whole mile of track and destroyed a train. When the Turkish regiment reached the post at Puvellah, which had been wiped out by the flying column, they found the cultures in possession.

The Turks camped for the night in the bottom of a valley near a well at a place called Aba-el-Lissan, fourteen miles from Maan, where later I lived with Lawrence and Emir Feisal. Lawrence meanwhile had left his column of camel troops and had gone off alone across the desert to see if he could locate the regiment. As soon as he found the Turks he hurriedly returned for Bedouin forces, brought them up on to the heights around Aba-el-Lissan, and completely surrounded the whole Turkish regiment.

For twenty-four hours the Arabs sniped at the Turks from their advantageous position on higher ground, killing many of them. The Turks were in a desperate hole, but Lawrence knew that if they were under capable leaders they would be able to



EMIR FEISAL AND LOWELL THOMAS WATCHING THE BATTLE OF MAAN  
Maan Was the Inland Key to the Important Port of Akaba. Lawrence Captured It Through Strategy, Sending Out Various Flying Columns to Engage the Turks at Other Points and Mailed Them as to the Focus of the Main Attack

fight their way out through the thin lines of Bedouins. At sunset Auda Abu Tyl, his valiant Arab leader, crept up to within 200 yards of the Turks with fifty mounted Bedouins. Then jumping from cover, he galloped straight into the middle of the Turkish regiment, fifty Arabs attacking one thousand Turks. The latter were so amazed at his audacity that when another Arab chieftain, riding in advance, crashed into their midst, they broke and ran in all directions, but not before bullets had smashed old Auda Abu Tyl's field glasses, pierced his revolver holster, hit his sheathed sword, and killed three horses under him. In spite of these incidents the old Arab was delighted and maintained afterward that it was the most corking fight he had been in for many months.

Meanwhile Lawrence, who was watching from the hill on the opposite side of the basin with 400 Bedouins on camels, dashed down the slope as fast as the camels could carry them and charged into the midst of the panicky Turks. For twenty minutes 1000 Turks and 500 Arabs were mixed together in a wild, frenzied mass, all shooting like mad. The Turks had made their fatal error in scattering, as Lawrence had surmised they might do, and the battle ended in massacre. Lawrence

told me that he counted over three hundred dead in the main position and that as soon as the Turks had been beaten, the Bedouins, who had lost only two of their number, made straight for the Turkish camp to plunder it.

"Most of the two hundred prisoners were taken by Shereef Nasir and myself," Lawrence remarked, "because the Bedouins dashed away, thinking only of loot."

The Arabs in this part of Arabia were particularly bitter against the Turks and wanted to kill all of them because of the atrocities against their women and children committed by the Sultan's troops. They also wanted to revenge the death of Sheik Belgawuja from Kerak, a very popular Arab leader who was thoroughly anti-Turkish. The Turks had captured him, harnessed him between four mules, and literally torn him limb from limb. That was the climax of a series of executions by torture which so enraged the Arabs that they swore never to give quarter to another Turk.

Lawrence remarked to me later: "The way that affair terminated did not quite suit my plan, because I wanted to spread the news throughout all the East that the Arabs always accepted prisoners. During the few days following, however, we met



TWO MEMBERS OF LAWRENCE'S BODYGUARD  
These Bedouins Used to Make Up Songs in Honor of  
Sherreef Lawrence, Chanting Them on Their Rides

many small groups of Turks who were always happy to surrender, and who gave up their arms, crying 'Moslem, Moslem' when they saw us, just as the Germans cry 'Kamerad.' To save a Turkish garrison from massacre at one place, I had to labor from sunset till dawn and should not have succeeded had I not personally walked down the valley in what for a moment was No Man's Land, and sat down on a rock between the Arabs and the Turks in order to break their field of fire."

The Colonel had left Wihj, some hundreds of miles south, with but two months' rations. After giving a part of his supplies to the captured Turks, the situation became critical. Nevertheless, the half-starved Arab army, led by this dauntless and resourceful English youth, continued the march north. The news of an endless string of victories traveled in advance of the flying column of Bedouins, and when Lawrence arrived at Gueira, the large Turkish garrison came out and laid down their arms without firing a shot. Then the Bedouins marched down the Wady Ithm to Kethura, where Lawrence charged another Turkish post and captured several hundred more troops. From there they trekked on toward Akaba, until they came to a place called Khadra, where some two thousand years ago the Romans constructed an old stone dam across the entire valley. The Turks had massed all their heavy artillery behind that

wall, which constituted the outermost defense of the city of Akaba, Lawrence's most important objective. By the time the Sherreefian army arrived in front of this Turkish stronghold, the Bedouins of the Amran Darausha and Heiwat, who lived in the desert near Akaba, had heard of the great victories at Fuweilah and Aba-el-Lissan, and were coming across the sand dunes by the hundreds to join the advancing Arab forces.

The overwhelming defeat of the Turkish regiment at Aba-el-Lissan was the first phase of the battle of Akaba. The second merely consisted of Lawrence's spectacular manoeuvre, when he accomplished what the Turks thought was impossible, and actually succeeded in leading his army of about 10,000 Bedouins over the precipitous King Solomon mountains and down into Akaba on the morning of July 6, 1917.

Akaba is picturesquely located at the southern end of the great Wady Araba, which runs down from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akaba, and up which Moses and the Israelites made their way toward the promised land of Canaan. On one side is the sea and on all other sides are high, jagged, almost impassable, arid mountains. The town, like most places in the Near East, with the exception of the larger cities, is a mass of mud huts. Awnings cover the narrow streets and the little open shops are filled with brocades, prayer rugs, piles of dates and brass dishes.

The Turks and Germans were so paralyzed at the feat of the Arabs in breaking through the mountains that they were ready to surrender at once.

"Immediately upon our arrival in Akaba a German officer stepped up to me and saluted," said Lawrence. "He spoke neither Turkish nor Arabic, and did not know there was a revolution on. 'What is this all about? What is this all about? Who are these men?' he shouted excitedly.

"They belong to the army of Sherreef Hussein, who is in revolt against the Turks," I replied.

"Who is Sherreef Hussein?" said the German captain.

"He is the ruler of this part of Arabia," I replied.

"And what am I?" added the German officer in perfect English.

"You are a prisoner."

"Will they take me to Mecca?"

"No, to Egypt."

"Is sugar very high over there?"

"Very cheap."

"Good," and he marched off happy to be out of the war and headed for a place where he could have plenty of sugar.

"After we had captured Akaba," continued Lawrence, "we lived on the meat of the camels which had been killed in the battle and unripe dates

until the 13th, when a British cruiser arrived from Suez."

And so it was that Lawrence, the archaeologist, captured the ancient seaport of King Solomon, where a battle had not been fought for at least two thousand years, and won the second great victory of the Arabian revolution, opening the way for the invasion of Syria. From a squabble in Arabia the Shereefian revolt changed to a campaign of world-wide importance directed against the very heart of the Turkish Empire.

The fall of Akaba, next to the capture of the holy city of Mecca, was the most significant event of the Arabian revolution up to this time, because it helped to unify the Arabs themselves. First of all it gave those whom Lawrence had already won over to the cause of the revolution vast confidence in themselves. It was Lawrence's strategy and personal bravery, of course, that played the most vital part in the success of these operations, but Lawrence very graciously and adroitly gave every bit of the credit to the Arab leaders under him, principally to old Auda Abu Tyl. After winning his victory he was shrewd enough to take advantage of it in every conceivable way. He sent some of his cleverest Arab lieutenants through the Turkish lines into Syria to spread propaganda far and wide through the Turkish Empire, regarding the battle of Akaba. He also sent couriers on commissions to all the tribes of the desert, although news of his exploits traveled without any stimulus. Within two months after the fall of Akaba Lawrence had succeeded in building up an army of 200,000 Bedouins.

When I left Palestine to join him, Lawrence's headquarters were still in Akaba. A short time after Lawrence's visit to Jerusalem when I first made his acquaintance, I was having lunch with General Allenby and the Duke of Connaught. During the conversation Lawrence's name came up and I asked General Allenby why it was that the Arabian campaign had been kept so much of a secret. He replied that it had been considered advisable to say as little about it as possible because it was hoped that large numbers of Arabs fighting in the Turkish army might desert and join Shereef Hussein in his fight for Arabian independence. But it was thought that if the Bagdad, Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem Arabs who had been conscripted into the Sultan's army knew that the Allies were playing such an important part in the Arabian affair that perhaps not quite so many of them would desert. The Allies preferred to have the campaign appear purely Arabian in character. That was one reason why Lawrence's name was never mentioned in despatches. But General Allenby added that the campaign had been so successful that it was no longer necessary to keep it a secret, and that if I were interested in what was



EMIR FEISAL, SON OF KING HUSSEIN

Feisal is the Most Popular of the King's Sons. He is Now in Paris Representing Arabia

happening he would be glad to have me go down and join Lawrence, with the idea of giving the Arabs full credit for all that they had accomplished.

It was impossible to go direct from Palestine to the southern end of the Dead Sea and thence to Arabia, because the Turkish army blocked the way, and so my camera man, Harry A. Chase, and I went back to Egypt to talk the matter over with the officers at the head of the British Arab Bureau in Cairo. Here they said to me: "We will send you to Akaba, but next to Timbuctoo it is the most out of the way place in the world. You will have no hotel accommodations and will have to sleep under palm trees with sea shells and coral for your pillow. In pre-war days occasionally a tramp wind-jammer from Singapore or the Fiji Islands would lose its way in a storm and drive up the Gulf of Akaba, but aside from rare occasions like that almost no one has visited the place for thousands of years.

"All you will get to eat down there will be unleavened bread and dates," remarked one general, and on his advice, among other things, we bought fifty bars of milk chocolate which I put in one of my cases. Another general cheerfully warned me, "If you value your lives, take plenty of cigarettes for the Bedouins." So we filled every cranny and crevice in all of our boxes of motion picture films, canned food, camp cooking outfit, camera cases and sleeping bags, with "gasps," and every cigarette,

I am glad to say, proved to be worth its weight in gold. The day we landed in Arabia, however, the thermometer registered above the melting point of chocolate. When I opened my kit I found a solid block of fudge in one end, the principal ingredients of which consisted of Egyptian cigarettes, matches, bullets, pencils and note books, all cemented together by chocolate.

In order to get to Arabia, we had to go into the heart of Africa and then across the Sudan to the African coast of the Red Sea, where we knew we should be able to get some sort of tramp ship. We sailed 1,500 miles down the Nile to Khartoum in Sudan at the gateway to the jungle, and from thence we traveled 500 miles across the Nubian desert to Port Sudan. Our first stop on the way up the Nile was at Luxor, where we were given a welcome which had not been equalled since Roosevelt came back from hunting elephants. Some 300 Egyptian guides of ancient Thebes who had been waiting for American tourists for four years mobbed us from sheer joy. Three of them grabbed for one of our cases, four grabbed for another, five had a fight over my camera, and a dozen of them staged a tug of war on my cravenette and coat tails. Finally the porters of the Luxor Hotel combined forces for us and pulled us into their bus by force, whereupon hundreds of guides clambered on top of the bus and showered us with their cards.

One old Arab said sadly: "American tourist he no come no more. All we guides starve. Oh, woe! Oh, woe! Me guide here thirty-five years. Only real tourist in the world is you Americans. The Inglisse (English), German and French spend all their time counting their *centimes*. If American see something he want, he say 'How much?' You tell him, and no matter what price is, he say 'All right, wrap her up.' All we best guides specialize on Americans and before this war me no more bother guiding anybody but American than you bother to shoot baby elephant if you see big one. Why President Wilson no stop the war and why," he added in a pleading voice, "you Americans send money and food to Armenians and nothing to poor, starving guides of Egypt?"

When we arrived in Port Sudan, we found, as we had hoped, that there was a tramp steamer just about ready to sail for Arabia. She was the *S. S. Ozarda*, formerly of the Chinese coastwise service, a ship which had been torpedoed four times in the Mediterranean. Although she was ready to fall apart at any minute, she was still being used for carrying supplies from Africa to the Shereefian army. On board with us we had 100 deserters from the Turkish army on their way to join King Hussein, 30 Scotch Highlanders on their way home to England, 90 Egyptian laborers, 6 British officers, 50 Egyptian soldiers, 200 Sudanese sheiks,

60 donkeys from Abyssinia, 100 mules and horses from South America and 2 dissembled aeroplanes. The crew was almost as cosmopolitan as the cargo. It was made up of Hindus, Javanese, Somalis, Sudanese, Burbarines and Fuzzy Wuzzies, with a profane old Scotch-Irishman as commander. It was the motliest outfit that ever put to sea since the days when Captain Kidd sailed the *Spanish Main*.

We disembarked at Jidda, the port of entry to the holy city of Mecca, the same place where most of the Mohammedan pilgrims landed before the war. Then by boat and by camel we traveled from the vicinity of Mecca north along the Arabian coast to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, where we found Lawrence and Emir Feisal.

Lawrence had transformed the port into a great base depot and enormous piles of supplies lay stacked in the sands. We went ashore on a lighter loaded with donkeys and mules. One of the donkeys was kicked overboard by a mule. Immediately two sharks appeared, one seizing a front leg and the other the donkey's rump, and literally they pulled him in two. There are more sharks in that place than in any other waters of the globe. When we reached the shore we were greeted by several thousand Arabs who welcomed us by shooting their rifles and pistols into the air. The setting was so fantastic and full of color, and these Arabs so picturesque with their flowing beards, their gorgeous robes and peculiar head-dress, that it all seemed like some bizarre Oriental pageant.

Several of the British officers who were in charge of the receiving of supplies at Akaba took us over to the tent which was to be our headquarters while in Arabia. A few hours later Lawrence came down the Wady Araba, returning from one of his usual mysterious expeditions. He greeted us with the faint smile which was always on his face, welcoming us as if it were an every-day occurrence for Americans to arrive in holy Arabia in the middle of the war. He was wearing an even more gorgeous costume than the one I had seen him wearing in Jerusalem. It was of pale green embroidered with beautiful gold figures.

It would be impossible to describe a typical day with Lawrence because no two days were in any way alike. But the camp routine at the headquarters of the Arabian army, when no active campaigning was afoot, followed some such program as this: At 5 A. M. the army *iman* would climb the highest hill-top and give the morning call to prayers. He was a chap with such an astonishing voice that he woke every man and animal in Akaba. Immediately after he had finished calling the Arabian proletariat, Emir Feisal's private *iman* would call gently and far more musically at the door of his tent. A few minutes later a cup of sweetened coffee would turn up for each of us.



*The war and blockade of the strategic regions around the Suez Canal effectually cut off all tourist travel in Egypt. Egyptian and Arab guides felt the stringency of the conditions very bitterly. In the words of the lament shouted by the old Arab guide who seized upon Mr. Thomas as he was crossing Egypt to reach Arabia by way of the Red Sea: "American tourist he no come no more. All we guides starve. Oh, woe! oh, woe! Me guide here thirty-five years. Only real tourist in the world is you Americans. The English, German and French spend all their time counting their crannies. If American see something he want, he say: 'How much?' You tell him, and no matter what price is, he say, 'All right, wrap her up.' All we best guides specialize on Americans, and before this war we no bother guiding anybody but Americans. Why President Wilson no stop the war, and why you Americans send money and food to Armenians and nothing to poor guides of Egypt?"*



"Dwellers in the open land," or "people of the tent," the Bedouins call themselves. Nominally Mohammedan, they pay but little attention to the precepts of the Koran. Their only law is the judgment of the Sheik or "elder," who represents tribal authority, and who attains his position, not by relative riches, but by his capacity for leadership. The Bedouins, who are a branch of the Semitic race, and claim their descent from Ishmael, have ranged the central and northern desert regions and hills of the Arabian peninsula since the dawn of history. They are also to be found scattered in large numbers throughout Syria and Palestine, in Egypt, and along the north coast of Africa. The free Bedouin keeps no herds except his camels, but the tribes live, as a rule, by trading and trading stocks, which must be moved from place to place as the summer droughts come on. When the stars then find him, the Bedouin pitches his tent of black goat's hair cloth, and in the morning gathers together again the rough mat or two, the saddles, the ropes and halters, the few pots, and the wooden drinking bowl which are his worldly possessions, and is off beyond the meeting place of sky and sand, vanished into the blue, with a few blackened stones behind him, perhaps, to tell where last night he ate his simple meal.





An Arab Sherreef among the tents and red hills of his homeland. Much of the success of the Arabian campaign was due to these Sherreefs, who cooperated with Colonel Lawrence in raising a large force to oust the Turks from the Hejaz and assist Allenby in Palestine and Syria. In 1916, King Hussein gave Lawrence permission to raise an army among the Bedouin tribes of Arabia. Accompanied by Emir Feisal, son of the King, he started north from the Mecca country with three Arab companions. By June, 1918, he had raised a force of 30,000 fighting men. It was his custom to ask the ruling Sherreef or Sheik in every community through which he passed to summon a meeting of the tribe or village, then to explain to them why an Arabian revolt against their rulers, the Turks, at this time stood every chance of winning out, and why England was fighting Germany, who in turn, dominated Turkey. He arrogantly left all final decisions, however, to the Arabs themselves, for it was against his policy to coerce them in any way.



Lowell Thomas on his camel mount among the columns at the entrance to the "Treasury of Pharaoh" at Petra. After the fall of Akaba, Petra, which stands just north of the watershed between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba, was captured from the Turks by Lawrence's Bedouin army. Its importance lay in its position at the junction of two main roads leading to Gaza and Palmyra, respectively, and its proximity to important lines of trade and the pilgrim route from Damascus to Mecca. The route from Egypt to Damascus is also commanded by Petra, and direct communication to the head of the Persian Gulf. In ancient times Petra occupied a far more significant position than it does to-day, as the center for all main lines of overland travel between East and West, and the chief emporium for northern Arabia. Its historic temples and grattoirs, hewn from the rose-colored sandstone, have been an object of pilgrimage since the Middle Ages.



*The histories of Egypt and Arabia have been more or less entwined for centuries. In the 7th century, under the second Caliph Omar, the Arabs invaded Egypt, took Alexandria and founded a city on the present site of Cairo, and extended their sway along the African coast as far as Carthage. In modern history, the Egyptians retaliated by landing an expedition in the Hejaz, capturing both Medina and Mecca, and garrisoning most of the Arabian coast, until 1842, when the conflict with Turkey for Syria and Asia Minor necessitated the withdrawal of forces from Arabia. To all Mohammedans, Mecca is the sacred city, to be visited at least once in a lifetime. Formerly the principal Egyptian pilgrim route extended from Cairo, across the Sinai peninsula and down the Midian coast to El-Wikh, and from thence on to Mecca. Now the greater facilities of the sea journey from Suez to Jidda make that the more popular route. Before the war, of the seventy thousand Mecca pilgrims arriving annually at the Port of Jidda alone, forty-three thousand came from Turkish territory and from Egypt.*



The Bedouin Sheikh holds his authority over the tribe by personal ability, for the nomad tribes of Arabia recognize no other aristocracy. His principal occupation is in settling the numerous disputes which arise among the various tribes over particular wells or pasturing ground. At a rate, penalties do not result in bloodshed, which is expensive, the "diga," or blood-money, amounting to from ten to fifty camels, according to the importance of the individual involved. The total number of Bedouins in Arabia is a million and a half, one-sixth of the population of the peninsula. The Bedouin, who belongs to North Arabia, represents the purest surviving type of the true Semite. In physical appearance he is strong and robust, broad-featured, seldom smiling, with deep-set, piercing black eyes. His favorite weapon is his wooden lance or staff, with which he is perfectly able to defend himself at all times. His hospitality, even to enemies, is a matter of wide comment. As the Englishman says by "the honor of a gentleman," the Bedouin takes his most serious oaths by "the wind," "the word," and "the honor of the Arabs."



Coming up from the direction of Akaba, one approaches the ancient city of Petra, with its rock-hewn temples and stairs cut in the face of the rich brown and red precipices, by way of a narrow defile known as the Sik or "shaft." This leads along the course of a small stream rising in a spring which bears the name of the Fountain of Moses. In places the walls of the cliffs rising abruptly on both sides of the stream are but twelve feet apart. To reach the city, it is necessary to pass through the entire length of this natural fortification, which is a mile in extent. In older days, when Petra was an important station on the long incense route between Syria and the Persian Gulf, it represented a safe refuge and storehouse for the treasures of frankincense, myrrh and silver collected by the rich merchants, whose caravans were subject to the depredations of wandering bands of robbers. Early in the Christian era many Roman merchants settled in Petra, and it is from the period of Roman influence in the 3rd and 4th centuries that most of the interesting protoles and temples date. To-day only ruins and an insignificant village mark the site of a once thriving Arabian city.



*Motor lorries speeding across the sands of Arabia—surely an anomaly of the war! Yet representing the organizing genius of the western nations, they contributed not a little to the success of the romantic and astonishing campaign by which the Arabian army, largely under the direction of Colonel Lawrence, the English archaeologist of twenty-six, was able to bring about the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. Supplies for Colonel Lawrence's army had to be brought chiefly from Egypt, since the Turkish army blockaded the direct route from Palestine south. They were shipped across the Red Sea to Jidda in the Hejaz, and from there army motor trucks carried them north in the wake of the victorious Shererfan armies advancing toward Syria. Although the Arabs and Bedouins are stalwart fighters, with a brilliant military history, they lack training in the co-ordination and organization necessary to the success of modern campaigning. These were in a large part supplied by the British Headquarters in Cairo, and by Sherref Lawrence.*

brought in by one of Feisal's slaves. The Emir has five young Abyssinian blacks. These slaves are the acme of fidelity because the Emir does not treat them as slaves nor regard them as such. Whenever one of them needs money, Feisal tells him to help himself to whatever he needs from his bag of gold. No matter what they take, he never complains, and as a result the thought of robbing him never seems to occur to them.

At 6 A. M. or a little later we were in the habit of breakfasting with Lawrence and Feisal in the Emir's tent, where, as Lawrence aptly put it, "There were two modern but not bad carpets and a delightful old Baluchistan prayer rug." In the language of Lawrence, "Breakfast in favorable moments included Mecca cakes (a sort of sweetened unleavened bread) and cooked *duhra* (a highly spiced Arabian mystery), besides dates." After breakfast little glasses of sweet tea were produced. From then until 8 A. M. Lawrence would discuss the possible events of the day with either the British officers or some of the more prominent Arab leaders. During that time Feisal worked with his secretary or talked over private affairs in his tent with Lawrence. At 8 A. M. both Lawrence and Feisal would hold court and grant audiences in the Diwan tent of the Emir. According to the regular procedure it was customary for the Emir to sit at the end of a great rug and callers or petitioners to sit in front of the tent in a half circle until they were called up. All questions were settled summarily and nothing was ever left over.

For instance, one morning I was sitting in the tent when a young Bedouin was brought in, charged with an evil eye. Feisal was not present. Lawrence told the young Arab to sit on the opposite side of the tent and look at him. For ten minutes Lawrence regarded him with steady gaze, his steel blue eyes boring a hole right through him. At the end of the ten minutes Lawrence dismissed the Bedouin with the verdict that he had driven off the evil eye. Whenever Feisal was present Lawrence would step aside and decline to decide upon any question. He did this because he himself had no ambition to become the ruler of Arabia and because he knew that it would be far safer for the future of the Arabs if their petty differences were handled in the usual way and not by an outsider. Lawrence never did anything himself that he could delegate to someone else who was capable of handling it to his satisfaction.

Usually at 11.30 A. M. Feisal arose and walked back to his living tent, where a little later lunch would be served. Lawrence, in the meantime, would spend a half hour or so reading the inevitable volume on archaeology which he always carried with him, no matter where he went. On fortunate days lunch consisted of several dishes: stewed

thorn buds, lentils, unleavened bread cooked in the sand, and rice or honey cakes. I ate with a spoon, although the Arabs used their fingers, as did Lawrence also. After lunch there followed a short delay of general talk, rounding out the conversation of the luncheon hour, and in the meantime coffee and sweetened tea would be served. In drinking those beverages everyone always made as much noise as possible, because that is a polite indication that you are enjoying your drink. Then the Emir would write or dictate letters to an Arab scribe, and sleep, while Lawrence squatted on a prayer rug in his own tent reading. In case there were afternoon cases to be disposed of, Shereef Lawrence and Shereef Feisal would again hold court in the reception tent. From 5 to 6 Feisal would usually grant private audiences, and at such times Lawrence was almost always with him, since the discussion would have to do with reconnaissance and military tactics.

About 6 P. M. would come the evening meal, much like lunch, but with large fragments of sheep crowning the rice heap, after which would come intermittent cups of tea until bedtime, which for Lawrence was never any fixed hour. At night Lawrence would have many of his most important consultations with the Arab leaders. Occasionally we simply listened to Feisal tell stories of what he saw in Syria and Turkey during the eighteen years he and the other members of his family were held as political prisoners by Abdul Hamid.

Following the fall of Akaba, Lawrence made several trips over to Palestine to confer with Allenby, and from then on the British Expeditionary Forces in Palestine and the Arabian army of King Hussein, led by Lawrence, worked hand-in-hand in sweeping the Turks out of Syria. Northward from the head of the Gulf of Akaba they were joined by the Ibn Jazi Howeitat and the Beni Sakhr, two of the best fighting tribes in the whole Arabian peninsula. About the same time the Juheinah, the Ateibah and the Anazeh came riding in on their camels to join Emir Feisal.

The Arab army was divided into two distinct parts, one known as the regulars and the other as the irregulars. The regular troops were all infantrymen. There were about twenty thousand of them and most of them were either deserters from the Turkish army or men of Arab blood who had been fighting under the Sultan's flag and who had volunteered to join King Hussein after being taken prisoner by Allenby in Palestine. They were used mainly for taking the place of Turkish garrisons at posts captured by the advancing Shereefian hordes. The irregulars, who were by far the most numerous, were Bedouins, mounted on camels and horses. Lawrence had over two hundred thousand of them at his command.

The battle of Seil-el-Hasa will serve as an illustration of the manner in which Lawrence handled the Arabian army. A Turkish regiment under the command of Hamid Fahkri Bey, composed of infantry, cavalry, mountain artillery and machine gun squads, was sent over the Hejaz Railway from Karak, southeast of the Dead Sea, to recapture the town of Tafleh, which had fallen into the hands of

dark, dressed in my very voluminous Arabian robes.

"There was much free criticism of King Hussein and the populace was distinctly disrespectful, although not disloyal. Every one was screaming with terror. Goods were being bundled into the streets, which were packed with men and women. Mounted Arabs were galloping up and down, firing wildly into the air, and the flashes of the Turkish



A BAND OF LAWRENCE'S REDOUBTABLES, OFF ON A TRAIN-WRECKING PARTY

Lawrence Succeeded in Raising an Army of 200,000 Bedouins from Among the Various Scattered Tribes of Arabia. These Men, Mounted on Camels or Horses, Constituted the Main Force of the Arabian Army

the Arabian army. The Turkish regiment had been hurriedly formed in the Hauran and Amman and was short of supplies. When the Turks came in contact with the Bedouin patrols at Seil-el-Hasa they drove them back into the town of Tafleh. Lawrence and his Shereefian staff had laid out a defensive position on the south bank of the great valley in which Tafleh stands, and Shereef Zeid, youngest of the four sons of King Hussein, occupied that position during the night with five hundred regulars and irregulars. At the same time Lawrence sent most of the baggage of his army off in another direction and all the natives of the town thought the Arab army was running away.

"I think they were," Lawrence remarked to me as he recounted the story. "Tafleh, of course, was panicky, and as Dhiab-el-Auran, the busybody Sheik, had given us reports of the dissatisfaction and treachery of the villagers, I went down from my housetop before dawn into the crowded streets to listen to what was being said. It was, of course, an easy matter for me to conceal my identity in the

rifles were outlining the farther cliffs of the Tafleh gorge. Just at dawn the enemy bullets began to fall and I went out to Shereef Zeid and persuaded him to send one of our officers with two *fusils mitrailleurs* to support the Arab villagers, who were still holding the southern crest of the hills. The arrival of the machine gunners stimulated the Arabs to attack again, until they drove the Turks back over another ridge and across a small plain to the Wady-el-Hasa. We took the ridge, but were held up there and found the main body of the Turkish army posted just behind it. The fighting became very hot and there were huge bursts of Turkish machine gun fire and heavy shelling. Zeid hesitated to send forward reinforcements, so I went up to the position of Abdullah, the machine gunner, seven miles north of Tafleh, and on my way met him returning. He had had five men killed and one gun put out of action and was out of ammunition. We sent back urgent messages to Zeid to send forward a mountain gun, any available machine guns, and what men he could



collect, to a reserve position which was at the southern end of the little plain between El-Hasa and the Tafileh valley.

"After Abdullah had gone back because of lack of ammunition, I went on up to the front, where I found things in rather precarious state. The ridge was being held by just thirty Ibn Jazi Howeitat, mounted, and about thirty villagers. I could see

only eighty left, but a few minutes later several hundred Ageyl and some of my other men with a Hotchkiss automatic machine gun came up. Lutfi-el-Aseli joined us with two more machine guns and we held our own until three o'clock, when Shereef Zeid came up with mountain artillery and more machine guns, and with fifty cavalymen and two hundred Arabs on foot. Meanwhile the Turks had



INFANTRYMEN OF THE REGULAR ARMY BEING REVIEWED BY FEISAL AND THE AUTHOR

The Regular Army Consisted Largely of Deserters from the Turkish Forces and Was Used by Lawrence to Support His Bedouins and to Garrison the Towns Captured by the Arabs in Their Advance North

the Turks working through the pass and along the eastern boundary of the ridge of the plain, where they were concentrating the fire of about twenty machine guns, and flanking the rather obvious little mount which we were holding. They were meanwhile correcting the fusing of their shrapnel which had been razing the whole top of the hill and bursting over the plain. And as I sat there they began to sprinkle the sides and top of the hill quite effectively. The loss of the position was obviously only a matter of minutes. German aeroplanes came up and did not improve our chances.

"I gave the Motalga horsemen all the cartridges that we could collect and the Arabs on foot ran back over the plain. I was among them. Since I had come straight up the cliffs from Tafileh my animals had not caught up with me. The mounted men held out for fifteen minutes more and then galloped back to us unhurt. We collected in the reserve position on a ridge about sixty feet high, commanding an excellent view of the plain. It was now about noon. We had lost fifteen men and had

occupied our old front line. We had their exact range, as I had paced it off personally while we were retreating back to our reserve position. We brought all our artillery to the top of the ridge and then I sent the cavalry to the right to work up beyond the eastern boundary ridge. They were fortunate enough to be able to get forward without being seen until they had turned the Turkish flank at two thousand yards. There they made a dismounted attack. Meanwhile over a hundred Arabs of the Almi tribe, who had refused to fight with us the previous day because they were not satisfied with the amount of loot they were receiving, came up and joined us. There are few Bedouins who can refuse to get into a good fight when they see one coming on. I sent them to our left flank and they crept down behind the western ridge of the plain to within two hundred yards of the Turkish Maxims. The ridge which the Turks occupied at that time was of a flint-like rock, so that intrenchment was impossible. The ricochets of the shells and shrapnel as they struck the flint boulders and

glanced off were horrible, causing heavy losses among the enemy. I ordered the men on our left flank to fire an unusually heavy burst from their Hotchkiss and Vickers machine guns at the Turks manning the Maxims, and we succeeded in wiping the latter out. Then I ordered my cavalry to charge the retreating Turks from the right flank while we in the centre, with the infantry and the banners, also moved forward. At sunset we occupied the Turkish lines and chased the Turks back past their guns into the Hesa valley. When it was dark my men gave up the pursuit, principally because they had had no food since the previous day and it was unusually cold." We had put to flight a whole Turkish regiment, Hamid Fahkri among the slain.

General Allenby had planned a big attack against the Turks in southern Palestine which was to come off in May, 1918, but at that time the lines were hard pressed on the western front and Allenby was forced to send some of his best troops up to France to help keep the Germans from Paris. Lawrence insisted on starting the push north into Syria in September or before, but General Allenby informed him that it would be impossible for him to coöperate before late in the fall. But Lawrence argued: "By that time the rains will be on in Arabia and the Arabs will be forced to take their animals to the pastures of the oases." So Allenby rearranged his plans and sent an aeroplane down into Arabia from Jerusalem early in August with a message to Lawrence announcing that he would be ready to start a new campaign about the middle of September. Lawrence ordered his army to advance on August 30, after he and Allenby had agreed that the Arabs should cut the Turkish railway lines around Deraa, northeast of the Sea of Galilee, and make a camouflage attack on Amman, the strong Turkish town on the Pilgrim Railway, just east of Jericho. By forced marches Lawrence and his Bedouin army swept north across the deserts east of the Dead Sea and began their dance around Deraa. Just south of this important railway junction Lawrence dynamited a bridge, placing twice as much dynamite under it as necessary in order to make a thorough job of it. This made the seventy-ninth bridge that he had blown up thus far in the Arabian campaign. He then destroyed sections of the railway at seventeen different points, touching off seven of the mines in person. The French co-operated in this affair and did some splendid artillery work. The Shereefian army pushed on north and entered Damascus, which had been their capital hundreds of years before. They drove the Turks out of the city after a hot hand-to-hand fight in the streets, and Lieutenant General Harry Cheval, commander of the famous desert mounted corps of General Allenby's Palestine forces, swept into Damascus the following morning right on the heels

of Lawrence and his Bedouins, who captured the city on the evening of October thirtieth.

The twenty-eight-year-old commander-in-chief of the greatest army that had been raised in Arabia for five centuries, this five-foot-three, pink-cheeked, blue-eyed, peerless young archaeologist, who in less than a year had made himself the most powerful man in Arabia since the days of the great Caliph Haroun-el-Raschid, this quiet young Oxford graduate who had been made an Emir of Arabia, made his official entry into Damascus, the city which was the ultimate goal of his whole campaign, at seven o'clock on the morning of October thirty-first. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Arabs, including the entire population of Damascus, the oldest city in the world which remains standing, and thousands and thousands of the wild Bedouin tribes from the fringes of the desert packed the "street that is called straight," and jammed the bazaar section as Lawrence rode through the city, dressed in the garb of a Prince of Mecca. Howling dervishes ran in front of him, dancing and sticking knives into their flesh, while behind him came his flying column of picturesque Arabian knights. As Lawrence passed the gates of Damascus the inhabitants in that ancient Arab capital, which was once the most glorious city of the east, realized that they had at last been freed from the Turkish yoke. For months they had heard of the marvelous exploits of Sherceef Lawrence, and now for the first time they saw the mysterious Englishman who had united the peoples of Arabia in a smashing campaign which had resulted in the downfall of the Ottomans. As they saw him come swinging along through the bazaars on the back of his camel, it seemed as though all the people of Damascus shouted his name in one joyful chorus. For more than ten miles along the streets of the city the crowds gave this Englishman one of the greatest ovations ever given to any man.

After the arrival of Allenby's forces Lawrence temporarily remained as the governor of Damascus and ruled over the city of the caliphs until he could organize the Arab leaders and turn over the government to them. After the fall of Damascus, Allenby and Lawrence joined forces and freed the great Syrian seaport of Beirut, where the famous American College is located. Still unsatisfied, they swept on north until they had driven the Turks out of Aleppo, one of the most strategical points in the whole world so far as the great war was concerned. And then, if the Turks had not laid down their arms, they would have driven the Sultan's army all the way into the Golden Horn. When Allenby and Lawrence cut the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway, the dream of the Kaiser and the Junkers for a *Mittel-Europa* reaching from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf vanished into thin air.

# THE "TIGER" AND A FOREIGN DEVIL

By WILLIAM L. HALL

THE Tiger clung to my knees in terror. The air in the dark cavern was dense and stupefying. The raw-hide thongs were cutting into my ankles, and The Tiger's feet were swollen. The members of the band of smugglers, ranged about the dirt-walls of the immense underground room, were demanding our instant death. The leader, a man well past sixty, advised caution and delay. His eyes were bright; his smile was crafty. He would know more of the prisoners before snuffing out their lives. They could deal with The Tiger easily enough, for he was born to the soil, but the foreign devil was a far different proposition. Should they make way with him it was more than likely that a band of foreign soldiers would be searching for him. Foreigners have supernatural powers, anyway, and this one, quiet and restful in appearance as he may seem now, might call down quick destruction on all the band if offered any special indignity. More than one advocated summary punishment for this intrusion, and did not think it possible for foreign soldiers to discover their retreat.

The fumes of opium were making me weak. They were nauseating, repellent—and I knew I was fast losing all sense of my surroundings. The Tiger sank in a heap at my feet, his face down, and his whole body trembling. My head came forward, the light in the oil-lamps flickered fitfully, confused noises battered at my ear-drums, and men passed before my distorted vision like shapes in a dream. The fantastic animals in the cheap pictures on the walls came out in bold relief and danced a weird accompaniment to the dreary monotone of the reed-bugle and the hurdy-gurdy in the room outside. Rough hands were clutching at my shoulders and others were jerking at my feet. There was no strength left in my body. I could make no further resistance. All sense of gravity left me. My body seemed light, and I began passing through space at a great rate of speed. I realized that the men had lifted me to their shoulders and were carrying me away. There seemed to be no limit to the distance they bore me, often, it seemed, changing direction, but wandering on and on. Suddenly they threw me to the floor. Then all consciousness left me.

My home was on the western border of the great Shansi plain, a full moon journey, overland, from Peking. My son was seventy miles away, studying with the son of another family. A courier arrived just as the night was slipping over everything, bringing word that my boy was ill, and I was asked

to come without delay. In an hour I was on my way. It was in the midst of the rainy season and we could not engage native carts and drivers for so hard a trip; so Lao Hu (The Tiger) and I set out, in a steady downpour, for the long run across the plain and through the eastern mountains. The Tiger was mounted on a black pony and I on one pure white. Hour after hour we sped on, making belated travelers, when we rushed by them, prostrate themselves to the ground and say prayers to their gods for protection against the evil spirits that roam the earth at the midnight hour; fording streams which were made doubly dangerous by the possibility of quicksand strata; our ponies fairly slid down steep hill-sides where the clay was so slick they could not retain their footing, falling to their knees and bumping their noses as we hurried up hills made more uncertain by the numberless tiny streams of running muddy water; up and down the stone steps built more than two thousand years ago and never repaired; along level stretches, where we seemed to make no headway; through sleeping villages, where the only signs of life were the good-for-nothing dogs lying in the gateways and brought into noisy life by the onward rush of our incomparable Siberian ponies; through mud-pits so deep that our feet would drag, covered with the sticky soil until our stirrups looked like enormous, distorted war-clubs; taking short cuts through old temple courts, where crumbling walls and cracking pilasters disputed our passage, and ragged beggars reached dilapidated windows only in time to hurl imprecations after our rapidly disappearing figures; on, on, we sped, until, about three o'clock in the morning, we reached the foot-hills of the mountains which form the eastern barrier of the plain.

The earth formation here is loess, a wonderful dirt which may be moulded into brick, mixed with coal dust for the fire, or fashioned into upright walls which hold their shape for unknown periods of time. Once, far away back in the misty past, these roads were laid out, and for thousands of years have been traversed by all who would cross the great mountain barrier which separates the plain high up in the mountains from the low-lying watery country that surrounds Peking. At places the loess walls on the sides of the road are twenty feet high, at others, green trees and shrubs may be seen, forty, fifty and even sixty feet above the level of the road. Roads leading to the cities on the plain cross and diverge down deep in these wonderful crevasses, and no sign-boards point out the route

to the weary traveler. Many times we had to dismount while The Tiger studied the different paths. Once he was not sure whether we were right, but as nothing could be gained by delay or reasoning we hurried on. Off we went, like shots from a catapult, around corners, down narrow ravines, and into deeper darkness; our heads bent forward to avoid the stinging impact of the falling rain-drops, with one hand guiding our ponies while the other held in place the heavy Russian robes we carried for protection against cold and rain.

We came to a gateway built over the road. The Tiger declared he could not travel another league without a little time for rest, and I felt the same. We dismounted, led our ponies under the protecting roof of the gate, and settled down on the wide stone sills of the floor. We tried to talk to each other but our words came slower and slower. Our brains gradually refused to work. We could not see each other's faces in the inky darkness. The rain sang a lullaby on the tile roof. Our bodies grew heavy, we leaned against the stone walls of the gateway—and slept.

"Kill, kill, kill—beat them to death with clubs,—pierce them through with spears!"

Thus rudely were we awakened by a dozen hard-looking natives who surrounded us and held our ponies. The sun was shining, the rain-drops glistening on the leaves, but our bodies were stiff and cold. The Tiger spoke to the men, but their leader struck him across the shoulders with the shaft of his spear. I asked them what they wanted, but their only reply was,—“Kill foreign devil, kill foreign devil.” One dirty fellow, who had a most unprepossessing face, offered to run me through with his spear and started toward me with the evident intention of making good. The leader stopped him. “Careful, careful, the foreign devil has power to take your life. Do him no harm. We will carry them both inside.”

Our hands were tied to our sides and for greater safety the ends of the ropes were worked about our necks and between our legs, the latter also being encircled with raw-hide thongs. Over our heads they pulled camel-hair grain bags, near the bottoms of which were small holes through which we could breathe. Little flaps of cloth which hung over these air-holes were lowered every time we came to a cross-road or foot-path. One man walked in front, leading me by the end of the rope; a man at each side held a spear-point so close that I could feel it touch my body, while the fourth guard brought up in the rear, holding the thong that was fastened to my right leg in one of his hands and a small hand-axe in the other. The Tiger, similarly tied and guarded, marched along in front of me. One man carried our clothes, while others led the ponies. Once the procession started, not a word

was spoken to us. On we wandered, through deeper roads and under high walls. The pathway grew rough, forcing us to slacken our speed. Then the way grew narrow, and we went single file.

There were many gates to open. Sentinels, immovable as the immense pillars of loess by the roadside, gave way only after our captors pronounced certain words. These pass-words were not the same for all the gates. Strict examination was made of the thongs which bound me. They were tightened a bit here and loosened there, but the knots were just as hard and always pressed into my flesh. The last examination was made while we waited at a gate. One thong passing from one leg to the other kept my step down to about twelve inches. Here it was cut and I could make a full-sized step again. That was a little relief, anyway. This last gate was set in a solid wall of stone, and was manipulated by someone high above us, on the mountain. It moved up and down. We passed through and started up a flight of steps. Up, up, we went, until I had to stop for breath. I counted one hundred and ninety-one steps, but The Tiger insisted, afterward, that I was four short of the actual number. At last we reached the top and there found another gate. Some elaborate ceremony was performed before we were allowed to pass. Then we seemed to be led many times around a circle—at least that was the way it felt to me. Soon the air seemed sweeter and my lungs felt relieved. The bags were removed from our heads. A man standing nearby screamed when he saw my face. “A foreign devil, a foreign devil! Why does he come here? Why did you not kill him when first you saw his face? Kill, kill, kill!” he shrieked, and tried to strike me with the rope he had been mending. The Tiger spoke to him, only to be cursed in turn. I rushed to the edge of the wall, hoping to discover a way of escape. The man who was holding the thongs fastened to my feet gave a pull which threw me violently to the ground.

When I came to, we were in an immense amphitheater. Standing on the outer rim I could look down toward the mountain, into a yard, clean as a threshing floor and large enough to encamp a regiment of soldiers. The Tiger and I were dragged to an opening off to one side—apart from the main body of men. Here, after a time, assembled all the band of smugglers and held a modified drum-head court-martial, to devise ways and means of ridding themselves of our presence with the least danger to themselves and the maximum punishment to us for our intrusion. Our clothing was removed. The Tiger's clothes were quickly appropriated, for they were like their own. My outfit gave them more trouble in distribution. The trouser pockets proved most interesting. They were turned inside out and back again, and



examined on all sides, while a running fire of comment from leader and men made me forget the seriousness of my position and helped me to enjoy their evident bewilderment. A small bunch of keys, fastened to a chain, was chosen by the leader as his own special prize—and my pocket knife, with sharp blades and pearl handle, was to be taken to his home as a gift to his little grandson. My fountain-pen was placed carefully in a hole in the wall, and dirt was pressed over it, the comment being that it might write every word they said and let the foreigners know where its owner was, if a chance should ever come. For my watch, my fever thermometer, my tooth-brush, two or three small bottles of medicine, and for each separate garment I wore, the men cast lots. The winner took immediate possession, and none dared question his right thereto. The man who drew my union suit was in a panic after he had tried to pull it on over his clothing. They all decided they would leave it alone, for they could neither eat, nor sleep, nor walk, nor breathe, if compelled to wear such a tight frame pressing them together all the time. They stored my medicine case away in a box. The contents was far too powerful for them to tamper with. Some day, perhaps, they might send a man to foreign parts to learn the ways of medicine and he would use it upon his return.

All at once my presence became a menace to them. They were stricken with a deadly fear when they discovered my passport. The greatest seal of the land was imprinted thereon, and, although they were smugglers, and made their living by defrauding the very government it represented, there was in every heart a sickening dread of its power. Now they dare not turn the captive loose—they dare not kill me—they dare not let me live to tell of their existence!

The room was reeking with the effluvia from their bodies. The air had not been changed since the cavern was made, except as the wind might happen to blow through. The oil-lamps vitiated the air still more. A few were smoking opium on the beds of earth arranged along two sides of the cavern, and all the others were puffing at their tobacco pipes. No wonder I was growing weak! No wonder The Tiger swooned. Just before I lost consciousness one man suggested that they could absolve themselves from all blame by feeding us to the dogs. They could not be held responsible for the acts of animals—they were not responsible for any strange taste of a dumb beast. Neither could dogs be held responsible for any of their actions—so a vote was taken—and to that fate we were quickly consigned.

When I regained consciousness the second time I was lying in inky darkness. The Tiger was trying to raise my head, muttering as he did

so, something about dogs being afraid of me. He dragged me into a corner. Then he told me the dogs had come at me with growls and snarls, and jumped on me with all show of viciousness—after which they had run as far away as possible, whining as they ran. I rose to my feet. I could hear the dogs coming in a body. They leapt upon me, their sharp nails tearing my flesh. Their warm, wet tongues, passing over my face and neck and shoulders, sickened me. But away they went again to the other side of the room, howling, as though in terror. The Tiger always managed to keep me between him and the dogs. He said he thought they wanted to eat me, but were afraid to make so radical a change in their diet all at once. His flesh was torn by their sharp teeth, and he felt sure they would have made short work of him had he been alone, but by using my body as a barrier he had managed to escape without serious injury. He would indeed have been helpless had not my flesh, with such a different texture and smell, taken away the dogs' courage and made them as helpless as common dogs.

Just then a door opened, and a voice called out. The dogs ran to their owner. The man who had spoken now began congratulating them on having had such a bountiful meal, when I stepped forward and spoke to him. With one leap he crossed the threshold, cleared the outer room as fast as his legs could carry him, ran screaming toward the outside court—and, so far as I know, he may be running yet!

The Tiger and I walked out to the council chamber with the dogs behind us. Some of the men were frantically trying to explain to the others that the foreign devil and his servant were coming forth alive, having bewitched the dogs to such an extent that they were following us about like kittens. As we emerged we saw that the dogs were blind. They were kept in their underground prison for just such emergencies as this. Time and time again they had done their duty well—small work they always made of any one, or anything, thrown into their pit! Now, for the first time, they failed to do their part. Therefore, it was due to the wonderful power possessed by the foreigner, and if left long in his presence, they would surely lose all value as removers of incriminating evidence. The terrible news spread like wild-fire and all the men assembled. The man who was wearing my long outer garment slipped it off when he saw me alive and began to joke about it. However, he spoke with his lips only, for his heart was full of fear. His eyes always on my face, he stood ready to jump should I move in his direction.

Seeing this, I took matters into my own hands. I thought it high time for The Tiger and myself to have an inning. Living with the people, as I had

done for years, I had discovered that they were all superstitious. Here was I alive at a moment, when, to all their powers of reasoning, I should have been "outside life"—and inside their blind dogs. When I was a lad, a man once came to town who taught a number of us ventriloquism. I was not an expert, but in this case I held my audience. To their consternation a voice from out the blind dogs' den commanded them to obey the least order given by the mighty foreign devil—he whom they had dared insult! And then I said a few words in my own good American language, just to add to the sum of their fear and horror. They were then ordered to show me all their hidden treasure, and to give me choice of all their store. Penalties unspeakable stood ready for infliction upon them should they even dare to think of concealing anything. All my possessions were to be returned to me, and woe betide any man who should withhold any article now in his hands. I won. The men sat there, huddled together in the dirt, looking neither to the right nor to the left, and when the voices came no more they all began to move toward the corner in which I stood. Down to the ground went every face and some there were who even offered to worship me if only I would forgive their great transgression. They were only poor, unlettered folk, and surely my great mind could hold no thought of evil against such humble ones as they. The Tiger did not know whether to laugh or cry. He thought I had something to do with the voice coming from the cave, as he had heard me entertaining the children at home, but he was too wise to give me away.

We were conducted to the largest of the series of rooms in the cavern and all my clothing was returned, and I was given the position of honor. We dressed with all care, unmindful of the comments made on our appearance. When the last garment was in place I turned to the leader and ordered him to uncover his stores. We were led from room to room, each containing piles of silks, heaps of copper cash, package after package of crude opium, ingots of silver, and clothing enough to stock a dozen pawn-shops. All things were ready or were being prepared for shipping. Everything in the numerous divisions of this miniature underground world had been brought into the Province by these smugglers or their associates, or had been levied as tribute upon travelers passing along the great road through the mountains. We were informed that regular trips were made to the different cities on the plain and supplies furnished business houses whose owners were in touch with the work of the smugglers. The leader insisted that I take my choice of anything I saw. He tried to force some pieces of silk and bits of jade on me when he realized that I was not showing a

proper appreciation of his wares. I turned down every offer. Way deep in his crafty heart he was pleased that I did not want to accept his gifts, but his fear of the power of the foreign devil made him wish I might take just a little something—to "save his face" and place me under obligation.

So secure had they been in their possession of our property that they had sent our ponies to a town at the base of the mountain with an order that they be sold to the first caravan passing to the north. Now a courier was commanded not to rest his feet until he had overtaken them. The last word called after his rapidly-disappearing figure was a broad hint that his head would be fed to certain familiar animals who did not choose their food by sight, should he dare return without them.

A feast was meanwhile spread in my honor. All things were made ready and attendants awaited my every wish. My word was law. We were given the best room in the place. The coolie not having returned with our ponies, we were obliged to accept this hospitality for another night. What a change in our condition! Soft silks were taken from the bales and spread over the hard dirt beds for us to sleep upon. I made special request that we be called the moment our ponies came, so about two in the morning word was brought that they were waiting, and we might go—or stay—just as we wished. Happiness beamed from each brown face when I announced that we must go. Not a man had dared close his eyes in sleep all night. Furtive glances toward the door whence had come the weird, mysterious voices, told the story of their overpowering fear.

The leader hinted that although he had the fullest confidence in me, and respected me highly, it might not be out of the way for me to place a cloth over my eyes and hold it tight in place until we reached the highway. Not that he was afraid of my betraying them—oh, no, he thought too much of me for that. He would not even suggest such a thing, but . . . Then I made a friend of him for life by asking him to blindfold my eyes with his own hands and assured him it should stay in place until I was ready to leave his company. His hands trembled so it took him a long time to tie the knots. After many windings and wanderings we found ourselves under the gateway where we had fallen asleep two nights before. Our guides gave us careful direction and offered to conduct us further on our way if we thought best. We left them feeling sure they had acted the noble part by us—and we felt glad to be alive.

I have only one thing to worry about. I forgot my fountain-pen. It is probably still sealed in the wall of that smuggler's cavern, and they are all afraid to disturb it. Some day, when my dreams come true, I shall return and search for it.

# THE UNNECESSARY FAKIR

By H. V. ANDREWS

SEVERAL years ago I attended a Hindu *mela*, held at the confluence of two rivers. Many thousands of people were accustomed to assemble annually at this place for three or four days, engaging in bathing, worship, and various kinds of religious and recreational exercises. I reached the *mela* grounds in an *ekka*, a one-horsed native conveyance, which had no springs. The shaking of the crazy vehicle was said to give one fever, and my own sufferings were increased by the unnecessary speed of the horse, which was intermittently urged into a gallop by its driver in his frantic desire to overtake and pass another *ekka*.

As we approached the outskirts of the crowd, beggars began to spring up on either side of us and run along beside the *ekka*, crying: "*Bhig mangi Shahebi, Bhig mangi Shahebi!*" which is the Hindu formula for alms-asking. Their pitiful cries and hungry looks were really heart-rending. Escaping them, our *ekka* passed through crowds of *sadhins* and householders clothed in red, white, green and pink garments, with turbans of all conceivable shades. We passed sweetmeat shops where pilgrims were buying and eating the various sugared confections, now and then throwing bits of *paris* to the dogs, who growled savagely among themselves. The air was heavy with the music of the conchshell and the mystic bells which reverberated from the stone walls of an ancient fort. We drove swiftly along the outer edges of the seething mass of human beings, and then, suddenly, we came to a standstill on the river bank. There I saw a strange sight.

Inside a little ring of fascinated onlookers was a Hindu fakir, standing on his head, erect and motionless as a post. Near by, another fakir was lying with his head in a hole in the ground, entirely covered with earth. As long as I stood there I could detect not the slightest motion in the rigid figures. About thirty minutes later I returned from my tent and found the fakir still on his head. How long he remained in his posture I do not know. Disciples had spread cloths beside their masters to receive the offerings of those who admired their performances.

Fakirs of this sort are to be found everywhere in India. The word *fakir* comes from an Arabic word meaning "poor."

It was introduced into India by the Mohammedans and is now loosely applied by occidentals to all kinds of Indian ascetics. The ordinary fakir of today is usually a degenerate product, but in the early ages of Hinduism the fakirs were men of true sanctity and devotion, and even yet one can find great scholars and devotees among them. The leaning of the Hindus to a life of asceticism was fostered by their ancient religion which enjoins various exercises of penance and mortification upon the three higher castes in general, and upon the Brahmin in particular. Those who have passed through the different stages of regeneration end by becoming *sanyasis*—those who have renounced everything and are above all law; the world and its usages no longer have any claim upon them; even religious ceremonies are no longer necessary to the "united with God." They go



INDIAN FAKIR ASKING ALMS  
Beggings is Universal with These Ascetics Who Believe Their Hands Given Them for That Use

about nearly naked, receiving the best food without demand or thanks. Their ethical code consists in the observance of truth, chastity, inner purity, constant repentance and contemplation of deity. The earlier fakirs were not only pious men, but sometimes saintly, held to be workers of miracles and healers of all ailments.

The religious mendicants of India are divisible into various classes, such as *sadhus*, *gurus*, *yogis*, *sanyasis*. The greater number of the Brahmins are not ascetics, but live as other men. Yet being Brahmins by birth, they have a right to collect supplies from those of inferior castes, and may often be seen on begging expeditions. They alone have been divinely appointed to the important task of interpreting and teaching the sacred writings. They are the priests who officiate at marriage ceremonies and all religious functions. Only through Brahmins, they say, do the gods speak.

The *sadhus* wear light yellow garments, the priestly color. They spend their time in traveling from one holy place to another, usually on foot, visiting shrines hundreds of miles apart, dedicated to different gods. *Sadhus* are always sure of being fed and sheltered in whatever town or village they enter, because every town has its special fund set aside for this purpose. They ordinarily remain only a night in one place, taking to the road again on the following day. There are women in this class also.

The guru is a teacher who gathers in his train as many disciples as he can. He is not an ascetic or a pilgrim, but a local celebrity, with followers of his own in the surrounding communities. The Hindus say: "There is no salvation without a guru," and they contemptuously call a man a *nagaro* who has no guru as his leader. Though readily admitting that the guru lives for himself and not for his followers, they regard him as essential to the community. The guru seldom visits his disciples except to collect his yearly dues. When he appears he is treated to the best of everything and all that is possible is done for his comfort, though he may not be seen again until the following year.

All yogis might be called fakirs; but not all fakirs are yogis. With many of the fakirs of today, the religious element is wanting; they are mere jugglers or vagabonds. The peculiarity of the yogi is that he follows out an elaborate system of ascetic exercises, essentially Indian in conception and framed to meet the requirements of a subtle school of philosophy which still has a potent influence upon the speculative and practical life of the Hindus.

Yoga exercise is the restraining of the mind from following various trains of thought. The word yoga, which is similar to the English word

yoke, means union. It involves the yoking of the mind to the Spirit of God through concentration. To the thoughtful Hindu, union with deity, in which the individual spirit is absorbed in the universal spirit, is the highest Heaven. He wishes for no other salvation. The cardinal purpose of yoga philosophy is to destroy fickleness and changeableness and lead the mind to a state of serene repose. Ignorance, egoism, desire, aversion and clinging to life, are the five distractions from which the mind should be delivered. Hindus teach that "desire for life is the cause of attachment of every description; and the real cause at the bottom of every misery of which the world is full." Hence the necessity of freeing the mind from all attachment to worldly things.

One of the many ways of accomplishing this end, called *Padmasana*, is described in this fashion: The right foot should be placed on the left thigh, and the left foot on the right thigh, the hands should be crossed from the back and the two great toes held firmly thereby; the head should be held upright; the eyes should be directed to the tip of the nose, and the mind absorbed in meditation. In the sixth chapter of the *Bhagavad Gita* the following instructions are found: "Let the yogi constantly practise devotion, alone in a secluded spot, with his mind and self subdued, without expectations and without longings. There fixing his heart on one object—the restraint of thoughts, senses and actions—let him practise yoga for the purifying of his soul. Holding his body, head and neck motionless, tranquil in mind and free from anxiety, let him restrain his mind and concentrate it upon the gods. The yogi thus constantly devoting himself to abstraction attaineth peace." *Yoga-samadhi*, the introductory step to salvation and one of the promised attainments of yoga, is accomplished by counting inspirations and expirations and suppressing the breath, in addition to the above formula. Suppression of the breath is managed by putting the tip of the artificially lengthened tongue back into the throat. Some yogis are said to have remained as dead for days by this means. This is regarded by Indians as a wonderful phenomenon.

For more than 2,000 years the Hindus have believed firmly in the power of yoga. In the *Mahabharata* the god Krishna is repeatedly mentioned as occupied in yoga exercises. He was engaged in "high yoga" when shot by the hunter Jarra. One of the titles of the god Siva the Destroyer is Mahayogi: the great yogi. In this character he is represented as sitting on a tiger skin with matted hair and body besmeared with ashes, while serpents coil about his limbs. Even nowadays many Hindus of marked ability profess an undoubting faith in the reality of the yoga science. Others, while



believing the yoga system to be true, are persuaded that in these degenerate days no one is able to live up to it. The ignorant millions have an unflinching faith in the power of the yogi, and treat him with the most profound reverence. Max Müller is inclined to believe in the efficacy of yoga, but Barth, a distinguished French Orientalist, says: "Conscientiously observed, these exercises can only issue in folly and idiocy." Professor Huxley expresses the same opinion in the following words: "It was folly to continue to exist when an overplus of pain was certain. Slaying the body only made matters worse; there was nothing for it but to slay the soul by voluntary arrest of all activities. Property, social ties, family affections, common companionship, must be abandoned; the most natural appetites, even for food, must be suppressed or at least minimized, until all that remained of man was the impassive, extenuated, mendicant monk self-hypnotized into cataleptic trances, which the deluded mystic took for foretastes of the final union with Brahma."

According to adherents of the yogi philosophy, it yields acquisition of occult powers, prevents rebirths and leads to final absorption in the universal spirit. The soul is supposed to wander through 8,400,000 rebirths unless relief is attained. Tukaram, the Marathi poet, writes: "O, this fearful round of births; this weary coming and going; when will it end?" Yoga is the way to escape which Hinduism offers: a process of absorption into the universal spirit.

Like occidentals, the Hindus are not always able to distinguish between that which is really occult and that which is the purest jugglery. The easterner, moreover, has a special predilection for the fantastic and the hidden. Persons possessed of occult powers are supposed to be aware of everything, past and future, remote or near; they divine the thoughts of others; acquire the strength of an elephant, the courage of a lion, the swiftness of the wind, the power to fly in air, float on the water, dive into the solid earth and contemplate all worlds of the universe at one glance. The Hindu fakirs are probably the most expert jugglers in the world, and many of their feats have puzzled the most acute western students. Some of them have never been fully explained. The fakirs appear to be adepts in hypnotism, ventriloquism, in producing illusions of all sorts and in controlling organic reactions. Many of the current devices of sleight-of-hand found in other



**A FAMILIAR FIGURE AT TEMPLE DOORWAYS**  
This Devotee Waiting Outside a Buddhist Sanctuary Has  
Probably Come to Beg Rather Than to Pray

parts of the world have been borrowed from them.

Some of the impostures practised on the credulous appear transparent enough when the facts are known. Years ago a Madras Brahmin professed, by yoga powers, to be able to sit in the air without support. First a tent was erected, and when it was removed he was seen seated in the air counting his beads, with his hands resting on a staff. The explanation is simple. The staff was a hollow bamboo with an iron rod inside, which was bent at the top so as to form a seat for the yogi. The rod had been firmly fixed in the ground while the tent concealed operations. Some years ago a reward of a thousand rupees was offered to any yogi who could, by yoga power, raise himself in the air three feet and remain suspended for ten minutes. The conditions required that it must be done in the open air and in daylight, with no rod



Smith and Spence

#### FAKIRS SITTING IN A STREET OF BENARES

India is Bordered with Five Millions and a Half of These Unproductive Religious Beggars Who Rub Their Faces with Ashes and Perform Mortifying Penances Which Vastly Impress the Credulous People

connecting the yogi with the ground. It is hardly necessary to add that the reward was never claimed. Colonel Olcott, after seeking proofs of the magic powers of these fakirs, described the ones he saw as "painted impostors who masquerade as sadhus, to cheat the charitable and secretly give free rein to their beastly natures."

In the main, the Hindu fakirs form a thoroughly undesirable class of society. In any land the maintenance of such a vast unproductive army would be a great burden on the people; in India, where there is so much poverty, the load is doubly onerous. Yet the halo which from the first has surrounded fakirism, and the ready worship offered to the fakirs by the people has attracted many whose motives are anything but ascetic, and who, under the garb of humility and mendicancy, collect great wealth. The great number of fakirs today are as pestilential in morals as they are repulsive in appearance; they are lazy and corrupt to the core. Yet the superstitious people accept them for the highest type of piety in the land. Few indeed in the community would dare refuse an offering to these beggars, because they are ever ready to invoke dreadful imprecations upon any who might pass them by. That Hindu who has in his lifetime incurred the curses of a fakir is denied the right of being burned to death, and is buried instead, usually in a sitting posture.

Certain of the rites and penances resemble, in a suggestive way, the self-imposed tribulations of

the early Christian ascetics. A favorite ceremony is long-continued spinning on the toes with the arms outstretched—frequently for hours at a time. Some spend their days and nights upon beds of spikes. Others dedicate an arm to the gods and hold it erect until it becomes a fixture and the finger-nails penetrate the flesh of the hand. Some sit in the blazing sun with fires burning on all sides of them, or stand in the water through the hours of the night, shivering in the cold air. Some achieve long pilgrimages by prostrating themselves upon the ground, and crawling worm fashion the entire distance. The Hindu who aims at perfection must go through six courses of austerities of twelve years each. He should see, hear or care for nothing in this world. No matter what the condition of others may be he is not supposed to concern himself. He must devote himself only to his own salvation, which is not attained by becoming good and overcoming evil, but by shaking off personality. The true fakir wants nothing; he neither loves nor hates, desires nor is grieved; he renounces both good and evil. When he becomes perfect, everything in nature is under his control. He can raise the dead and even command the gods. These austerities involve much suffering and imply the utmost devotion and sincerity.

Religion is, of course, of prime importance in the life of the Hindus. Nowhere can there be found a more religious people. They carry their religious sentiment into every part of their daily

lives. The names of their various gods are constantly on their lips. They use these names freely and reverently, not in cursing, and they are not considered too sacred to be given to children. The name Rama is a favorite and its repetition in the act of sitting or rising and in salutations, is considered a source of merit. The dying are urged to pronounce it. When the dead are carried out, the man leading calls out: "*Rama bolo bhai Rama*," meaning "Brothers, say Rama!" Those following say the words after him, repeating the refrain all the way to the burning ground. Some Hindus will seek the favor of the deities when their purposes are evil, for with them religion and morality are not necessarily associated. This is not strange, seeing that the gods themselves are pictured as participating in the sins common among men. The Indian intellect has been described as "elaborately inaccurate; it is supremely and deliberately careless of all precision in magnitude, number and time. The historical faculty is utterly wanting. Not a single narrative that can be properly called history has ever been written by Hindus except those who have received an English education." It is characteristic of the Hindu mind to speculate rather than to investigate. Their ideas of sanctity, as has been seen, are altogether extraordinary. The fakir and the sanyasi represent the highest form of sanctity known to the Hindu. The fact that five and one-half millions, or one-in-sixty of the population, are religious mendicants, shows how strong a grip religious asceticism has upon the people. These beggars are entirely non-productive and live upon a fond and charitable people.

Begging is universal. Govind Singh relates that "a fakir lived in the jungles and never asked anything from anyone. Once upon a time the will of God was that for eight days he got no food from anywhere. The fakir thought to himself, 'As God has given me hands and feet, I will go into the city and beg.'" Here we have a truly Indian solution of the difficulty in which the fakir found himself. The idea of work would never occur to him; he was a fakir and labor of any kind was out of the question. It is not, therefore, to be wondered that the mantle of religion, albeit materially a very scanty one, is employed to cover and, to some extent, to dignify, the habitual, irreclaimable tramp, who would elsewhere be nothing more than an outcast and a vagrant.

Some of the performances of the fakirs are, in the opinion of occidentals, revolting to say the least. The following is taken from an account of one of the melas held at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna: "Eight nude fakirs sat in a circle with a fire of wood in the center. Men, women and children approached, some prostrated themselves before these men, kissing their feet; others knelt,

touching their feet reverently, usually making offerings of copper coin. Upon receiving alms a fakir took up some of the cool ashes from the edge of the fire and put them into the hand of the worshipper, who devoutly placed some on his own forehead or in his mouth; some carefully wrapped small portions to take to their distant homes, to be used in cases of sickness or need. At the same place a procession of naked fakirs was watched by crowds of men, women and children. A European who was present remonstrated with an intelligent Hindu, who replied, 'Can you not appreciate the power these men have attained, that they can endure this nakedness without shame or pain? Why, you, sir, even wear a hat to protect your head! Where is your power as compared with theirs?'"

Not every fakir in India today is open to the suspicion of being a trickster. A friend told me that he had once met at a mela an ascetic who was, to all appearances, thoroughly sincere in his professions. He first saw this man at a distance, walking alone, with an iron *trishul* in his hand. In aspect he was not unlike the pictures of Siva. When he had drawn nearer, my friend gave the customary greeting: "*Kaichan hai? How are you?*"

The purity of the man's accent was so surprising that my friend then asked him where he had learned his English. He replied that he had studied at the Calcutta University.

"Oh, then you are not really a sanyasi!" my friend remarked, with a suspicion of triumph in his voice.

"I am trying to be," was the grave response. "My home was in one of the richest palaces of Calcutta, but that I tell you rather in shame than in pride. British officials of high rank and wealthy tourists deemed it an honor to be asked as guests to that house. But I am only what I am, a simple sanyasi living a life of renunciation and following the practices of yoga. I sleep under the open sky and eat wild fruits. I left the world to find myself, to realize the profoundest truths of life and death and of the soul."

My friend must have looked compassionate, for the fakir immediately said:

"I know that many, perhaps most, sanyasis are not what they pretend to be; are not even worthy to associate with. But you must not judge a creed or a cult by its failures. There are thousands of genuine sanyasis of great wisdom and power. Sanskrit scholars and students of philosophy. We may be foolish. I do not know. Wisdom and foolishness are relative terms. What today seems trivial to your English merchant or manufacturer may after all have seemed vital to his Christ."

Only a few such can be found in Hindustan. They are becoming rarer as the push and scramble of modern business crowd out the meditative life.

# CEREMONIAL DIVERSIONS IN JAPAN

By STEWART CULIN



THE spirit of a nation finds expression in its amusements. The games of a people furnish an index to the sources of its culture. These ideas are exemplified in Japan and may be kept in mind in our consideration of its games and amusements. Since the groundwork of Japanese culture was borrowed from China, we find that the games of the Japanese may be traced, almost without exception, to the older country. You must know, too, that the Japanese are dominated by a taste for literature, and that they reached during the most recent centuries a stage of refinement and luxury among the educated classes without precedent among the other nations of the eastern hemisphere. This taste for literature and literary tradition, part of their inheritance from China, is reflected in their games. With it we find suggestions of military spirit and military amusements borrowed from the same source and tempered with the same literary and artistic influence that everywhere have been paramount.

There are two principal theories as to the origin of games: one, which may be designated as the *festal*, explains them as springing from a natural human instinct for diversion such as is conspicuous in children, and the other, the *divinatory*, that they are survivals of ancient rituals which have been diverted from their original purpose. This second theory explains chiefly the mechanism of games, and does not apply to the numerous mimetic amusements which are practised by children. Japanese games do not throw light directly upon the questions of origin. I have found almost no game among them which may be traced to Ainu or similar sources. All Japanese games seem to have been derived in a well-developed form from an advanced Chinese culture and then simply to have been modified according to Japanese taste. At the same time Japan is a most valuable source of general information in this as in so many fields. Implements for games are among the objects col-

lected and studied by Japanese antiquaries, and one may find large collections of such objects preserved with loving care. Furthermore, a practical knowledge of many ancient games exists in Japan, reinforced with encyclopedic knowledge that extends to the games of their immediate neighbors.

Excluding the mimetic amusements of children, the games of the Japanese may be divided into two general classes: sedentary, indoor games played by men and women, and out-of-door athletic games, practised chiefly by men.

First among the indoor games is that ancient and celebrated Chinese game which the Japanese designate as *go*. *Go* is a game analogous to chess, regarded as greatly superior to it by the Japanese, played by two opponents on a board similar to a chess board with men or pieces. The board, divided into 324 equal squares without alternation of color, is peculiar in being made of a thick block of wood, preferably yew, mounted on four carved legs. The men consist of 360 black and white stones, the white made of shell, the black of slate, and are placed alternately by the two players, starting with an empty board, not in the squares, but at the 361 points of intersection, called eyes. The object of the game is to cover the greatest number of eyes. In doing this each player tries to surround a piece

or pieces of his adversary with his own men, thus capturing the inclosed pieces. Hence the Chinese name of the game, *wei ki*, surrounding chess, or the game of surrounding. *Go* appears to have been introduced into Japan from China in about the seventh century of our era. It is played by the highest class, nobles, literati and military men, the latter looking upon it as an exercise in military tactics instructive in the art of war. During the war with Russia it was a common diversion.



SHELL TOP SPINNED ON A MAT

*Go* occupies a similarly prominent place in Japan with that in China and Korea. I have been unable to discover it elsewhere, to disclose its morphology, or connect it with any other game. Enthusiastic foreign students have endeavored to introduce its play into the west and three treatises on its practice have been published in English but as yet no success has attended these efforts to establish the game in Europe or America.

Chess, called *shogi*, having the same ancestry as our own game, is the most popular of all Japanese games. It is played upon a board similar to a go board, but smaller, and differing from our own board in being a rectangle with nine instead of eight squares on a side. The three rows on which the pieces are placed on each side constitute opposing camps. The men, forty in number, are punt-shaped pieces of wood, of different sizes, slightly inclined toward the front and lying flat on the board. The direction of the point determines to whom the piece belongs. Unlike other chessmen, the pieces are all of one color and the same ones serve for the player and his adversary. They are marked with their names in ink and are placed on the squares as with us instead of at the intersections of the lines as in the Chinese and Korean games. Any piece taken up may be entered by the adversary at any place he chooses and at any time he thinks desirable, such entry constituting his move. The pieces on each side consist of two gold and two silver generals, two bishops, called respectively "flying wagon" and "angle going," two knights, two castles (chariots), and nine foot soldiers or pawns. The moves are complicated, and the game is rendered more difficult by certain pieces being turned over immediately on entering the enemy's camp when they take new names and have additional powers. In addition to this particular game, which is the universal amusement of the common people, there are many other games of chess known in Japan. Among these games are ancient forms in one of which no less than 354 pieces are employed on a board with 625 squares. I found and copied a manuscript in the possession of a maker of chess men in Kyoto with illustrations of seven different games of chess which he was prepared to manufacture. Specimens of these games, which afford a vast store of material for the study of the history of chess, are contained in our collections. The ordinary Japanese chess



THE HAND AND FINGER GAME OF "KEN"

game was derived, it would appear, from a Chinese game of an older type than the present Chinese chess. It is the last and most complex of the chess games found in eastern Asia, all originating from an Indian source. Unlike the game of go, it has little to commend it to our players, being greatly inferior, in my opinion, to our own chess game.

Another class of board games, in which the pieces are moved in accordance with

the throws of dice, exists in great variety in Japan. These games are known by the name of *sugoroku*, or double sixes, from the highest throw with two dice. Japanese dice, called *sai*, are like our own. They were borrowed, manifestly, from China. At one time they were employed in gambling games, but such games are not played at the present day, all gambling being looked upon with disfavor in Japan, and restricted, if not entirely repressed by law. One form of *sugoroku* corresponds closely to our own game of backgammon and is played with similar pieces on a small lacquered table. It is especially a woman's game and is portrayed frequently in pictures representing the life of women in the higher classes of society. Another type, more or less a child's game, is played upon a pictured diagram and is sometimes employed as a means of instruction for children. The moves are made according to casts with one or more cubical dice or with a spinning die. A familiar game, called *do chu*, or traveling *sugoroku*, has a series of stations representing the stopping places on the road in some well-known journey, as for example, the Tokaido, from Tokyo to Kyoto. In another form, corresponding to the Chinese game of the "promotion of Mandarins," the players advance through the various grades of official rank, the names of which are printed or written upon the board. New games of *sugoroku* are published on occasions of national importance and at the New Year, and their subjects are so varied and comprehensive as to furnish us with a pictorial



GIRLS PLAYING BATTLEDORE AND SHUTTLECOCK, A TRADITIONAL NEW YEAR'S GAME



A POLO GAME IN THE PRESENCE OF A FEUDAL LORD DURING THE KAMAKURA PERIOD. POLO WAS INTRODUCED INTO JAPAN AT A VERY EARLY DATE FROM CHINA, WHERE IT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN ADOPTED BY THE CHINESE FROM THE CONQUERED TARTARS.

epitome of the daily life of the people. No less than 48 different games are contained in our own collection, at the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute.

Japanese playing cards are all based on European cards which were introduced in the 16th century. Evidence of this is found in their name, *karuta*, a word derived from the Portuguese *carta*. In the older packs, which are prized highly, the old Spanish suit marks may be recognized. The cards used today, however, are generally the kind called *kama garuta*, or flower cards. The pack consists of 48 cards divided into twelve suits of four cards each, the suits being named for the flowers of the twelve months. The usual game corresponds with our game of casino, but is shortened frequently to a mere betting upon hands, much as in poker. Another variety, in which the cards are matched in pairs, may serve, like *sugoroku*, both for entertainment and instruction. For example, in *utagaruta*, the first half of an *uta*, or poem, is written on one card of a pair, the second half appearing on its mate. The game consists in putting the cards out, face up upon the mat, the players pairing the cards that mate in accordance with prescribed rules. Chinese poetry; the popular romance of Prince Genji and smaller themes furnish titles for the card games contained in our collection.

The cards for these mating games may be regarded as having originated in a combination of European playing cards with an old Japanese court game, called *kai awase* or shell mating. *Kai awase*

was played with clam shells in natural pairs. The shells were spread out and mated in the same way as the cards with divided verses. To aid in their identification the two halves were painted with pictures more or less corresponding one with the other. Specimens of this shell game, in which both the interior of the shells and the two containing boxes are elaborately decorated in gold and colors, are among the artistic treasures prized by collectors at the present day. It will be seen that in the substitution of foreign cards for the shells used in the old game of *kai awase*, the present card mating games like *kama awase*, or flower mating, find a ready explanation. Different kinds of cards are played by different classes, *kama garuta*, or flower cards, for example, by adults of both sexes. They are regarded as vulgar, however, by the educated classes and are in disfavor through their employment in gambling. Boys and girls play *iroka garuta* or Japanese syllabary cards, while educated persons, affect the literary games, of which the most popular is the *Hyaku-nin-isshu* or game of One Hundred Poems.

Another indoor amusement which appears peculiarly and distinctively Japanese, although I am not sure that it may not have a Chinese prototype, is the game of *ka awase* or incense comparing. This, like the so-called tea ceremony, was formerly a diversion of the court and dilettanti. It consisted in burning in succession various kinds of incense or scented wood while the guests, assembled for

the purpose, were required to guess the name of each as it was consumed. The implements for the game were extremely numerous and complicated, of exquisite workmanship and vastly expensive. A minute portion of the powder selected was placed on a thin mica plate and held by a pair of forceps over charcoal in a brazier. The guests indicated the material burned with one of ten numbered counters, or tablets, bearing representations of as many shrubs. The scores were kept by means of boards, somewhat resembling those we use in playing cribbage, the pegs consisting of miniature arrows, trees and horsemen moved along a groove. At the present day the game is almost extinct.

The foremost outdoor sport practised in Japan in ancient times, was archery, and numerous games originating in this military art were played by the samurai. These amusements, more or less ceremonial and ritualistic, were usually indulged in at festivals of Hachiman, the God of War, in various parts of the country. Among them was *yabusame* or shooting from horseback, *kuso kake* or hat hanging, in which a hat was used as a target, and *inuomawo* or dog shooting, in which dogs were shot at but not killed, with special arrows provided with large wooden heads, the game being played within a fenced inclosure. A bow and arrow and a mallet and a ball were among the ceremonial gifts to boys at the New Year. The bow was called *hawa yumi*, demon quelling bow, and a game in which a rolled straw target was shot at by boys at the New Year seems to have been a survival of primitive magic. Miniature archery games, played with a small jointed bow and a hanging target, still exist as an amusement for boys at the time of the annual Boys' Festival.

The ancient Chinese game of tossing arrows into a jar survives in Japan under the name of *tsubo ichi*. Analogous to pitch pot is the still existing Japanese game of *to sen-kun*, or fan throwing, in which two players toss folding fans at a miniature



COURT LADIES PLAYING "SHUGURU," AN ILLUSTRATION BY GINKU FROM THE "GENJI MONOGATARI"

fan target. This target is balanced on the top of a tall box and the different positions in which the fan falls with reference to the target are named for the fifty-four ladies who figure in the celebrated romance of the *Genji*. The peculiar *mon* or crests of these ladies, composed of right angle lines, are employed by the Japanese as numerals from one to fifty-four and are used as such, not only in the fan game, but also in the incense game and on a certain kind of playing card. The beautiful names of these celebrated heroines, like the story itself, are familiar to all Japanese. In this connection I may mention the floating fan and wine cup games described in Japanese stories.

Falling within the same category is a boy's game of peg sticking called *neki*, played with short sharpened stakes. One player throws a stake into the sand or soft soil, and the next tries to knock it down with his throw, the others continuing in order. The stakes overthrown become the property of the successful players. The game is played by boys at the seashore or river bank where they go to collect firewood. One of my friends at Nikko had his little son get me some sticks such as he used in his play.

Pitching pennies, *zeni uchi*, is another boys' sport, now disallowed, in which formerly special coins, called *kagami* or "mirror *sen*" were used. Tops are also employed in a game by boys as with us and the world over. In the Japanese top game a special top, *bai*, made of the apex of a small conch shell ground and filled with lead is spun on a mat tray. The players try to knock their opponents' tops from the mat, winning or losing accordingly. Similar games are played with large tops of solid wood armed with an iron point. Top games have their special seasons with Japanese boys, whose calendar of amusements is even more rigorous than our own.

The game of ball is represented in Japan by two ancient Chinese games, football, an amusement of

the *kuge* or court nobles, and polo, a game of the samurai. The football is some seven or eight Japanese inches in diameter, made of leather, with a medial seam, and inflated with air. It was played in a court thirty-six, forty-two or seventy-two feet square, with a tree placed at each corner, pine, cherry, maple and willow. There were four, six or eight players, all of whom wore special costumes. Their shoes, made of leather, had broad, square, shovel-shaped toes. The ball was kicked vertically into the air to a considerable height with repeated sharp kicks, the object being to prevent its touching the ground. After a certain number of strokes it was kicked diagonally around among the players. No football court remains in the old Imperial Palace in Kyoto, but I am informed that there has been a revival of the game in recent years.

I was privileged to witness a game of football at the Nobles' Club in Kyoto on the occasion of my visit to Japan in 1909. With my escort I proceeded to the club, a plain, commodious building near the Imperial Palace. The game was being played in the garden adjacent and I could hear the kicking and see the ball rise at regular intervals above the top of the garden wall. On entering the club-house I found myself in a large hall looking out on a small square garden. On one side of the hall the boxes that had contained the costumes in which the players had robed themselves for the game were lying open. There were eight players, all wearing

white kimono with *hakama*, or long, skirt-like trousers, for the most part white, but with one pink, one salmon-colored and one blue. The one with the pink *hakama* was Count Asukai, the teacher, whose family had taught the game for the last 400 years, and the one with the blue, a small boy, his son. All the players were bareheaded. All wore stockings of different colors, and these, with the color of the *hakama*, I was told, referred to their rank in the game. Their shoes had round and not shovel-shaped toes, such as I have described. The latter are worn only by *denjobitu* or *kuge* of a certain rank. The *denjobitu* seat themselves on round mats, while other nobles employ square ones. In the court, which had a dirt floor, were four trees arranged in a square—three pines, and in the familiar corner on the right a willow. The ball was put in play with the hand, dropped on the instep and then kicked vertically into the air with the toe. In this way it was kicked around the players in accordance with the rules, of which a printed copy was furnished me.

In ancient China football seems to have been regarded as a military exercise. Its invention has been ascribed to the mythical Yellow Emperor of the third millenium B.C., but others assign its appearance to the age of the Warring States in the third or fourth centuries B.C., when it formed part of the military curriculum as a means of training soldiers. The original ball, made of leather, was



ACCESSION OF A FOOTBALL GAME AS ARRANGED FOR THE WORSHIP OF THE GOD OF THE GAME IN THE HOUSE OF ASUKAI ONE OF THE TWO FAMILIES IN KYOTO WHO PRESERVE THE FORMAL TRADITIONS RELATING TO FOOTBALL.





COURTIERS OF THE HEIAN PERIOD, A. D. 794-1068, PLAYING FOOTBALL ACCORDING TO THE ELABORATE RULES GOVERNING THE GAME AT THAT TIME, FROM A PRINT BY KUNISADA

stuffed with hair, but from the fifth century of our era and onward it was inflated with air. In its early days it is described as being played with two goals made of bamboo, several tens of feet in height, over which the ball had to be kicked. The players were divided into two parties and the game decided by points. The Japanese game was doubtless borrowed from China in its present form.

Polo seems to have been learned by the Chinese from the conquered Tartars under the Tang dynasty at about A.D. 600 and was an amusement of the emperors and the imperial court. The players, mounted on ponies, were divided into two teams. The game is variously described as one in which the balls were struck into a hole in a board set up between two poles at the south end of the polo ground, or through one of two goals set up at either end of the course. The game is constantly referred to in Japanese literature and appears to have been imported soon after its reputed introduction into China. It was ceremonially played at the Japanese court at the New Year. Polo was associated with the military exercise of shooting from horseback and we read of a polo game dance that seems to mimic the real game.

The common ball game of Japan is an amusement of girls and is played with a ball wound with silk thread which is made to rebound from the mat by being struck down repeatedly with the hand,

often to the accompaniment of a song. With it is associated the battledore and shuttlecock, the especial amusement of Japanese girls at the season of the New Year. The battledore, a flat-handled board, is decorated with pictures and the shuttlecocks consist of feathered seeds of the soap-berry tree. The bats at the present day are decorated on the backs with elaborate pictures in silk of actors, but formerly these decorations consisted of scenes in the *Shogun's* court at the festival season. The implements for the game are sold in Japanese shops in December, and are regarded as the most appropriate gift to a girl at the season of the New Year. An emblematic significance must have been attached to this gift, for a stand with bow and arrows, recognizably ceremonial, was presented to boys at the same season.

The games I have described so far are those in which implements are employed. Other games exist in Japan, as elsewhere, in which no appliances are required. In conclusion let me mention one of them, the well-known hand and finger game, which the Japanese play under the Chinese name of *ken*, fiat. I shall not attempt a description of the various forms of this amusement, only observing that it has been elaborated and refined in Japan, and that its formal contests, played in a pavilion under the supervision of an umpire, were among the popular amusements of the Japanese proletariat.

# OPENING CHINA'S INLAND EMPIRE

## III. A New Era in International Finance and Foreign Investment

By SILAS BENT

*Illustrations from Richard Wood Randolph's Official Photographs*

WHEAT has been selling recently in Szechuan, China, at twenty cents a bushel, sometimes as low as sixteen cents. If there had been a practicable means of moving it to tide-water, if the mountain barriers which separate the province from the outer world had been nullified by a railroad, the Szechuanese farmer would have reaped the advantage, say, of a two-dollar price prevailing in the world market, less the cost of transportation. The annual harvest of wheat in Szechuan, even at the prices prevailing there, runs well past a hundred millions of dollars, and adequate transportation would have multiplied that figure twenty-fold. It would have meant two billions of dollars for wheat alone.

It must be clear that railroad construction in China, like the ploughing of any fallow district of the globe, will redound primarily to the benefit of the region itself. But if China would profit from coming in touch with the international market, other nations would profit likewise. A prosperous China means a world more prosperous. In its broadest sense, the economic and industrial development of China, which depends primarily on railroad construction, is of universal consequence, and touches by indirection every man's pocketbook.

If China were belted with railroads in the same proportion to her area as the United States, she would have 325,000 miles of line. If the construction were in proportion to population, she would have 1,000,000 miles. As a matter of fact, she has 6,467 miles. More than 9,000 additional miles of railroad were being built or contracted for in China when the European War began. The most important of these projects was the Szechuan-Hankow Railroad, already partly constructed, of which Richard Wood Randolph, an American engineer, surveyed the major part. In previous articles I have told about the survey and about the fabulous resources of the "Red Basin" in the province of Szechuan, which this line would open to the outer world. It is my intention now to discuss the value of the Hukuang project from the Chinese and American points of view, with special regard to opportunities waiting for investors.

Railroads form the vertebrae of foreign spheres of influence in backward countries, chiefly because railroads have in the past constituted the chief instrument for commercial penetration and exploitation. The Hukuang loan marked the dawn of

a new era in international finance, for it stood for the beginning of international coöperative effort in the development of unorganized territories. It has thus a peculiar and special significance at this time; and the formation of a banking consortium at Paris to make further loans for the financial reorganization and commercial development of China, may justly be called an outgrowth of the Hukuang idea. But this aspect may well remain for examination in the next and last article of this series. For the present we are concerned with the commercial, social and political aspects of the Szechuan project as it affects this country and China.

Although the phrase "foreign trade" has been a commonplace one on the lips of American business men for decades, it has not until now come to stand for an accepted part of our program. The United States has arrived at a position in its business life where the expansion of its traffic throughout the world has become imperative. This country is today an island of credit. Nowhere else are the resources visible which make possible the extension of large accommodations. We have the Allies on our books for ten billion dollars, whereas before the war the United States owed a billion abroad. Our productive capacity has been stimulated instead of being crippled by the emergency through which we have just passed. We have a merchant marine of such proportions as would have been deemed an impossibility four years ago. We have passed through the earlier stages of growth, in which the application of capital to the development of a young nation's resources is its first duty. All the obstacles which stand in the way of a great and successful out-reaching to the furthestmost corners of the world have been removed. And among the big and rich foreign markets beckoning to us, none is more important than China.

In the stimulation of foreign trade, railroad building plays a two-fold part. In the first place, the countries supplying the money for such construction also supply in large part the materials which precede that construction, as well as for the multifold industries which spring up along the railroad. In the second place, the new line makes possible the speedy and cheap transportation of manufactured imports of every variety. At present each Chinese buys less than eight cents worth of American goods out of a total of ninety-three cents spent in foreign trade, whereas Canada buys ninety



#### TREMENDOUS GORGES OF THE UPPER YANGTZE KIANG

The Perils of Navigation Through These Rock-Walled Reaches of the River Have Been a Great Hindrance to Commerce. Rapids and Fluctuating Currents Form Further Obstacles to the Safe Passage of Steamers

dollars worth for each person of its population. In proportionate rate, our export trade to China would amount to twenty-five billions, but the impediments of distance, of course, make such a figure excessive. It is reasonable to assume that our Chinese export trade might amount to two billions and a half a year, and that it can be made to reach such proportions if American business men will only grasp the opportunity now dangling before them.

The chief reason China has not dealt more largely with the world is her lack of railroad facilities. Imports find difficulty in penetrating beyond her coast. The Hankow-Szechuan project is the most ambitious effort yet put under active way to pierce the rich interior. It promises an outlet for the overflowing money, enterprise and products of China, and assures the opening of a prodigious virginal market for American goods. In the last article I quoted figures prepared by Mr. Randolph to show that the revenue from merchandise already moving in and out of Szechuan, despite the difficulties and perils involved in navigation of the Yangtze, amounts to ten million dollars a year. Those figures give only a hint of what the traffic would amount to under the stimulation of modern transportation facilities. The future is sound for

any well-planned railroad system which taps the riches of Szechuan.

Soon after the war in Europe broke out, we, as a nation, learned something about the meaning of foreign investments. When France and Great Britain borrowed half a billion dollars from the people of the United States, then neutral, with the stipulation that all the money so procured was to be spent for the products of our own factories and mills, the majority of our business men received a highly instructive object lesson on what international credit means, and how trade follows the bond. The same rule applies generally to industrial loans, even when they are not made with the stipulation that the money lent shall be spent in the lending country. When a loan is made for the financial reorganization of a backward country, such as is now contemplated for China by the Powers, the benefits derived by outsiders are indirect, and accrue simply from the more stable conditions established and the resultant prosperity and greater purchasing power. But it is safe to say that the people of the United States have now learned not only to invest in bonds, a transaction with which they were ten years ago somewhat unfamiliar, but also to invest in foreign bonds; they have learned, too, the meaning of such an



#### A CHINESE POLICE BOAT ON THE YANGTZE

One of the Occupations of the River Officers Consists in Scouring the Lonely Portions of the Stream for Pirates and Other Predatory Persons Who Make Their Living by Preying on the Traffic

Investment in augmented foreign trade. If the United States is to derive the full golden advantages of railroad construction in China, it must also assume an enlightened attitude toward foreign securities.

To China, the building of railroads is of even greater importance than the augmentation of trade, and no railroad could be more vital to her future than the Szechuan-Hankow project. "One has only to see something of these vast strips of territory without railroads, without telegraph offices, and with few post offices," says Price Collier in "The West in the East" (page 395), "to learn how much we owe our own railroads for their efficiency as moral agents. Leaving out of the count any question of commerce, the United States today would be a great federal, political and moral chaos without railroads; and yet I have never heard them alluded to as having any ethical value."

From the point of view of its strategic importance in Chinese politics, the Szechuan railway is of equal importance. The lax hold of the republic today on the territory west of the Yangtze gorges is due not to their remoteness but to their inaccessibility. Disorder has been rife throughout the border provinces only because adequate trans-

portation facilities were lacking for the proper policing and administration of that area. Once the Hankow-Szechuan Railway is built, the provinces of Szechuan, Kweichow and Yunnan will cease to be harbors of refuge for bandits, malcontents, and revolutionary agitators. A new spirit of nationalism may then be expected to develop, resulting in the strengthening of an effective centralized democratic government. The railway would, moreover, connect with the outside world three of China's largest provinces which are now almost completely isolated. Until there is a direct all-rail route from Hankow into Szechuan, such as is here proposed, the central nerve of future Chinese traffic must remain partly paralyzed. At present merchandise to or from the interior provinces, and to or from the United States, Canada or Europe, is transported by water to Shanghai, and thence by steamer up the lower Yangtze to Hankow, where it is transhipped to smaller steamers for Ichang, and there transhipped a second time to junks for the hazardous passage through the gorges of the upper Yangtze. Through bills of lading are obtainable to any of the treaty ports in China, through freight rate and prepayment of freight to places beyond the point

of importation being arranged through the trans-oceanic steamship lines. Collect freights are forwarded to their destination by the agents of the steamer at the port of discharge. A bill of goods, for example, may be sent from New York to Chungking via the Panama Canal or the Pacific ports to Shanghai, depending on freight costs, transferred from Shanghai, via Yangtze steamer or junk, to Hankow, from this point shipped by water to Ichang and again sent on by Chinese steamer or junk to Chungking. When the Ichang-Chungking section of the railroad is constructed, it will follow logically that merchandise will be transhipped direct from train to steamer, or from steamer to train, at railway wharves in Ichang.

Much water power is going to waste along the upper Yangtze and its tributaries. It requires no stretch of the imagination to foresee the time when electric turbines will be installed and will supply cheap power for short interior passenger hauls as well as power for converting the raw products of Szechuan into finished merchandise. Lime is now being produced for local use, and the industry would expand enormously were transportation facilities available. With the existing abundance of water power, limestone and cheap coal, the cement industry should thrive exceedingly. At

present, Chinese cement works are located at Hong-kong and in Kwangtung Province, in the south; at Tong-chang, near Tientsin, in the north; and at Tayeh, in Eastern Hupeh Province, more than three hundred miles east of Ichang. With the advent of the railroad, a cement industry in the very heart of a country where the requisite raw materials could be cheaply obtained would prove an extremely profitable enterprise. None of the existing plants could compete with it for local business, because of their distance from raw materials. Such an industry could contribute materially to the prosperity of the whole region, and directly to the prosperity of the railroad.

Two items which are likely to bulk large among the future exports from Szechuan are sugar and tobacco. Red and yellow sugar cane is cultivated on the plain of Chengtu, at Chungpa and Neichiang. This is the great centre of sugar production, whence it is distributed over the whole province. The annual production at Neichiang alone amounts to five million pounds. Tobacco of excellent quality is found at Chintang, Mienchow, Chungpa and Lungan. At present its poor combustion and occasional bitter taste are due to the carelessness with which the leaves are cured. Szechuan is perhaps the only province in which



TOWERING PEAKS OF THE YANGTZE GORGES

For Several Hundred Miles the Yangtze Flows Through Wild and Desolate Scenery. The Shores Are Almost Barren of Life Save for Occasional Groups of Stunted Trees and the Thatched Huts of Farmers

the people smoke tobacco in the shape of cigars.

Another product, export of which would be greatly stimulated by the railroad, is cotton. Even now it is cultivated on a large scale and produced to an annual value of a hundred thousand dollars principally in the vicinities of Tai-ho-chen and Su-lin. Tea, grown in the eastern parts of Szechuan, now exported largely to Thibet, would be diverted in part to the sea and to markets in Europe and America. At present about eight million pounds are exported annually to Thibet. It has been asserted that this figure might easily be doubled.

These illustrations are given as indicative of the value of the railroad project to the Szechuanese exporter. But in its larger aspect it may be said that the construction of new transportation facilities in China always works, from the very outset, to the advantage of the whole territory affected by the system, by tending to prevent or modify famines and to relieve the pressure of population in congested areas. The projected railroad into Szechuan, for example, would make available to almost the entire nation the agricultural resources of this magnificent granary. Food products at present bottled up in the province would be transported quickly to Hankow and thence by the spokes of the railroad wheel radiating from that centre to the north and south. And the industrious, dependable population of Szechuan, a sturdy mixture of many early tribes who sought the shelter of the basin during disastrous wars and revolutions, would be a desirable leaven throughout the republic.

In the wake of all railroad construction comes industrial awakening. The "fire cart" is a civilizing agent. For instance, ten thousand yaks burdened with Thibetan wool journey every year into Szechuan, according to the estimate of Mr. H. K. Richardson, who spent three years at Chengtu as industrial director for the Y. M. C. A. This raw material is borne down the Yangtze to Shanghai and sometimes makes its way to English looms to be spun into cloth. Some of it is returned as finished product to those same Thibetan plains, with an added freight cost alone of \$300 silver a ton, which must be doubled to take account of the *likin*, export and import duties. This \$300 is what Szechuan pays for not having a woolen mill. Mr. Richardson gives another example of the costliness of industrial deficiency in the matter of the salt wells. With the primitive Chinese machinery, it requires from five to twenty years to drill a salt well in Szechuan, whereas with modern machinery it could be done in about three months. Salt, which now sells on the average of \$30 silver a ton, could, with reduced costs of production, be sold at \$6 a ton, as in Europe and America.

Szechuan lacks all sorts of mills and adequate machinery, and must continue to do without them until modern transportation makes possible their introduction and the speedy movement of commodities. The fact that intelligent Chinese are beginning to realize that is one explanation of their earnest desire that a railroad be constructed. Quantities of machinery for factories and mines, electrical supplies and waterworks are now needed in China. Especially in Szechuan there is little hope that it can be successfully introduced in advance of a railroad. True, few Chinese are ready even now to adopt all kinds of modern machinery. It is improbable that they will, at least for the present, abandon their old familiar agricultural implements, which are adequate for their purposes and involve no great expense, owing to the cheapness of Szechuanese labor. The saving in time to be gained by the employment of modern appliances would scarcely show on the books. In excavation work, and in other undertakings where the chief use of machinery is labor-saving, coolies can be employed to better economic advantage. Man power is so cheap that it is hardly worth while putting a steam engine to work in its place. But already modern machinery is being installed in some of the silk mills, because it does not roughen and knot the finished product as do the old looms in use for centuries. Here the calculable improvement in quality and increase in value of the product constitutes an unanswerable argument for twentieth century methods. As in the case of the salt wells, something is to be gained beside labor saving. It may be set down as a general rule that while the type of machinery invented to economize human effort is not required in China, the type which improves and cheapens the product can be introduced successfully, albeit somewhat slowly.

The greater prosperity made possible by the new railroad line would create a greater purchasing power. The construction work itself and the new industries springing up along the route would afford employment for thousands of Chinese. But this tentacle of civilization would not merely increase the buying power of the people within its territory; it would also put within their reach comforts and conveniences with which they are as yet unfamiliar. At present the wants of the people are localized. Each community is to a large extent self-supporting and self-containing. There is surprisingly little interchange of products among them, and, in consequence, surprisingly little interchange of ideas. The building of railroads remedies this insularity. The steel lines have an educational as well as commercial value. Once a railroad traverses that densely populated province, the people, as well as their products, will mingle throughout Szechuan. They will learn various sanitary and



STEAMER THAT HAS FOUNDERED IN THE SHALLOWS OF THE UPPER YANGTZE  
This Represents One of the Risks of Water Traffic As It is Carried On at Present. The Losses on This Especially Treacherous Stretch of the River Reach Large Figures Every Year



DRYING OUT THE CARGO OF A WRECKED JUNK  
Many a Junk is Caught in the Dangerous Pools of the River, and, with its Entire Cargo, is a Complete Loss to its Owner. Here a Cargo of Wood Has Been Salvaged, and Spread Out on the Banks to Dry



#### CHINESE GOVERNMENT TROOPS AT ICHANG

An Encampment of Soldiers En Route to Szechuan to Suppress an Uprising. The Inaccessibility of This Province Has Made It a Haven for Bandits and Insurrectionary Agitators of Every Description

hygienic facts—that it is desirable, for instance, to have artificial heat in their homes in the winter, a luxury now prohibited to all but the well-to-do, and even among them an innovation. It is only of late years that the Szechuanese have learned to use cheap metal Standard Oil stoves, and have substituted kerosene for peanut oil as fuel. The winter, it is true, is not cold, but it is excessively damp, and the Chinese have neither furnaces nor fireplaces.

For every million dollars invested in Chinese railways, scores of millions will be extracted from the soil in agricultural products, coal and minerals. That fact affords a tremendous stimulation to young Chinese of intelligence. For the present, however, the republic must rely for her development chiefly on other nations; but the temporary advantages thus put into our hands and those of other economically advanced peoples are not destined to survive many decades. Foreign trade will continue to grow, but the opportunity to encourage that growth through the profitable undertaking of railroad construction in China is soon to pass.

Until that time comes (and it may be half a century away) it will be necessary for the better organized and more highly developed portions of the world to supply the funds with which China is to be developed. For the protection of China herself, as well as foreign investors, foreign supervision of funds invested in railway construction has been found necessary. As a business proposition, the man who obtains a credit from a building loan association in the United States, wherewith to provide himself with a home, makes no objection to a sharp scrutiny of the materials which go into

that dwelling, and an accurate accounting for every penny spent. As a business proposition, therefore, it might be supposed that the Chinese would not object to similar procedure in the construction of public utilities with money obtained from foreign sources. But as a matter of fact this has long been a source of humiliation to Chinese national pride. It has been felt that foreign supervision constituted an affront to the country's dignity, and the situation has been made more difficult, instead of being simplified, by the irregularities of which Chinese officials have been guilty.

No terms ever obtained by China in a loan for railroad construction were more liberal than the Hukuang terms. These provide that the Szechuan-Hankow Railroad shall be built by the Chinese Republic, and that the various sections shall be surveyed by engineers from the countries making the loan, chosen with the approval of the Chinese government. Originally there was a provision that one-fourth of the supplies should be purchased from each of the four countries in which were located the banking groups making the loan. In practice, this did not work out. The tenders for materials were submitted under specifications which, in some instances, made competitive bidding possible, and in those cases the manufacturer able to supply goods of the required quality at the lower prices, within the time specified, got the contract. This is obviously the ideal condition under which railroad or any other supplies should be obtained. Clearly it is equally to the advantage of the Chinese Government and of the foreign investor that all markets should be open and all manufacturers



qualified to bid. Any other system must result in the enrichment of a favored few, at the expense of both borrower and lender.

There is involved in the problem of general competition another question almost as important: the question of standardization on the railroads throughout China. At present there is a movement afoot to reduce to uniformity the rolling stock and other materials, not only on roads to be built in the future, but also on those already constructed. It is a part of the project to nationalize China's railroads, and it involves so many difficulties, such vast expense, and so great a variety of conflicting interests, that it must for the present seem somewhat visionary. But a standard of specifications for the building and equipment of railroads in the future seems quite practicable. Obviously a standard railroad practice must sooner or later be adopted. Its advantages are manifest to every owner of a Ford "divver" who has had occasion to repair his machine or replace a worn or broken part. If standard practice does not prevail, how is the locomotive or car from one railroad or one division to be replaced or mended in the shops of a line or division differently equipped? How is rolling stock built for the standard gauge (four feet, eight and a half inches) to be taken over tracks of the metre gauge (about 39.37 inches) such as prevails on the railroads of French construction in China? The only

general attempt so far made in standardization is in the height of couplings, and even that does not extend to the Japanese-owned South Manchuria line, one of the busiest and most profitable in China. Elsewhere the automatic coupler is used, at a height of forty-two inches. In Manchuria the height of the coupler is 34½ inches, in accord with the general practice in the United States. The impossibility of using rolling stock variously equipped as to couplers in a single train is as apparent, even to the layman, as the impossibility of merging different track gauges.

One of the disadvantages of restricted competition in the tenders for railroad supplies has been a variation in the cost of railroad construction out of all proportion to the difficulties of construction. The costliest lines have been built under foreign management using the funds of the syndicate. The Chinese Eastern Railway, for instance, a Russian enterprise with no great physical obstacles to surmount, cost \$90,000 a mile; the Shantung road, a German line now in Japanese hands, \$46,000 a mile; and the Yunnan Railway (metre gauge), a French concession, \$60,000 a mile. On the other hand, the Pinghsiang Railroad, built with Chinese capital and without foreign restrictions, cost but \$32,000 a mile, and the Peking-Hankow, one of the most prosperous in China, \$41,380. The latter road is now in sad disrepair, and critics of Chinese con-



BOATS OF AN ENGINEERING SURVEY

These Trim Little Vessels Were Used by the Party of American Engineers Who Surveyed the Upper Yangtze Valley for the Proposed Szechuan-Hankow Railroad

struction complain that the work was much too cheaply done; but there seems no question that it represents an excellent value for the money spent. The Szechuan project, regarded by experts as perhaps the most important and difficult confronting the engineering world today, is certain to prove costly, but it seems equally certain that the investment will pay excellent returns. It is commonly recognized in railroad circles that the value of a railroad project is not determined by the capital involved in its construction but by the interest it pays on that capital.

Mr. Randolph's pre-war estimate of the total cost of constructing a railroad along the route he surveyed from Hankow west was \$89,840,496. His estimate from Ichang to Kweichow, which includes the enormous engineering difficulties of the Yangtze Gorges, was \$49,671,882. The average cost per mile, even at pre-war prices for material (and they have greatly advanced since then) ran past \$120,000 a mile. A cheaper way may be found. If the cost of construction of the Szechuan line at first glance appears high, some advantage in comparative values may be gained from an examination of the costs of construction in other countries. The average cost per mile of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad in Canada, for instance, was close to \$145,000 per mile, at a time when construction materials and construction labor were far cheaper than just before the European war, when Mr. Randolph made his calculations on the survey into

Szechuan. The following table, giving costs in gold dollars of railroad construction in other countries, under conditions far more favorable than in Szechuan, is illuminating:

Country	Per Mile
United States of America.....	\$81,965
Great Britain and Ireland.....	282,435
France (main line only).....	149,020
Germany .....	119,595
Austria .....	124,925
Italy .....	130,040
Belgium .....	194,810

It cannot be said with any degree of certainty that these countries offered promise of greater rewards for railroad construction, at the time the construction was undertaken, than Szechuan offers today.

Prior to 1911 surveys were made and construction begun on a railway through the country adjacent to the present location of the Szechuan-Hankow line. Mr. Randolph was told that five and a half years and \$7,300,000 (Kuping currency) had been spent on the work. The money was raised by subscriptions of the people in the provinces to benefit from the railroad; and when the Government took over the task under the Hukuzang loan it caused a temporary revolt within Szechuan, a kind of State's rights protest against the central authority. The subscription of this money was a sufficient earnest of the people's desire for a railroad to link them with the outer world.



## SUN-CHANGE

*After the Chinese*

*By Joseph Auslander*

*The great sun burst like a mellow grape,  
Full of gold wine,  
In a rich eagerness of escape  
From the day's heavy vine  
On the gusty horizon-line.*

*The pale sun shook like a butterfly  
On a flower-bell,  
And its windy glimmer seemed to cry,  
As it fluttered to die,  
"Wet breeze from the sea, farewell!"*

*The dark sun drooped like a poppy flower  
Besieged with dream,  
And moved by a magical murmurous power.  
Sank to the sleep-encircled hour  
Under a stream.*

# LABOR AND "H. C. L." IN JAPAN

By SYDNEY GREENBIE

THE aim of this article is to throw light on Japan's industrial conditions and to show the extent to which she is solving such problems of industrial life as are fundamental to a better accord between the East and West. The difficulties standing in the way of a solution of the question of immigration, for instance, are admitted to be economic more than social. But to one who has resided in Japan any length of time, the racial factor is found to be as pressing. Japan's racial traits made for her isolation, and later, for her emergence. And today, in the evidence of a bettering of her social conditions one can see the possibilities of Japan coming abreast of other nations politically.

The fame of Japan's material progress has been widely advertised and considerably exaggerated. Acquaintance with conditions in Kobe and Osaka soon prove this. Kobe in the last two years alone absorbed the greater part of Japan's commercial growth. So with a few industries which have marked time with enterprise elsewhere. But fundamentally, the old habits of doing things remain.

Politically, the change has been extremely slow. Democracy is in the making in Japan. Imperialism may suppress it for a considerable time, but Japan is undergoing internal change as surely as it has external. Its rulers cannot forever stave off mutation. Already the number of strikes and riots is alarming the government. They are almost insignificant compared with those of Europe and America, but they make up for lack of numbers of laborers involved by their frequency.

There are many causes for the deluge of strikes which have flooded Japan in the last three years. First of all was war prosperity with the consequent drain upon the rural population by industrial recruiting, and enormous increase in wealth of a certain few individuals in favored districts. Envy of the riches suddenly acquired by steamship men, manufacturers and exporters, designated *narikin* (mushroom millionaires), and the absence in the government, of any experience for handling the situation, added to the predicament.

Japanese labor, for its own part, does not as yet know definitely what it is after. It demands bonuses and parties instead of a constructive share in industrial management. Consequently, with but the shadow of a program or organization, it is often as violent as it is innocent. Flare-ups have always been ephemeral. When a riot occurs the police and soldiery are immediately called out. In Japan, the police take it upon themselves to act as mediators—

in some cases by no means a bad proposition—and they have occasionally hit upon admirable compromises. But even Japanese loyalty has its bounds, and both police and troops have met with defiance.

The trouble is not always with either the police or employers. At one place, the workers objected to certain bad characters among themselves. They wanted these removed from their midst. They also complained that the company's doctors were not kind in their treatment of them. The physicians had insisted on something akin to scientific practice or isolation of contagious cases, or otherwise interfered with the superstitions of the people. At a certain colliery the workers of No. 1 shaft destroyed shaft No. 2 and forthwith the workers of No. 2 destroyed No. 1 shaft in revenge. At a copper mine in Niigata Prefecture the miners raided the stores and smashed things up because they claimed the headman of the stores was selling them rotten rice. A ship was to be launched at a certain yard and the owners thought they would have a little spree in celebration. The workers were, of course, not included. The men complained that in view of their straitened circumstances it was not nice of the owners to display their profits. The garden party was indefinitely postponed.

A hundred and fifty girls struck because the foreman distributed the bonus, declared upon the amalgamation of two weaving mills, with partiality. They gathered in the public park to discuss their grievances and the steps they should take to protect their interests. A similar affair occurred at a mill employing 1,200 girls who claimed that the foreman had taken too much of the bonus to himself and, besides, had favored the girls from another province. Workers in an electric concern resumed work only on condition that an additional bonus of \$50,000 be collected for distribution among the former employees of the company.

In most cases the grievances are due to insufficient pay. The cost of living shot up by leaps and bounds during the war in higher proportion than in America, but wages increased less rapidly. In many cases the employers pleaded they had just given a ten or twenty per cent increase, but the men demanded another thirty or forty per cent. In various regions strikes have occurred because the mine operators, handling the rice for their laborers, would sell it at varying prices. Recently there was a strike in Hyogo Prefecture copper mine because the operators felt that inasmuch as copper was going down in price they were justified in raising the



KOBE'S NEW SKYLINE FROM THE WATERFRONT OF THE SO-CALLED FOREIGN SETTLEMENT

This Was Once the Only Place *Forerunners* Were Allowed to Occupy. During the War Japanese Merchants Became So Wealthy That They Were Able to Buy Out Most Forerunners, and Built Up the District with Fine Modern Office Buildings

price of the rice they sell the mining community, though the men had examples of cheaper rice all around them.

Sometimes the men have well-defined grievances. For instance, the employees of the Osaka Iron Works presented the following demands to their firm: "(1) Improvement of structural defects considered dangerous in their present condition; (2) relief for the workers and their families when injured or killed at work; (3) shortening of working hours; and (4) distinction between workers on piece work and those in regular employ, the former to be free from any restrictions regarding meal times and hours to begin work." The men won out in the first two demands, but not in the others; however, the company gave way in its opposition to the presence of the workers' wives who generally bring lunch to the men. There was also a strike of 1,600 men at a colliery because, after an explosion had occurred killing a dozen men, it was rumored that the allowances given the bereaved families were too small. At the time of the accident the management had announced an increase of wages, but after the excitement subsided the promise was not fulfilled. Hence the raid on offices and the destruction of furniture. Most of the strikes have been for increase of wages to meet the increased cost of living, the demands ranging from 20 to 30 per cent. Some mechanics in a shipyard were earning only 90 cents a day and asked for an increase of 35 cents. However, it must not be thought that the workers, disorganized as they are, are altogether lacking in discipline and orderliness. The fact is that their resentment in the majority of cases is due to disappointment. They had re-

garded their employers with the loyalty of serfs only to find them *narikin* and industrial over-lords.

Strikes have occurred among the steel workers, glass workers, porcelain workers, masons, spinners and weavers, artificial silk factory workers and most of the other more important industrial enterprises. Now the strike spirit has permeated to the compositors. Recently all the leading Tokyo papers had to suspend publication. Not a paper was published from August second to seventh. But so far Government undertakings have not been affected very seriously. There have been no railway or shipping strikes—these utilities being owned or subsidized by the government—because generally the government makes up in medals and badges for lack of pay. Such a condition is primarily based on the deep rooted fear of being regarded as disloyal to the Emperor. Strikes take place on the city municipal trams, but seldom on the government railways. At the railway workshops at Takatori, near Kobe, the authorities heard of disaffection and immediately offered to divide the profits resulting from any increased efficiency of the workers. This settled the matter for a time. The last report has it that they again demanded increases. Upon denial, the workers attacked the shops with stones. Over a third of the men left their jobs entirely.

Yet of all the underpaid workers in Japan those employed by the government are the most wretched. While successful business enterprises were luring "English speaking" post-office clerks away by offering \$30 and \$50 (U. S. Gold) a month, the government allowed its post-offices to fall into a shameful state of disorganization by paying as low as \$6 a month in wages. In Kobe, the Postmaster

advertised for men at \$9 a month and got five applications. At Osaka 700 telegraph operators had been working for some time without holiday owing to the increase in the number of telegrams. Two hundred and eighty quit work. The wages ranged from twenty-three to forty-five cents a day, with a maximum wage of \$20 a month and a minimum of \$12.50. The work was so hard—the telegrams increased from 120 to 600 and 700 per day—that within one month seven operators died of overwork. The authorities denied that a strike had occurred but admitted that 130 were away on "account of illness." They finally reduced the hours from nine and a half to eight per day.

The government, however, is not totally free from industrial difficulties. The strike habit is growing. The Department of Communications has felt the rumblings of the coming change. In reorganizing its various departments, it had appointed some young experts to certain important positions and thus placed them over men longer in the service and higher in rank. As a consequence, there was much rumor and considerable consternation about a threatened strike. The police did not intervene here, as they do with ordinary mortals, and the matter was smoothed over. For the police, too, have grievances. They are the former samurai of Japan, who "never" gave thought to money. At Shidzuoka, 118 miles southwest of Tokyo, a few policemen got together in their police office chambers and lamented with each other over their hard lot, and the failure of the government to raise their wages from \$9 a month to something nearer a full

rice bowl. Naturally, being well disciplined, they permitted this gentle zephyr of revolt to blow across the already somewhat overheated brows of the officials, and as a consequence were dissuaded from disgracing their country, so famed for loyalty.

To strike is still unlawful in Japan. Consequently, discontent generally ends in violence, seldom, if ever, evolving any constructive reform or benefit other than a small increase in pay or bonus.

The *Yuaikai* is a small benevolent friendly society with some forty thousand members. It has been in existence for several years. Its President is Mr. Suzuki Bunji, a man well known to labor men in America and Europe. The *Yuaikai* has been agitating for the abolition of Article 17 of the Police regulations which amounts to a prohibition of the formation of labor unions. As a result, a public meeting was held on April 20 last, at the Central Public Hall in Osaka, to discuss the inauguration of the *Kwansai Rodo Domeikai* (Labor Union of the Kwansai district). The feature of the new organization is that all the officials are elected from among the workmen of the various factories. Some 1,500 members from Kobe, Kyoto and Osaka were present at the meeting and the proceedings were carried on in an orderly manner. There are numerous minor organizations, many sprang into existence lately, but they changed in motive as readily as they appear. One which gave much promise was the *Nippon Rodo Kumiai* (Japan Labor Union) with about 2,000 members from about forty factories. But it has gone the way of most things in Japan: succumbed to officialism.



AN AEROPLANE VIEW OF THE ASANO SHIPPING YARDS, ONE OF THE LARGEST IN JAPAN. Japan Has Built Up a Powerful Merchant Marine During the War and is Virtually the Mistress of the Pacific. In 1915, Only Eight Ships of 1,000 Tons or Over Were Launched, Aggregating 40,485 Tons; in 1918, 183 Ships of a Total Tonnage of 513,534 Tons Were Turned Out.

When the question of racial discrimination was debated at the Peace Conference and Mr. Gompers pressed the Japanese to better their labor standards, they argued that labor conditions in Japan are different from those in the west. What they really meant was that the feudalistic spirit is not yet dead in Japan, and that so long as an employer acts the benefactor his men will remain loyal.

I was in Tokyo at the time of the rice riots. The streets were crowded with silent people. The police dashed across the length of the city in motor cars, quelling an outbreak here and another there. The Imperial troops from the Palace sounded their bugles and tread through Hibiya Park. But in the streets all was dark and silent. The riots had broken out from one end of Japan to the other. The price of rice had been rising steadily for some months. The people everywhere had watched the shrinking of their rather unexpected earnings with grave apprehension. What seemed like an hour of prosperity suddenly turned out to be a day of want. Even the impossible but indispensable *daikon* (a kind of pickled radish) had gone up from a cent and a half to seven and a half cents apiece, while the general cost of living had doubled.

It seemed that a flush of real life had come over Japan after the riots. It seemed that the government realized that the riots had a cause and could be cured. There was talk of need of guidance. But nothing has been done, with the result that Japan has continued to suffer from lesser riots no less disquieting. "The government does not allow strikes on a large scale," said a Japanese. So, of course, it must pay the penalty in riots. Once I overheard a Tokyo official, who was asked how it was that postal employees, receiving only \$9 a month, got along, and why they didn't strike, say innocently and sincerely: "We must be loyal to our Emperor." Teachers in 1918 received from \$6 to \$60 a month, though the vast majority earned no more than \$15. The government decided to grant a subsidy of about \$150,000, so that when all divisions were made it would change the salaries to maximums of from \$55 to \$65. Policemen have been receiving as little as \$6 a month. The most degrading conditions in the public service are among these professionals. A school teacher may not be earning more than \$50 a month, but if he may call himself professor and wear a frock coat he is generally content.

Of course, conditions are changing, and salaries are rising. But that is because the professionals are going into business where they receive from \$50 to \$75 a month and bonuses besides. This loosening up of the system is the healthiest sign of things in Japan, notwithstanding that it has brought in its wake a series of disquieting conditions. One need only look about him on the streets of Japan, one

need only walk down Minatogawa—the theatre street of Kobe—after the Kawasaki Dockyard laborers turn home from their shifts—to see that Japan is suffering from intense poverty consequent upon the industrial transformation.

Though organization is prohibited to the workers, coöperation is not unknown in Japan. At the Kobe Higher Commercial School there is a small coöperative book-store in which almost all the needs of school life, even clothing, are bought and sold on a coöperative basis. The amount of money students usually have to spend is so low that were they not to find some such means of decreasing the cost of their living it would be impossible for them to attend school at all. The Civil Service Supply Association and The Army and Navy Stores are coöperative undertakings meant to offset the wretched pay officials submit to for the sake of prestige.

No nation has gone in so completely for government ownership of public utilities, the railroads, telegraphs, post office, and the subsidizing of steamship companies, as has Japan. Of course, with the reorganization of the government of the country, which up to 1878 had been not only feudalistic but paternalistic, it was a simple matter to think in terms of public ownership. Everything belongs to the Emperor. And though the right of the individual to private property was guaranteed by the Constitution, it was not far from the national mental attitude toward property in the Tokugawa period (1600 to 1868) to government running of the railroads in the Meiji era (1868 to 1912). Furthermore, had not the government undertaken these several industries there would have been none in Japan financially able to do so.

But amongst the people coöperation is centered more in family helpfulness than in general association. Craftsmen's guilds are prevalent in such occupations as carpentry and mining, but not universally. Last year, led to a very great extent by the agitation set going by the foreign residents, various cities began to consider the establishing of public markets. Osaka set up ten markets at a cost of about \$150,000. The Hyogo (Kobe) Agricultural Association built a market, and so great was the rush the first day that the Red Cross had to come on the scene with a special tent to give aid to those who could not stand the strain. Within forty minutes of opening, everything was sold out. Later the Kobe Chamber of Commerce set itself on record in favor of permanent markets. It must be remembered that this is as revolutionary a step in Japanese life as railroads or aeroplanes, for the home life and house conditions of Japan have heretofore made it imperative that venders bring their products to home doors. No home was safe with the housewife gone to market. Further, to find some solution to the problems of poverty, the Osaka



WOMEN ARE THE BACKBONE OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL JAPAN

Female Labor Constitutes the Basis of Factory Economy in Japan. Over 73 Per Cent. of the Operatives in the 17,962 Factories (According to Last Statistics) Are Women

municipal authorities established cheap eating houses where they served what were regarded as fairly substantial meals for 5 cents. Kobe also built a model communal kitchen back of the recreation grounds, which, at its inception at least, was vastly cleaner than the so-called foreign restaurants all over town.

Where there is lack of organization during a period of change and development riot and scandal are unavoidable. And scandal enough in business and government circles there has been in Japan these last few years. The President of the Wakamatsu (State) Steel Works at Kyushu, a government concern, committed suicide because he was being drilled too severely on the matter of a contract for 30,000 tons of steel a year which was to have been delivered to the *Tokai Gogyo Kaisha* for ten years. The contract had been made before the boom in steel, but the government wanted to know why the President insisted on living up to his agreement of supplying steel at a low rate when it could not be purchased at a premium elsewhere. An endless chain of corruption followed, with 117 arrests, 6 suicides, and one murder. High dignitaries were involved, even an ex-priest, who, it is said, gained a reward of \$50,000 in the deal. Besides the irregularities that went on in these works, there was a case of a \$5,000,000 graft in a steamer charter. There were arrests for bribery in which big shipowners were involved, not to mention the *grishka* who were also searched. Railroad officials were arrested and sentenced, or their sentences

stayed, for receiving bribes up to as high as \$50,000. The taking and receiving of bribes are little less common in Japan than tipping. The Kobe City Assembly was entangled in a real estate scandal. The Mayor of Kyoto was put under arrest and sent to prison in connection with the Electric Light Company and mayoralty election scandals. In Nagoya \$160,000 disappeared from the Prefectural Bank, causing another scandal. There were still others involving schools, telephones, waterworks, the patent bureau, jails and banks—and out of 477 factories investigated in Osaka, 315 were violating the existing meagre factory laws.

Aside from the wide display of charities distributed, heaven knows where, little or nothing is being done to aid Japan's poor, though much to make the moderately poor more so by way of industrialism. An Osaka *narikin* who had made vast riches during the war donated half a million yen for the establishment of a free hospital, not for paupers, but for the salaried class who very often, when they become ill, are in a worse situation than even the very poor laborers. The family system still obtains in factories. Here the idea of kindness, alias charity, rather than independence and vigor, is the keynote. Donating under duress would be an excellent title for the charities of many of the *narikin* of Japan. The rice riots have shaken the foundation of their faith in wealth as a source of happiness. *Ebisu*, the little Japanese god of luck, has been very active these days.

When the Suzuki and other buildings were des-

the timid among the profiteers at once began to dispose of part of their gains. They were ready to relinquish these in the way of bonuses and bribery upon the first bit of pressure from beneath.

On the other hand, some firms have taken an interest in their workers voluntarily. The Mitsubishi Company contributed a million yen for the comfort and amusement of the workers employed at its shipbuilding yards at Nagasaki and Kobe.

vising the narikin how they could dispose of their money—by supporting the government's aeroplane construction fund, for instance, as did one narikin by a contribution of a million yen; by building public roads, and in other ways. The Mitsui Bussan Kaisha made about \$20,000,000 war profits in 1917; yet when a war-profits tax was proposed, narikin threatened to stop their charities in the event of its being enforced.



Press Illustrating Service

**MR. YUKIO OZAKI, A RADICAL POLITICIAN, ADDRESSING STUDENTS ON SUFFRAGE**

Mr. Ozaki is One of the Oldest and Most Liberal Parliamentarians in Japan. Last March He Announced His Intention of Forming a Labor Party and Went Abroad to America and Europe to Study Labor Conditions

One of the first uses to which this million was placed was a theatre party, lasting seven days, at the biggest Kobe theatre, to which the 15,000 workers and their families were invited. Some of the big firms are establishing athletic clubs, putting up buildings for rowing clubs and dormitories for their employees.

There is something obviously wrong with labor in a condition requiring a charity in the form of a week's outing at a theatre. Yet that which would go furthest toward the elimination of the necessity for just this kind of charity is the very thing which is not permitted in Japan. To make men and their families feel emotionally mortgaged is apparently considered good; to allow them to learn that their common difficulties can be met by common action is regarded as disloyalty.

Turning our consideration to the rich man—we find that as though it were not enough to have his house and goods threatened by the rising tide of democracy, he has had to face wordy admonitions from the government and press. They began ad-

The Terauchi Administration, then in power, sold cheap rice and discussed the prohibition of the use of rice in brewing *sake*. Speculators were made examples of, but not really punished. It attempted to handle the purchase and transportation of rice, and the importation of foreign rice, distasteful to the people; set aside riceless days; public markets were opened for the sale of cheap rice which were resorted to by long queues of poor (Tokyo put \$20,000 a day into cheap rice). But it seemed of no avail. The Terauchi Cabinet, regarded as indolent, stupid and weak by the masses and the press, was mercilessly severe toward the rioters. In dealing with the question, more socialists were arrested than profiteers, the *eta* (miserable outcasts) were blamed even more—in fact, all the charges were laid at their doors—and public morality was despaired of. But the Administration could not save itself. Shortly afterward it fell and was replaced by the Hara Cabinet, now in office. But, truth to tell Japan's population, increasing by 800,000 a year, has far outgrown its ability to feed itself, and wages cannot keep pace with prices.



Voicing the spirit of the rising, though still faintly heard, protest against bureaucracy, Mr. Yukio Ozadi, one of the oldest members of the Japanese Diet and the idol of the people, recently said: "The bureaucrats in their slipshod manner have held on against the interest of the people for fifty years. No wonder the people have become thoroughly sick of them. That the overthrow of militarism in Germany is the result of the present war may be regarded as a foregone conclusion, yet the militarists in Japan want to tread in the footsteps of the German militarists. They do not understand freedom of the subject and the rights of the workers, and try to keep them in subjection by force." Viscount Kato, leader of the *Kenseikai*, the largest political party in Japan, now admits that labor problems must be faced courageously. The present ministry pretends to be sympathetic to unions, but laborers may organize only with the sanction of the government. Many of the newspapers are clamoring for greater liberalism. There is an outcry against "narikinism" and for better relations between labor and capital. Recently there has been a tremendous protest, at first suppressed by the police, from the students of the universities for a greater share in the political activity of the country. People are tiring of contributions of a million yen here and another there as a solution of a grave economic problem.

Though the Peers parties all united to stave off democracy, the leader of the *Kenseikai*, a so-called commoner, came into power on the wave of liberalism following the riots of 1913. I venture to say that, though he does come from the "people," Mr. Hara is no more of a liberal than was Terauchi. But this selection of Hara for the premiership by the Emperor was a great step in advance for a country ruled as is Japan; for a country in which women still work on an average of from fourteen to sixteen hours a day under most shocking and immoral conditions; where there are only two rest days a month for all people; where three-fifths of the people are engaged in agriculture with nine per cent working on patches of land from two and a half to five acres in size. So-called politicians and leaders refer to the Emperor, who politically is an autocrat of autocrats, although personally he is without blame, as a great "socialist." Still, he is ruler of a country in which there would be only 4,000,000 voters out of 55,000,000 potential citizens, even were the tax which makes a man eligible for voting \$1 instead of \$5. Though there are not many men in politics in Japan with a real understanding of what democracy means, the rice riots have opened their eyes. They are giving considerable attention to labor problems. But most of them are now too old for constructive legislation. In the students lies the hope of Japan. Since the

armistice there has been more real thinking and acting on behalf of labor than in the whole of Japan's past history. Mr. Suzuki, the President of the *Yuaiikai*, has returned to Japan from Paris, where he was his country's representative on the International Labor Conference. He is being heralded everywhere, crowds meeting him and listening to him with cheers of enthusiasm. As an indication of the awakening, there is already considerable difference of opinion amongst laborers since his return.

Japan has done many remarkable things for herself in the past fifty years. But notwithstanding her trains and her telegraphs and all her modernism, she is still far from being a "perfect" country. Inefficiency is as rife in practical affairs as in political methods. The railroads are now so crowded that travel with comfort is next to impossible. Telegrams have been sent from Kobe to Tokyo by train. Roads simply aren't roads.

Yet, when all is said and done, the critic suffers from a twinge of conscience. For, returning from Japan where one has acquired the habit of criticising everything and praising nothing, however justified, one learns that he can find fault as thoroughly and with the same sound basis, at home.

Nevertheless, if Japanese want us to do away with the discrimination they so justly complain of, they must change their ways in part at least. They must become conscious of their mission as human beings, not as offspring of legendary gods. To eliminate racial discrimination, Japanese must stop discriminating.

An American offered the Imperial University at Tokyo an endowment for a chair in American History. The government hesitated; it shifted. Then suddenly, a chair in Shintoism—Emperor Worship—was established. . . . Japan will doubtless keep her Emperor for years to come, if the monarchy survives the difficulties ahead of it. But the surest way for Japan to bring about her own eclipse as a great nation is by obstructing her people in their efforts at self-uplifting. Japan cannot be excused because, as someone said, the Japanese do not lie awake at night plotting to extend their country's sway. They must lie awake—and plot their own development.

One might forgive the various administrations which have run the government during the last few years if they had at least so bettered internal conditions as to justify their aggressive foreign policies. But while leading the country into serious international difficulties they are giving the people at home little or nothing with which to console themselves for their sacrifices. Two things remain for Japan to do if she is to solve her domestic problems: the institution of universal suffrage, and the removal of the ban on effective organization.

# IN A JAPANESE GREEN-ROOM

By ZOË KINCAID

*Illustrations by S. Natori*

**B**EHIND the scenes in a Japanese theatre is a world in itself, a veritable beehive of dressing rooms, or *gakuya*, occupied by the important actors—the minor players flocking together in a common room—the playwrights having their special department, as have the musicians, costumers, wig-menders, stage-hands, and the large retinue of personal attendants with which every actor of rank is provided. The various personages in this unique sphere form one large family, all intent upon their respective duties, calm, unhurried, as becomes theatre folk who spend the better part of their existence in the land of make-believe. For in Japan the actors go on duty in the morning for performances that last from ten to twelve hours.

Into these sacred precincts no mere female may find her way to feast inquisitive eyes upon gorgeously arrayed actors or pry into the mysteries of making-up, which in Japan is a most important art. In Japanese theatres, with the exception, perhaps, of the Imperial Theatre in Tokyo and one or two others, the roles of women are all acted by men. There is therefore no reason why any petticoat should stray into a domain so thoroughly masculine. Now and then a *geisha* is smuggled into the *gakuya* of some actor who is her particular patron. But should the ever-watchful policeman detect the presence of the beautiful damsel, the actor would have to pay a fine. The strict regulations regarding the presence of women behind the scenes is a relic of the puritanic Tokugawa days when the authorities almost prohibited the Japanese theatre out

of existence on the ground of protecting public morals. For in Old Japan women playgoers were accustomed to pursue the leading actors with their attentions in much the same way as American girls were wont to worship handsome matinee idols before the advent of the movie stars.

The *gakuya* of the Japanese actor is always a pleasant place—whether it be a spacious suite with bath or a small room of six to eight mats, as floor space is reckoned in Japan. The mats give a home-like impression to the room. The pale green color of the straw is refreshing to the eyes, and as all footwear is religiously discarded in the passage way, the mats are spotlessly clean. There is a scarcity of furniture here, just as in the Japanese house. The tiny dressing table with its mirrors—the chief object of interest—is generally placed in

the center of the room. After the manner of the Japanese, the actor sits down on a gay cushion, and makes up before the dwarf toilet table, littered with the paints, powders and brushes which are the insignia of the actor's profession in every land under the sun. In a corner of the room is a folding rack over which is spread, ready for use, the costume of sumptuous brocade or many-hued embroideries to be worn in the next play. Behind the actor is sometimes placed a splendid screen painted by a famous theatre artist of a century ago, portraying one of his ancestors in a favorite role. And if the actor is sufficiently prominent and correspondingly wealthy, his *gakuya* has all the general appurtenances of a drawing room. Actors, like most Japanese, are fond of beautiful flower arrange-



AN "ONNAGATA" OR MALE ACTOR OF FEMALE ROLES

Much Depends on the Proper Placing of the Woman's Head-Dress. Otherwise No Japanese Maiden Would Tolerate the Deception

ments, and a vase filled with the season's blossoms is usually placed by the dressing table, to be enjoyed during the hours of making up. Cushions are arranged for visitors, and tea is served by the actor's servants. Here, sitting on his cushion, the actor studies his role, listens to gossip and praise from his admirers, or plans the work and pleasures of his existence.

Much of the atmosphere of the *gakuya* depends upon the presence of innumerable retainers. An actor may have at least a dozen attendants whose duties consist in caring for his wigs, seeing after his costumes, waiting upon his patrons in the audience, receiving and acknowledging gifts, or arranging for the anniversaries, ceremonials and other customs which form so large a portion of his daily life. In the dressing operations the attendants are in their element, and go about their tasks as though the entire success of the actor "out in front" depended upon them. When the character is one of the grotesque variety, the making up and dressing are extremely complicated; the face is painted with red, black and blue lines until it loses all resemblance to that of a human being; the wig is exaggerated with black lacquer side wings that set off the mask-like countenance; layers of kimono are put on to make the actor appear as huge as possible. The art of tying the round padded *obi*, yards long, alone requires the attention of from eight to twelve servants, who haul and pull and hitch until all details are as convention dictates.

Perhaps the most interesting scene in the *gakuya* is the transformation of the actor into a female character. Invariably, the *onnagata*, or actor who specializes in woman's roles, has been trained from childhood to possess womanish manners and to be polite and soft in speech in every act of daily life, as well as when at the theatre. The *onnagata* uses a prodigious amount of liquid white, virtually white-washing his face, neck, hands, and generally



THE ACTOR OF THE GROTESQUE HAS THE WORST TIME OF IT

The Attendants Who Adjust This Actor's Costumes Must Haul and Pull and Hitch Until the Desired Effect Has Been Obtained

the feet and legs. When the face has been well dried, the eyebrows and other details are painted on, the actor using the tip of his finger for the purpose. His head is next bound with a strip of waxed silk to keep his hair in place, and when he slips into the costume of a belle of the gay world, a lady of high degree, or a maiden of sweet sixteen, he becomes a creature half male and half female. Not until the last minute is his wig, with its copper foundation upon which is pasted the silk to which the strands of hair are fastened, adjusted upon his head. It is generally very heavy, for its large size makes a better appearance on the stage. Such elaborate coiffures as the *onnagata* affects prove that woman's crowning glory is as valued in the East as in the West. With the placing of the wig the last

vestige of the male sinks out of sight and he has been converted, to all external appearances, into a true representative of the female sex. Then at the call of the attendants who announce that the time has arrived for his appearance upon the stage below, the *onnagata* vanishes from the green-room.

Less awe-inspiring, but equally interesting, are the minor actors, who constitute a necessary part of every play, but are seldom given a line to speak. Behind the scenes, in a large room of their own, they may be found making up as samurai, ladies-in-waiting, fishermen or peasants, as the occasion demands—squatting before their toy dressers and putting on wigs and kimono. Here they lounge, waiting for the word to go on, or full of merriment and good comradeship, they cook their dinner over the big *hibachi* where the glowing charcoal embers are always at their disposal. Usually in this quarter is found the shrine sacred to the fox-god, the guardian of the theatre, who brings good luck. The little wooden building, with miniature oblong red lanterns, two golden foxes, and offerings in front of it, has a place of honor on a shelf on the wall or in an upper corner of the room.



A LEADING ACTOR MAKING UP AS A SAMURAI, IN HIS PRIVATE "GAKUYA"

About Him Are His Numerous Attendants Busy with the Details of Getting Him Ready for the Stage; at a Distance, See the Super-Critic. Scattered Around the Room Are the "Hibachi," Conventional Tea Things, and the Insignia of His Profession.

Through this long room given over to the minor actors come the great actors on their way to the stage. Garbed as holy priests, noble lords, bold bad robbers or swaggering samurai, they move past, unconscious of their surroundings, apparently lost in the roles that they are to play upon the stage; pass silently down the many rickety flights of steps, to await their cues in the wings. Or perhaps they take the under-theatre passage so that they may emerge triumphantly upon the stage-path, or *Awamichi*, which leads from the back of the theatre through the audience up on to the stage.

Of the many quaint and curious people who take up their domicile in this back-stage labyrinth, none is more important than the *korombo*, or black man. It is his chief duty to look after the properties on the stage, but he performs countless other tasks. Dressed all in black, wearing a black hood with a curtain that falls over his face to hide all trace of his personality, he flits on and off like a shadow, always doing the right thing at the right moment, and yet apparently possessing no resting place among the dignitaries who crowd all the valuable space behind the scenes.

In the professional atmosphere of the *gakuya* the

boy actors unconsciously absorb the principles of the art of acting as they have long been known in Japan, and, guided and counselled by the actors who have reached the zenith of their art and their popularity, become familiar with the best traditions of the stage. Even baby actors of four years are tenderly cared for by the actors and their attendants, and the *gakuya* is changed into a nursery where they may play with their toys or be otherwise amused. When the juvenile actor goes upon the stage, a special property man is detailed to hide behind the child to see that he makes no mistakes when he speaks his first lines.

After the play, the actor, free to resume his own character, may join a party of gay friends bent on indulging in the night pleasures which Tokyo affords. But in the *gakuya*, where the greatest part of his time is spent, he is a quiet, self-contained, humble artist, whose work is his very existence. The *gakuya* still preserves the oriental calm of the old régime. A quiet discipline reigns, and all is well ordered and peaceful. In contrast the American stage has forgotten, if indeed it ever enjoyed, that unconscious dignity which is the heritage of the actor's calling as it obtains in Japan.



## ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

**RUSSIA IN 1919**, by Arthur Ransome. B. W. Heubach, New York, 1919, 232 pp.

**TRAILING THE BOLSHIEVIKI**, by Carl W. Ackerman. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919, 308 pp.

About nothing are people so ready to tell the truth as somebody else's country, and over nothing are opinions so diverse and conflicting. In order to get at even the shadow of the truth—so illusive is truth in this lintype age—one must read several books on the same subject at once. Over no one country have so many specialists disagreed as over Russia. Our government has sent special investigators to obtain the whole truth, and, if reports are true, has burned the burning pages when they came to hand. So the reader will have to pardon the reviewer if he hesitates considerably before recommending these two volumes. "Trailing the Bolsheviki" sounds a little too much as though they were either hiding or running away; and from the looks of things the Bolsheviki are "staying put" rather daringly. "Russia in 1919" seems possibly prophetic, for the book has been in our hands some few weeks and must have taken some few weeks to make up. With conditions there as uncertain as they are, one does not know what the year 1919 will see for Russia. This point on names is in itself insignificant, but it is psychologically interesting, inasmuch as it shows that the newspaper headline spirit is still in evidence in all things said or written about that vast country.

If the fate of Russia were to depend upon the statements of those who have seen it from "every angle," there would be no Russia to worry about. The authors of the two books under consideration penetrated the chaos from opposite directions. Mr. Ransome entered by way of Finland, Mr. Ackerman by way of Vladivostok. It will take considerable writing to change our notions that Siberia is not a frozen wilderness and reams of proof that Russia is not now a seething chaos no matter where we start.

Mr. Ransome does not make of the Bolsheviki angels, nor are we led to believe that they are devils. He amuses us by telling that "the armored car which used to stand at the entrance of Smolni has disappeared and been replaced by a horrible statue of Karl Marx, who stands, thick and heavy, on a stout pedestal, holding behind him an enormous top-hat like the muzzle of an eighteen-inch gun." We are ready to think of the Russian revolutionists as inartistic visionaries when we run into

the next chapter describing the rush for hot water at railway stations: "No one controlled the taps, but, with the instinct for co-operation for which Russians are remarkable, people formed themselves automatically into queues, and by the time the train started again everybody was back in his place and ready for a general tea-drinking." Should we think them equalizers in the sense in which all socialists are frequently represented, we suddenly read: "I told him I should much prefer to live in a hotel in the ordinary way, and he at once set about getting a room for me. This was no easy business, though he obtained an authorization from Sverdlov, president of the executive committee, for me to live where I wished, in the Metropole or the National, which are mostly reserved for Soviet delegates, officials and members of the Executive Committee." So we come away with the feeling that there is still in Russia a marked division between people on economic lines. All along we see and hear the living participants of the revolution, the personal jealousies, the struggles with poverty, the good intentions gone bad because of insurmountable conditions. Some of the difficulties in the way of the new régime are seen in the reference to the schools. All the books having previously been severely censored, they are now useless, while the printing of new ones is slow and difficult. The simple, absurd way in which capitalists were handled, fined excessively and imprisoned as well—yet all done good naturedly enough: "The extraordinary parliament between the rich men of the town and their wives and friends, like a crowd of hoodie crows, chattering outside the window." The book is essentially a gallery of personalities, ungarnished by any obvious personal bias. It is interesting to see that even the Bolsheviki admit the difficulty of handling the profiteers. And one of the most illuminating features of the book is that the author points out here and there how "the cruder ideas of communism are being modified by life."

But whatever may be said for or against the book by specialists who have seen Russia at first hand and are able thereby to pick flaws or point to strong phases of Mr. Ransome's book, to one who has been looking eagerly for some definite information on Russia, this book will be an interesting eye-opener.

In an altogether different style comes Mr. Carl W. Ackerman. Mr. Ransome is almost modest in his statements, while he handles his facts as though

the revolution were the mysterious machinations of some magician ably assisted by his favorite fairies. Mr. Ackerman launches out, boldly impressing one with his five years' experience "as a correspondent within and without belligerent and neutral countries in Europe, Asia and the Americas. . . ." Though Mr. Ransome cannot be said to be a pro-Bolshevik, Mr. Ackerman immediately declares himself anti. Though he enters by way of Siberia, we are suddenly plunged into a diatribe against Bolshevism as it isn't working in Russia. We have no reason for doubting Mr. Ackerman and his conclusions, but feeling that Mr. Ransome is clearly reliable, we are in somewhat of a dilemma.

Mr. Ackerman's accounts of conditions are vivid to say the least, and whatever we read remains clear in mind. His account of the execution of the Czar gives an impression of revolutionary rigor not to be forgotten. His intimate acquaintance and sympathy with the Czechoslovaks afford an interesting insight into the struggle between the Red Army and their antagonists. On the whole it is a volume of interesting information. Though these two books cannot be said to be either definitely similar or peculiarly antagonistic, still it is obvious that the authors have approached the subject from as different intellectual points of view as they did geographically. And the reader is left as completely undecided in his judgment.

**THE VOICE OF JAPANESE DEMOCRACY—BEING AN ESSAY ON CONSTITUTIONAL LOYALTY**, by Yukio Ozaki, M.P., translated by J. E. de Becker. Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Yokohama, 1918, 108 pp.

Perhaps no book has as yet appeared in English which gives westerners a better insight into Japanese political thinking than "The Voice of Japanese Democracy—Being an Essay on Constitutional Loyalty," by Yukio Ozaki, M.P., and Minister of Justice in the Okuma Cabinet in 1914. No one in all the Empire is more suited for the task. Mr. Ozaki has been a liberal from his earliest days. For a couple of years he was compelled to exile himself from Tokyo for an attack on the Government, and has since shown unusual ability in interpreting the West to his fellow countrymen. In Japan Mr. Ozaki is the idol of his people. Yet notwithstanding that the words "Constitutional Loyalty" are printed in red on the jacket to this vol-

ume, one must not be led to believe that this Voice of Japanese Democracy is red or radical. In Japan, even the mild sort of democracy Mr. Ozaki propagates in this little volume is akin to "Dangerous Thoughts." The aim of the book is to show that even the first Emperor, Jimmu Tenno, 2500 years ago, declared that he ruled by consent of the people; that the last notable Mikado, Meiji Tenno, ruled in the spirit of the people; and that all the promises of his reign, regarded as the most illustrious of all, were fully in accord with the breath and spirit of democracy. All these assertions notwithstanding, and without questioning in the least the sincerity of Mr. Ozaki, we feel after reading the little book that not only has he not substantiated his case for the compatibility of democracy with Japanese imperialism, but that he has left us doubtful of Japan's ability to grasp the nature and essence of rule of and by the people. Mr. Ozaki pleads with his fellow countrymen that they establish the English Party System, yet in the end he declares most solemnly that should it be proved to him that his advocacy of democracy is in any way whatsoever disloyal to the Imperial Household he would immediately withhold his convictions and arrest his efforts for democracy. We do not find a single statement questioning any of the mystic impossibilities with which Japanese oligarchs have seen fit to surround their Emperor. Throughout it is one of those strange manifestations of the Oriental way of thinking. The book cannot have suffered in translation, for Mr. de Becker, a foreigner who has become a Japanese subject, is regarded as one of the greatest foreign students of Japanese law, and should be able to do justice to the language. It is not a language difficulty, but one of thought, the Japanese peculiarities of which make translation most difficult. Those who are interested in the study of Japanese psychology and politics will find the book under review most valuable. The author gives you not only a delightful insight into the relations between the Emperor and the people, but a clear picture of the way in which Japan, suddenly brought out of feudalism, has attempted to handle western political machinery.

JAPAN AND WORLD PEACE, by K. K. Kawakami. The Macmillan Company, New York City, 1919, 196 pp.

Nothing is more hopeful for the better understanding between Japan and America than that Japanese have taken to interpreting their country to us. Would that that were possible in the matter of spreading information about America in Japan by Americans in Japanese. Therefore, one always picks up a book on Ja-

pan by a Japanese with greater interest than writings by foreigners. Much more so in the case of Mr. Kawakami, whose name is now fairly well known amongst us. In "Japan and World Peace" he has given us chapter headings over which the western world is doing not a little thinking. Democracy in Japan, the Race Problem, the Monroe Doctrine, China's Controversy with Japan—what any man attempts to say on these questions nowadays he should say with the greatest amount of care and consideration. The fate of the world hangs on the accumulation of impressions which peoples are beginning to make on these topics. Has Mr. Kawakami given us something clear and decisive? We are glad to see that, though there is still considerable absence of fearless expression of opinion, he is facing the issues regarding Japan fairly and squarely.

S. G.

THE RISE OF NATIONALITY IN THE BALKANS, by R. W. Seton-Watson, D. Litt. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York City, 1919, 308 pp.

The usual way to study Balkan history is from the international angle—viewing each of the states in the relation it bears to the vast diplomatic game of the outer world. But such a method is not comprehensive enough, asserts Dr. Seton-Watson, except as it furnishes perspective: it is a survival of the method of handling such subjects by discussion of treaties, battles and genealogies—and in this particular case it is the prime cause of the almost complete failure on the part of Western opinion and diplomacy to "fathom the somewhat turgid depths of Balkan psychology."

He begins his own account by treating Balkan history from the national angle, and surveys the rise and development of the various nations both in individual cases and in the part they play to each other. His is an unusually lucid discussion. The national sentiment was revived first in Serbia. The real liberation was accomplished by Milos, whom the Sultan recognized as Prince in 1830; his son Michael implanted the first germ of a Balkan league and the Jugo-Slav ideal, but he was later assassinated by a still more revolutionary younger generation. Meanwhile Greece was struggling for freedom, and made rapid strides under Prince Otto, who was a more ardent Philhellene than he was a successful ruler over a new state.

It was largely foreign intervention that gave impetus to national feeling in Roumania: the revolution of 1848, known as a "stray spark from Paris," brought to the front the future makers of the country. And Bulgaria came last, the national revival finding expression both through educational work and a de-

mand for a national episcopate and also through an underground revolutionary movement founded by George Rakovsky on lines similar to the Greek Hetairia.

Against the background which these preliminary chapters offer we are better able to understand the various forces and movements from without which have influenced the Balkan history—the Austro-Russian rivalry; these two fetishes of the diplomatic world, the Concert of Europe and the Balance of Power; the treaty of Berlin, which was the supreme effort of the Concert and which delayed national development for a period of thirty-four years; the conflict of radical and religious bigotries; the young Turkish revolution of 1908; and the two Balkan Wars.

The volume is incomplete, owing to the author's absence from his duties in King's College on active military service. This fact does not detract from the merits of the history so far as it goes; rather, it emphasizes these merits. An opportunity to be guided by this same hand through the intricacies of the events just preceding the great European clash would be invaluable. The book concludes with an adequate, classified bibliography.

MODERN JAPAN: SOCIAL—INDUSTRIAL—POLITICAL, by Amos S. and Susanne W. Hershey. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1919, 332 pp.

Not everyone would undertake, as these authors have done, to write a book dealing with almost every phase of Japanese life that comes to mind. Education and religion, social and industrial development, charities, the family, political parties, government, international relations—these do not exhaust the list of subjects covered by a chapter or two. The account is lively and readable enough, and sections like those dealing with the evils of the factory system and the development of Japanese womanhood are well worth serious consideration. On more mooted points they might have hard sledding trying to justify their contentions. For instance, their claim that the annexation of Korea seems to have been justified by its results is supported by a few pages emphasizing chiefly the material progress, which, by the way, has not been without advantages for Japan as well as Korea. On the California question they wisely resort to the some-believe-and-others-maintain method, with a generous sprinkling of foot-notes and references. Taking the book by and large, "Modern Japan" will serve as an appetizer to the man who happens to be unfamiliar with the country, and almost any one of its chapters will be provocative of thought and a desire for further readings from other sources.

A. L. O.  
(Concluded on page 1054)







Mr. Lorrell Thomas, whose third article on Colonel Lawrence and the Arabian campaign was to have appeared in this issue, is in London on a lecture tour. We regret to have to announce that the manuscript for this third article has been delayed in arriving and is, therefore, not included in this issue. The series will be continued in subsequent issues.

## Contributors and Contributions

JACKSON FLEMING is an American political writer of keen perception, who was sent by ASIA to make a series of studies regarding conditions in the Near East. After a year in Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Palestine, he has now reached Constantinople, from which vantage ground he forwards his analysis of the various claims for hearing on the part of the peoples of Asia Minor.

V. C. SCOTT O'CONNOR is an Englishman long connected with railroad and finance administration in India. Even in his own country of travelers to far places he is recognized as an unusually thoughtful and exploring student of India, Burma, Egypt and Turkey.

JOHN DEWEY, the distinguished American educationalist and expounder of philosophy, is at present delivering a series of lectures at the University of Peking. His studies of Chinese psychology and thought in relation to their expression in various attitudes on fundamental questions of the day will offer an invaluable contribution to readers of ASIA.

ROGER S. GREENE has acted as American consul in the Far East for a number of years. He is at present resident director in China of the China Medical Board, an important extension of the work of the Rockefeller Foundation.

LILIAN M. MILLER has recently returned to the Orient, where she has lived many years, studying art with Japanese masters.

HAMILTON BELL is one of the few students of Oriental art in this country who has won for himself a place of eminence. He was for a time acting director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and is the author of a number of valuable papers on aspects of Eastern art.

HELEN WADDELL was born in the Orient, but now resides in Ireland. She is the author of various translations of Chinese poetry and essays on Oriental literature. Miss Waddell carries on the tradition of her father, an illustrious Sinologue.

CLARK ASHTON SMITH is the author of some charming fragments of verse, of which ASIA publishes its first selection.

SILAS BENT is an editorial writer on the staff of the New York Times.

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# ASIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASIATIC ASSOCIATION

VOLUME XIX

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GEORGE E. VINCENT, PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER  
FOUNDATION

Mr. Vincent, in addition to his other duties, has been acting as General Director of the China Medical Board since January of the present year. He has just returned from a visit to China, where he went last May to establish closer touch with the work of the Foundation in Peking, where an elaborate institution known as the Peking Union Medical College is under process of construction. The work in China is a part of the program of the Rockefeller Foundation for the promotion of public health and medical science. The most notable activities in the public health program have been the efforts and demonstrations in the control of hook-worm, malaria and yellow fever, and a special campaign against tuberculosis in France. In addition to these activities, the Foundation during the war devoted a generous part of its resources to war relief. Previous to his taking up the Presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation, Mr. Vincent was President of the University of Minnesota.



Methodist Episcopal Cemetery, Cantonment

#### DR. FONG SEC, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE SHANGHAI PRESS

Dr. Fong Sec stands for the best type of the efficient, modern Chinese. As an editor of the Shanghai Press, the largest and best equipped of Chinese printing firms, responsible for the publication of almost all Chinese text-books and the dissemination of literature throughout Central China, he holds a position more significant from the point of view of the enlightenment of the people than that of any official of state. Dr. Fong Sec is a graduate of an American university. In the picture he is shown with the elephant of typewriters, conceived by a son of the fathers of invention. This typewriter, instead of having twenty-six letters, has 8000 Chinese characters or ideographs, standing for words. It is, at best, an expensive, cumbersome contrivance, but it is being used by business houses because it saves time in the matter of duplicate carbon copies. Furthermore, it is not so unsatisfactory as might be imagined. Japanese typists, with a similar machine, have succeeded in writing from seventy-five to a hundred words a minute. The new national phonetic writing, however, gaining many adherents in China, may some day make the ideograph typewriter as extinct as the dodo.



*International Film Service*

ADMIRAL ALBERT GLEAVES OF THE UNITED STATES  
ASIATIC FLEET

Admiral Gleaves has been appointed by the President to assume command of the American naval force in the Far East, with the rank of full Admiral. He has had forty-two years of arduous service, so his appointment comes as a fitting reward of his labors. On September first the four-starred flag, indicating the rank, was broken out on his flagship, the "U. S. South Dakota," and a few days later the cruiser sailed for Manila via the Panama Canal. Not since Mr. Roosevelt, then President, dispatched our fleet on a tour around the world in 1908 have American men-of-war visited Asiatic waters. At that time it was deemed advisable to make a polite but frankly official display of our naval strength, as a means of impressing any country unfriendly enough toward us to be considering war. At the present time the visit may be taken as an indication of our growing intimacy with the Orient and the problems of the Pacific.



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#### DAMASCUS AND THE STREET CALLED STRAIGHT

Damascus, the Chief Town of Syria, Lays Claim to Being the Oldest Inhabited City of the World. Its Possession Is Now Being Disputed Between the Arabs, Who Have Been Promised an Extended Kingdom in Asia Minor by the British, and the Syrians, Who Maintain that The City Falls Well Within Their Natural Geographical Boundaries.

# SYRIAN SELF-DETERMINATION

By JACKSON FLEMING

*Aerial Photographs by British Royal Flying Corps*

ALL the better voices of the world—the voices of constructive competition, of democracy, of justice, of true sportsmanship—are calling for a world organized as to the relations between peoples. All of us realize that war was the supreme judge of the old international anarchy, but do we know the present forces and character of the world well enough to realize that its society of peoples may now be entrusted with a code of justice? Can the West afford to help the East in the principle of self-determination following the spirit which America has already proclaimed as a guiding policy? This question requires an answer without equivocation, direct, frank and clear-cut. The answer requires the quickness necessary for a nation who desires above all things to hold its gain toward the real respect and confidence of others. The fate of the League of Nations is at the heart of the question. The British and the American peoples must inevitably look each other squarely in the eyes over this question of the backward peoples. If we are in agreement the world will be organized. If we two peoples are unable to see eye to eye, then war continues its sway over the world and must sooner or later judge even between the two of us.

With such a concrete thing as this question of assistance to the backward nations, in the spirit of self-determination as the surest guarantee of our own peace and happiness in the years to come, the present peculiar problem in Syria is worth the most careful consideration.

The Arab dream of a new nation, Syria, brings up again the question of a guiding decision to either back up our words spoken at the Peace Conference or to admit to the suspicious world that they were spoken in abstract theory, as a beautiful plan and a straight path—for others to follow. At which there would be applause and mocking laughter from some and a frank return by all of them to the trouble-breeding desires, selfish aims and covetousness of peoples only appeased by the drawn sword. The situation in Arabia is not over-complicated in outward characteristics, but of all the problems piled high upon the table of the Peace Conference, and coming under the head of self-determination, perhaps none is more knotted or more bound up with peace and war in the world than the problem of Syria, of which Lebanon is perhaps a key to the solution.

This dream of a new nation extending from Sinai to the Taurus Mountains and from the Medi-

terranean to the Desert has encountered a formidable obstacle in the Maronites of Lebanon. The Maronites are an ancient Roman Catholic sect, with an organization all their own, yet acknowledging the headship of the Pope of Rome. They constitute about one-tenth of the population of Syria and are mainly of Arab blood as are the people of Syria generally. Lebanon, the home of the Maronites, is a mountain range extending for a hundred miles along the coast with an average width of about twenty miles. From my hotel balcony in Constantinople on the shore of the blue Mediterranean, looking back at the beautiful Lebanon range, I am able to count forty towns and villages nested, perched, and clinging to that splendid majesty of mountain.

Lebanon has been predominately Christian ever since the Crusades, and France, who has long been the leading champion of Christianity in the Ottoman Empire, is persisting in her claim to all Syria because of her stronghold in Lebanon. Besides the tithe represented by the Maronites there are the Greek Orthodox Christians, some Protestants, as well as three sects of Moslems. Half of these Christians, except the Maronites, stand with the Moslems politically. The "greater Lebanon" which the Maronites now ask for would embrace about as many Moslems as Christians. So the main idea of the Maronites is not to keep secluded to themselves, but to retain political control as well as to become economically self-sustaining.

There are more than ten million Arabs in Near Asia with geographical and ethnological boundaries as clean-cut as we find anywhere in Europe or Asia. About four million of these are in "Greater Syria" opposing the Maronites and are presumably to be given a chance to prove themselves a nation worthy of the world's confidence.

It is perhaps well known that the British are opposing France here with every diplomatic resource. And this notwithstanding the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, when under the stress of war Britain conceded to France, though reluctantly, the dominion over all Syria, including a joint administration over Palestine. This was of course conditional upon victory. But before the victory came America's announcement of the principle of self-determination to which the Allies subscribed when we declared common cause with them. Did this annul the Sykes-Picot Agreement? Later still, on the rising tide of victory, the British Foreign Office apparently decided that Palestine and Syria were

peculiarly indispensable to the British plan of Empire, and that any conflicting plan that France might consider need not necessarily stand in the way. Of course the principle of self-determination was to be applied for all that it was worth!

Lebanon, of the Maronites, feels that the whole of Syria should come under the same mandatory power. She does not wish actually to join the despised Moslem districts and so enable them to outvote her in a common government, nor on the other hand does she care to have them grow up doubly bitter against her under a separate protecting power. What the Maronites ask is a single mandatory power for all Syria, a power strong enough and just enough to keep the Moslems under

non is perhaps the key to the solution of the Syrian problem, it need not follow that the proper solution and the wishes of the Maronites are identical.

The claim of France to all Syria is based upon her historic championship of the Lebanese Christians, and their reciprocal devotion to her. France also has considerable capital invested in harbor and railway facilities and in religious and educational institutions. France wants Syria as a colony and as a western gateway to Asia. She also appreciates its cultural importance in the Mediterranean. Nor does she overlook the great military importance of this famous battle-ground of history.

The British apparently feel that they cannot afford to let France have Syria, or even the Leba-



THE BRITISH ROYAL FLYING CORPS BOMBING THE RAILROAD JUNCTION AT DEERA  
The Gallantry of the Air Service on Duty Has Given Us These Remarkable Photographs of a Land  
Where the Dust Hangs Low and the Distance Is Great. To Their Intrepidity We Owe This Wider Vision

control, and at the same time to secure to Christians the advantages of their progress in Western spirit and methods. France is quite ready to accept these terms.

The rivalry between the French and the British in Syria dates back to early Suez Canal days in the middle of the last century when the British displaced the French in the control of the Canal, which was to become the main artery of the British Empire. The British were then already jealous of French predominance in the Near East. They became active in Lebanon, among other regions, and a crisis resulted which eventuated in the Six-Power Agreement of 1860, whereby Christian Lebanon was cut down in size considerably, although Turkey was obliged to grant it a larger measure of autonomy.

Who then should be the Mandatory Power for Syria? When I stated at the beginning that Leba-

non. Britain's all but linked-up Asia-Africa Empire, stretching from Syria down along Southern Asia on the one hand, and on the other hand down through Africa to the Cape, has now fastened upon Syria as the apex and connecting link in this vast pyramid chain.

It may perhaps be suggested that surely two such Allies as Britain and France, brothers in the League of Nations, are willing to go forward hand in hand for the development of Asia. Such a suggestion overlooks the harsh fact that the League is in its precarious infancy. Britain and France trust each other out this way about as much as capitalists trust Bolsheviks.

British statesmanship includes in all calculations for the future the possibility of France allied to the next military avalanche driving south or south-eastward across Asia. Such being part of the background of Great Britain's problem, she can hardly





BLASTING THE TURKS OUT OF SYRIA AS THEY RETREAT ALONG THE  
DAMASCUS ROAD

France and Great Britain Oppose Each Other over This Recent Battlefield with All the Resource  
of Diplomacy. Their Support of America's Policy of Self-Determination Has Become a Regret

be expected to consent to France established so strategically.

So much for the viewpoint of rival powers.

If the interest of rival powers were our paramount consideration, then the principle of self-determination, as of League principles in general, would be without real meaning. If however League principles are to be given real weight, then the nation least "interested" might conceivably make the best mandatory Power. And as to the need of protecting Christian against Moslem, this surely could be left to a strong and just mandatory power. If both Christian and Moslem agree on that power, then the point is reasonably well taken care of. The other factors are not so easily dismissed. What do the Christians ask for and what do the Moslems ask for? What of the menace of Islam? How much reality is there in Arab

Nationalism? And how does organized peace enter into the whole problem?

In attempting to find answers to these questions, I have had some interesting talks with Syrians of all factions. Here in Lebanon I was told that I must particularly see the Maronite Patriarch, who has very high political standing. This is due to the fact that under the Ottoman Empire Lebanon enjoyed its autonomy as a guarantee of religious freedom. The Patriarch is the political as well as the religious head. Although the Maronites have long been devoted to France, I am told that the Patriarch has not lost, but has gained in power of late by showing that he can be independent of French guidance when he believes that larger issues are at stake.

The other day I was invited through a friend to lunch with the Patriarch at his country seat over



FOLLOWING THE HIGH-ROAD TO JERICO  
The Inn of the Good Samaritan at Talat Ed Dumm  
Becomes Once Again the Center for Suspicion  
and Robbery

on the mountain side, nearly three hours' distant by carriage. We started in the early morning, M. Tabet and myself. M. Tabet is perhaps the finest type of French-made Maronite educated in France, an occasional visitor there, and an exile in France during the four years of war. His wife is a charming lady, equally at home in Paris or London, and would be in New York. M. Tabet is at the head of a wealthy and powerful family, and is very much involved in the political situation.

Driving through the city of Beirut with him, I recognized unmistakably some imprints of France, though perhaps not so marked as one finds in the mountains. Beirut under the Turks was not included in Lebanon. It has a population of 150,000, a meanly built city for the most part, unworthy of its wonderful setting. I must mention the laundries as a sign of France, and the fresh linen worn with pagan extravagance. Also noticeable here, particularly of interest to women, are the numerous coiffeur establishments. In fact I suppose it is the women even more than the men who are champions of French culture in faraway places. I am told that in Beirut and Lebanon the women of the better classes speak French almost exclusively, employing

their native Arabic only to the extent of one or two words in ten. The same applies to Egypt.

These Lebanese villages make a favorable impression, so much so that I wanted really to live there and talk intimately with the people. Strange that they should not seem even more unhappy than they do, suffering as they did during the war. I was told of one village which lost 87 per cent. deaths by starvation. During the war they could not import food by sea, and the Turks showed little concern for them. It is said that a third of the Maronites died of starvation, a record of suffering surpassed only by Armenia. This was the reason for America's extensive relief work in Syria. Previous to the war, owing to over-population, Lebanon is said to have sent to America something like 400,000 emigrants, and many to South America.

Following a zig-zag road up the mountain slope through a forest of pigmy Aleppo pines, we came to the seat of the august Patriarch of the Maronites. It is a large spreading building in the form of the letter "H" on a slight projection from the steep slope of the mountain side and commanding a panorama indescribably beautiful. We crossed a court with well-kept flowers and ascended a winding flight of marble steps. Here we were met by the Patriarch's secretary, a rotund black-robed priest with a very knowing diplomatic air. I always experience a peculiar emotion when I enter a well-kept house in which only men live and labor. I am sure there is an element of rebellion in my feelings.

On the Patriarch's staff are about ten dignitaries—bishops and others. My friend M. Tabet seemed perfectly at home among them, and well he might, since I have been told that his father and grandfather before him were Warwicks of the Lebanon—makers of patriarchs.

The old Patriarch was at the far end of the long reception room with his leading counselors and some guests grouped in a half circle. After introductions a place was made for me by his side, and we were very soon talking politics, the company listening and occasionally joining in. The Patriarch is a short old man of seventy-five, with bold, rheumy eyes and heavy brows. The fire of a courageous spirit is still alive in him.

At the beginning of our conversation His Beatitude regretted that he could not speak English. His further remarks on this point have a bearing on the political situation. He said that he once started to learn English, but so many other things had to be learned and done that he put aside his books, feeling that anyway English could be of little use to him. Now, however, he had lived to regret that decision; and this he stated with an innuendo which left little doubt as to his meaning.

His grievance against his beloved France is that the French have shown distinct signs of recognizing the supremacy of the Damascus Moslems—this to offset British intimacy with the Moslems—one indication being that Emir Feisal, the Moslem head of the Syrian Government, before returning from Paris, is said to have had a long conference with Clemenceau, and certain French gossip has it that all was fixed up between them. Feisal returned to Syria on a French warship. I do not believe, however, that he has arrived at any definite rapprochement with the French.

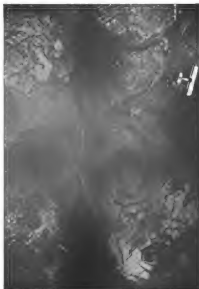
When luncheon was announced we filed out to a large cloister room with one very long table. There were present, besides the Patriarch's staff, a Pasha from Egypt, four Emirs or chieftains from the mountains, one or two notables from Beirut, as well as M. Tabet and myself. The four Emirs had come from the stronghold or "lion" villages of the Maronites. During the war these villages had sought to buy grain from the Turks. Finding the Turkish military authorities impossible to deal with, the messengers returned to their mountains, and immediately an expedition was organized which raided a Moslem city, securing the supplies necessary to keep the villages from starvation.

And still the Maronites say that they are a hundred years ahead of the rest of Syria. They say they can show by literacy test over 90 per cent. able to read and write, while the rest of Syria could not show 5 per cent. The Maronites also boast a considerable strain of Crusader blood, the Lebanon having been known to the Turks until recently as the "Frankish Kingdom." And with all their native spirit, European blood and European education, they don't see why they should be held back by a program adapted to the rest of Syria, and especially, they oppose the possibility of their coming under the domination of an "ignorant and fanatical" majority of Moslems.

I asked the Patriarch and his advisers if some form of union with France was not their paramount demand in seeking justice from the Peace Conference?

"No," was the reply. "Our first demand is for an independent Lebanon, independent of Islam. If France is unable or indisposed to give us this, then we must part with France. Our next demand is for a greater Lebanon—a restored Lebanon—in order that we may become self-supporting. Our third demand is that the same power be given the mandate for the rest of Syria that is given the mandate for the Lebanon, but that there be no other political connection between the Lebanon and the rest of Syria." This last point interested me especially.

"But what," I asked, "about this proposal of a federal government in Syria so often mentioned,



BAD LANDING GROUND SOUTH OF NABLUS

The Noonday Sun Beats Down Upon Limestone Terraces and a People Laboring for Their Own Land and Nation

a federation comprising perhaps four provinces or states?"

"It would mean the Christian Lebanon governed by the other three states," was the reply. "It would at least mean a Moslem prince over the federation. That is intolerable."

"But suppose," I suggested, "that while the Paris Conference would not allow one faction to dominate another, still the plan decided upon called for acceptance of the barest principle of federation?"

"We cannot conceive of a measure of federation which did not place a Moslem Prince over all, and though he were only nominally a prince, it is intolerable."

"And if there were no Prince?" I asked, "if there were only an economic council, without legislative power, simply to consult with the Mandatory Government and serve merely as a door leading ultimately to federation—what then?"

They discussed the matter at some length and finally gave this judgment: "It seems possible. Yea, we likely should accept that much."

I had given this conversation in detail to illustrate the temper of the relations between the

Christian Lebanon and the surrounding Moslem districts.

I called on M. Georges Picot, joint author with the late Sir Mark Sykes of the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. M. Picot is France's High Commissioner to Syria. Before the war he was Consul-General at Beirut, but was also something of a diplomatic agent, since even then France looked upon Lebanon as a very particular ward, and Lebanon reciprocated by agitating constantly for independence from Turkey. When Turkey entered the Great War M. Picot hurried off to France, but unfortunately left behind him through somebody's carelessness certain records of a diplomatic character which should have been consigned to the hottest of fiery furnaces. For when the Turks came upon these papers, they arrested a great many prominent Syrians and hanged about twenty-five. However, so much had M. Picot endeared himself to the Maronites that they almost forgave him even this; and now he is back here as High Commissioner. He told me about the people of Lebanon and of the sentiment for France which it had long been his pleasure to witness here.

Then we moved on to controversial grounds. I complimented M. Picot on his apparently able part in the Sykes-Picot Agreement by which France's claim to Syria was recognized by Great Britain; and I asked him if he considered that agreement to be still alive.

Yes, he did.

"Then it is not your opinion," I went on, "that the Sykes-Picot Agreement was in any sense annulled by the joint declaration in November, 1917, between France and Britain, which they communicated to the President of the United States?" (The declaration referred to stated that "the aim which France and Great Britain have in view in waging the war in the East . . . is to insure the complete and final emancipation of all those peoples so long oppressed by Turks, and to establish national governments and administration which shall derive their authority from the initiative and free will of the peoples themselves.")

No, he did not consider the Sykes-Picot Agreement was affected adversely by the declaration of November, 1917.

"But in settling the future of Syria, I assume that you believed that a Mandate should be accorded by the League of Nations?"

Yes, he did—in a limited sense.

"What limited sense?"

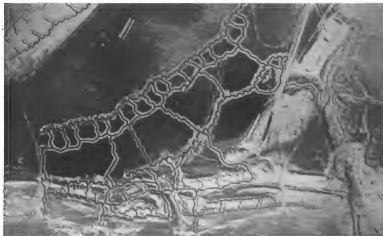
His answer conveyed to me the impression that in his opinion Syria should be turned over to France and no questions or accounting asked.

"And should Syria include Palestine?" I asked.

"Palestine was dealt with in the Sykes-Picot Agreement," he said.

"And will France hold out steadfastly for such a settlement?"

I gathered from his reply that France was showing a willingness to discussion and that she might



TRENCH WARFARE HAS UPTURNED THE EARTH EVEN IN THE ANCIENT OF ANCIENTS  
A Complete Trench System Near Bagdad Constructed During the Recent Campaign Which by Its  
Victorious Issue Has Led to a Sharp Diplomatic Skirmish Between Allies



THE SUDDEN ONSLAUGHT FROM BEHIND COMPOUND WALLS CAN NO LONGER BE SUCCESSFUL IN THESE DAYS OF AERIAL OBSERVATION

The Observer's Camera Reaches Down from a Thousand Feet into the Very Heart of Samarra. Barred Gates and High Walls Can No Longer Hide the Beauty of the Courtyards of the Mosque

at least leave out Palestine. It was a matter for Great Britain and France to decide. And the large consideration after all was the preservation of the friendship between Great Britain and France. Was not that friendship the greatest thing in all the world today?

I asked him what form of Government he thought should be set up in Syria. He did not know. That was a question for the future. Perhaps some sort of federation. But whether headed by Moslem Prince or President he couldn't say.

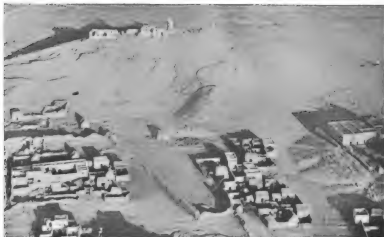
I had remarked upon the French sentiment which I had found in Lebanon, and I asked him what he thought the response would be outside the Lebanon if the wishes of the people were consulted.

It was not easy to understand the Syrians, he began. The oriental surface of them was very misleading. For instance, he had had leading Syrians in a community come to him with a definite proposal in mind. He would greet them, and suddenly they would get an idea of something very different, perhaps directly opposed to their real plan, but something which they now felt would be pleasing to *M. le Haut Commissaire*; and so they put forward the new idea. Then woe to M. Picot if he

should take them at their word. He must read their very hearts before accepting their spoken proposal, which was only put forward in show of friendship. Indeed, until an issue is drawn they will likely say what they feel you want them to say, said M. Picot.

All of which goes far towards saying that the Syrians may very probably appear to be liars until you understand them.

Now let us consider Syria as a whole, and primarily Moslem Syria. The great fact to me in judging all Syria is Arab nationality. Other facts are more or less transitory in comparison, even Islam. Indeed, the most enduring thing about Islam to the Arabs is that the Arabs created it. That pride in the creation of a spiritual garment which fills so many pages and centuries of history will live bright in Arab memory when the garment itself by the light of education has been washed out sufficiently that an eighteenth century Presbyterian would be willing to try it on, if only to show respect. Such is the cleansing power of unadulterated education, which heretofore the Arabs have hardly known, but which is inseparable from League of Nations helpfulness.



THE HILL FORT HALF SMASHED BY ALLIED GUNS BUT AN ANCIENT TOWN RESPECTED

One of the instances Where the Military Plan Allowed Immunity to an Ancient Place of Historic Meaning. Together with the Destruction of a Strategic Point Valuable to the Enemy

If this region of the world were left quite to itself, politically and religiously, the overwhelming numerical strength of Islam would, unchastened by a strong educational light, possibly smother the dissenting religious factions. On the other extreme, if the League of Nations comes here with a fair measure of justice, these religious facts are going to fade away on the black wings of secret diplomacy just as surely as the League is rooted in justice.

And right here is the great fact about Syria. The more justice and education we apply here, and the more we thereby dissipate factional bitterness, the more vigorously will rise up the great fact of Arab nationalism. Unlike the other facts, it will thrive on justice; it will thrive on education; it will thrive on progress. History proves well the profound depths of national consciousness.

When with "Mandatory help" they succeed it is not improbable that some time in the future they may be allowed to unite with their brother Arabs of the desert region and Mesopotamia.

In the West no doubt one frequently hears the question, "Are the Arabs really separated from the Turks?" I am convinced that they are quite severed from the Turks unless the program of the League of Nations should force Islam to a desperate defensive. The Arabs are through with Turkish rule. The Turks always had to keep a hard and vigilant hand upon their unhappy subjects. They

are different temperamentally, the Arabs and the Turks, and their associations resulted in their bestowal of a mutual curse. The Turks are without the religious, idealistic temperament of the Arabs, but the Turks did have a stolid driving power. This power was vitiated by Islam with its fatalism, its contempt for commerce, and its oriental treatment of woman. Through Islam the Turk lost his once great organizing faculty, and he had little imagination to take its place. The imaginative Arab, on the other hand, has been doubly cursed by the rule of the Turk. His submission to the Turk, always unhappy, has perhaps been largely due to the fact that the Turk is his religious offspring. They are now really severed, however, unless the oppression of Europe should force them into a reunion of desperation.

A good place to study the Arab is in his grand old city of Damascus. This "oldest living city in the world" is situated most beautifully on the edge of the desert, with the mountains close by, including snow-capped Mt. Hermon, and with a clear river flowing briskly through the city. The famous orchards still surround the city. The population is now about 400,000. Long ago, but not in the youth of the city, the conquering Mahomet came over the hills and stopped at a vantage point to look down upon Damascus. Then he decided not to enter the city, saying that man could have but one Paradise and that his own was in the next world.

From that same place one day I looked down over Damascus, and it might have passed for one of the world's youngest cities, so freshly it gleamed in its setting of myriad green, purified by the distance.

A tramp through the heart of the city, however, is sufficient to convince one that it is quite crumbling away. Likely it has seemed so for many centuries. It disappointed and depressed me greatly until I began making friends. Then the crumbling mud walls opened their gates, and I was grandly surprised to find myself ushered into marble courts with fountains and handsome old marble houses. Such was the old style of private luxury. It did not pay to make an outward show of riches in the old days of tyranny and lawlessness.

The multi-colored crowd in the streets of Damascus moving hither and thither in pursuit of its multifarious needs shows plainly that a new dream is insistently bobbing up in the collective consciousness, a new song on the lips of age. Without help they will neither see clearly nor build collectively. We rightly call them a backward people. Long ago the people and their Prophet made some very grave mistakes which only education can enable them to live down. It would be hard to say how much of their backwardness is due to the Turks, or to western diplomacy, or to Islam. But the man who says there is no progress for the Arabs because they are under Islam, and that there is no hope of change

in Islam because it is unchanging, that man is very likely the victim of that very ancient yet still lively system of politics that has in it too much church, or of church that has in it too much politics. I recommend him to the tolerant mercy of the Moslems who have been educated in modern institutions. Few men so educated, be they Moslems or Jews, Hindus or Christians, will deny to the other man the freedom to commune with God as he sees fit. I was discussing religion one day with a Moslem professor. Our conversation may have lasted some time, though we did not talk much—just confirming a mutual feeling that we understood each other. One thing he said, however, stands out particularly in my memory. It was a brief comparison he made of Jesus and Mahomet:

"The personality of Jesus," he said thoughtfully, "is majestic simplicity. The personality of Mahomet is complex superman."

I questioned him with my eyes, frankly.

"The higher type is Jesus," he said.

We cannot consider this as intolerance.

Two Arab parties looking towards nationality grew up in Syria recently when the Turk was finally driven out. One party called for the union of Syria with Mesopotamia and all the rest of the Arabian peninsula. It called itself the Arab Union Party. The other party was less extravagant in hope for immediate achievement at least. It called



THE WALLED CITY OF SUMARRAH BECOMES A MERE ANTIQUARIAN MODEL FROM THE UPPER REGIONS OF AIR

The Ancient Tower Suggests the Tower of Babel. More International Confusion May Easily Be Bred by the Failure of the Powers to Recognize the Right of These Peoples to Self-Determination



THE NOMINAL HEAD OF GOVERNMENT

The Arabs Look to Emir Feisal, Their Moslem Prince, As the Logical Leader of Their Nationalistic Hope

itself the Union of Syria Party. Many of this party were also ready to dream of an all-Arab union, but for the present all they set themselves to achieve was nationality in Syria, extending from Sinai to the Taurus. Gradually this party has absorbed the other, and their program is the one which the vast majority of the Arabs of Syria have presented to the Paris Conference. They ask for no more territory than Syria, in order to prove to the world the fact of Arab nationality.

Of all the leaders with whom I have talked in Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Beirut and elsewhere, none has impressed me more favorably than has Emir Feisal himself. He is nominally at the head of the Government, and so is at least nominally the monarch of this undefined, new-old Arab nation. I suppose he is very well known in America, since while he was in Paris he must have been one of the most picturesque and most photographed personages at the Conference. He may not be a "blood and iron" leader, and so might not prove a great success if the Arabs were left to themselves. But under the mandatory system



CHURCH AND STATE ARE INSEPARABLE

The Maronite Pope-Politician and Two Sage Bishops Who Oppose a Moslem Prince over Syria and Lebanon

Emir Feisal should prove a happy choice. His leadership becomes a very real thing to one who talks with the Arabs here throughout Syria. He is practically the universal favorite.

Having been invited to call, I went with a Druz friend from Tripoli, a doctor, who was there in Damascus representing a large constituency on the National Mandate question. About a half mile from the center of the city an old house with a large garden is being made over for Emir Feisal. A separate building at the street entrance is used as his official headquarters. Upon entering here we passed a sentry and a clerk or two, and soon found ourselves in a waiting-room where, sitting or stalking about impatiently, were ten or a dozen Arabs, Bedouin from the desert most of them, proud in their showy regalia of flowing silks. They are a free, haughty lot, those desert sheiks and caravan merchants. Emir Feisal is not supposed to have any official authority over the great desert, and I assume that most of those Bedouins that visit him, while they may spend the greater part of their



time in the desert, still have some residence in Syria. And yet Feisal knows everybody and everybody knows Feisal, since he is from the holy pilgrimage city of Mecca, where his old father is Grand Sherif. The Bedouin sheiks when they call, being a trifle impatient and suspicious, will have little to do with secretaries. Moreover, Feisal speaks their desert dialect perfectly, and they meet him with true Arab democracy, in a spirit of camaraderie.

I was rather disappointed to find him dressed in Prince Albert, but he wore the flowing silk head-dress.

As we sat down he arose and came to greet us with a frank, questioning smile. He seemed a really good fellow, rather saintly; hardly the man, I thought, to have made that recent speech to the notables of Beirut and the Lebanon, in which he is reported to have declared with fervor: "Independence is taken, not given. The Paris Conference will do its part, we trust. But if you people of the Lebanon do not rise to our common opportunity and grasp it, I must come here and grasp it for you."

Feisal was not educated in Europe, and still he showed that he had been to school to the newspaper men in Paris. He asked me some questions at first, but soon was doing most of the talking; leaning forward, his tired eyes aglow. At one time he had an attack of severe coughing. The doctor watched him with some concern, then asked if he might get a glass of water.

"But," interposed Feisal, finally controlling his cough, "do you forget that it is Rhamadan?"

During the month of Rhamadan the faithful in Islam are supposed to spend the day in fasting until sundown. After sundown the feasting begins, which may be kept up intermittently until two o'clock in the morning, when fasting for the new day begins.

It was an awkward moment, but the doctor rose to the occasion:

"Ah, but I was speaking as a man of science," he said in gentle apology, "I was speaking simply as a doctor concerned for the health of my Prince."

Emir Feisal smiled his thanks, but no water was brought.

The Emir stated that he feels more and more that the future of the Arabs is now in the hands of America, and he asked me in what measure I thought President Wilson expresses the sentiment and purpose of America. My humble opinion seemed to reassure him. He intimated that he is kept fairly choking with false propaganda.

He went on to compare America's spirit with that of certain other Powers. From the latter he felt that the Arabs could expect little mercy if once the Paris Conference should grant to those Powers

a free hand. Syria might then realize a measure of material prosperity, he conceded, but what of Arabian hopes?

As I passed out through the waiting-room I saw there were now nearly twice as many Arabs as when I had entered. The group in that waiting-room suggested something deeper and more genuine than merely a demand for security and prosperity, suggested a real depth of nationalist sentiment from which are now springing up new ideals and a collective aspiration. I am speaking of the Arab people, not of Islam. I am no champion of Islam. But I hold that it is useless, even if desirable, to attempt deliberately to stamp it out. I hold furthermore that Islam is worthy of our tolerance, since only through our tolerance is it likely to unfold into something finer.

What power, then, is to have the Mandate for Syria? The Arab people do not choose France. Outside of the Lebanon they ask emphatically for America or Great Britain. And since the Lebanon expresses as its paramount wish the desire to be under the same Mandatory Power as the rest of Syria, irrespective of France, then it would seem clear that the whole of Syria should be entrusted to America or Great Britain.

But the voice of the Arabs is not the only consideration towards a just political settlement. We must not overlook the immeasurable importance of Near Asia as a war-breeding zone, and hence as a strategic ground on which to organize peace.

Let us stand together in Near Asia—we two governments, America and Britain—but let us stand alone in Near Asia, in order that we two peoples may the better understand each other. The question of the division of the territory which we should take in trust is not so important. Whether Britain retains only Mesopotamia, and we assume responsibility for the rest of the former Ottoman territory, with perhaps a joint supervision over the desert region; or whether the British take the Mandate for Syria also, all this is secondary to America. It might be better if America should take charge of Syria. That would bring us closer to the British in a certain sense. We should be dividing Arab rule and the rule over the desert, which would make more imperative Anglo-American understanding and co-operation. That is supremely important.

The League of Nations will succeed only if we two nations stand together. Then let us plant our strength and our principles together here where the East faces the West, where intrigue has long been foulest and war clouds blackest, and where are being drawn the issues which must decide the fate of Western civilization.

# THE CHARM OF KASHMIR

By V. C. SCOTT O'CONNOR

THE 24th of April, and I find myself on the road to Kashmir. For a thousand miles my journey lies across the plain of India, that is like a sea. Somewhere above me upon the northern horizon there climbs towards heaven the mighty wall of the Himalaya, yet hidden as completely from sight as though it had never been. A traveler who came here at this season might see all of India, and yet leave it ignorant of the greatest mountains in the world. So easily are facts concealed.

And how smooth and level is this plain, as though nature, having exhausted her constructive purpose in the building of the mountains, was content to lie idle at their feet in the negation of all further effort. No incident breaks its level monotony; and at this season of the year it is white with dust and grey with the desolation of Asia.

White columns of dust drive like the phantoms of a dying world along its highways, and a cloud of dust hangs like a shroud over the fields and cities. In the vague distance one can trace, as in a dream, the faint outlines of a city, the walls and towers of some feudal stronghold, or caravanseraï of the Emperors; for it was here along this track that they pursued their way, with a pomp and splendour unsurpassed in the history of the world, from the imperial capital to the secluded vale of Kashmir.

Nearer at hand, where the veil of light and incandescent dust is less intense, one can glimpse a few pictures of the life of the people who inhabit this strange world; pictures of Ruth gleanings in the shorn fields, of cattle feeding in the stubble, of a flock of sheep following their shepherd in a cloud of separate dust as you will see them on the heat-ridden plains of La Mancha or Castile; and nearer still, of Persian wheels droning their music of toil, and splashing their crystal waters in the vivid sunlight, under the shelter of tree oases, green as nothing else is, by favour of the well. At the railway stations through which the trains pass, over metals whose unyielding directness and iron devotion to the service of these people are symbolic of the race which now governs India, one sees the people clustered, waiting for carriage, visibly rejoicing in the abundant flow of free and pure water that sparkles and foams at the taps. The keynote of the scene is thirst, and the whole world here would die, and the trains would cease to run, and men would vanish from this surface of the earth, as they have vanished from other once populous centers of Asia, were it not for the subterranean flow which the wells reveal, and for the mighty

rivers which wander hungrily over these spaces that even they cannot fill.

Thirst and heat and the desolation of Asia!

Who coming here would suspect that within a hundred miles of all this weariness and dun monotony there hangs half-way 'twixt heaven and earth the freshest and most lovely valley in the world? Yet in the white glare we cross the very waters of that river whose birthplace and vernal youth are in that valley; the river of so many conquerors since Alexander, of so many poets since he who sang in far-off Rome of the fabulous Hydaspes.

In the early dawn we are on the road to the mountains, each moment nearer to us as the swift Daimler swallows space; and in half an hour from the railway we are caught in the sinuous toils of the foothills. It is a road flanked in its lower courses by golden cornfields and green avenues of trees, and trodden by guns and infantry and cavalry on the march, and fine upstanding men and splendid women. Here we are in the cradle of a martial breed, the heirs of centuries of invasion and war. The men are virile, with lithe, erect bodies and a direct gaze; some harnessed to the business of war in khaki and scarlet, others sickle in hand, bending to the wind-blown corn, tying their sheaves of gold, and cracking their carters' whips along the white highway. And the women are good to look upon, straight of feature, erect as lances, full-bosomed to the world.

## DOMEL

When we drove up to the staging bungalow and I looked down upon it, embroidered in pink roses and half hidden under trees, by the shores of the rushing Jhelum, whose great music filled the valley, it took my heart so that I wished to stay here and bring my journey to an end; and now that I must go forward, since life is but a journey, I leave it with a pang of more than passing regret, for the place is one of a sweet and intimate beauty, yet upon the edge of great world-forces; of an ancient river whose fame was spread over the world when the world was still young and had an ear for mysteries, and of a line of mighty mountains, "the abode of snow" and of the Gods.

Late last night, when the silver clouds had dispersed and the moon shone in the high vault of heaven overhead, I stepped into the garden whose paths were soft with the fallen lilac bloom and dappled with shade and light, and walked for an hour by the high stone terraces, and down the stairways, and along the rose-hedges, whose clustering

pink coloured the night and filled it with their soft, unobtrusive perfume; and so to the great retaining wall which overhangs the threatening river and keeps it at bay, as do the great cliffs opposite. All night its vast susurrus of music passed through my sleep like the distant tones of an organ, and I slept at peace.

And now in the morning, with the clouds of yesterday all fled and the sky very blue over the valley, it is hard, as I have said, to leave this exquisite and fragrant spot, which without its eastern glamour might be a Pyrenean valley or a meeting-place of waters in the Tyrol; as at Brixen, where the rivers rush and mingle and the felled timber floats with a mad buoyancy upon the raging tide.

I have walked under the chintz-like bloom and delicate foliage of the Indian lilacs, which make long avenues here, and have listened to the voices of innumerable birds ringing with



TEMPLES UNMISTAKABLY GREEK

How the Hellenic Spirit Drifted to the Vale of Kashmir is a Lost Legend

the amorous ecstasy of spring. Here is nature abounding with life and creative purpose; and the flights of cheerful starlings, the half-silent and elusive day-als, the little garden-warblers, convey the same sense of a prolific and outpouring life that the roses do, falling upon each other in their thousands, dropping over the railings and fences and the cut-stone walls half hiding an English homestead, and blooming in their prolific abundance even upon the gables and walls of this posting house, as though they would lure the traveler to dally by the wayside and take his share of the joy of life.

Domel, the mingling of two, bears this elemental name because the Jhelum and the Kisheng Anga meet here, and it needs little imagination to understand why amongst all primitive people the union of waters is a mingling of the Gods. For here are passion and might, the outpouring of life, the symbolic act of creation. Standing here



SRINAGAR, THE CAPITAL OF KASHMIR, ON THE RIVER JHELM, THE FABLED HYDASPES

Its Soul and Impulse Are the River, Its Stone Embankments in Which the Shattered Remains of Temples and Shrines and Violated Gods Are Buried, and Its Gardens by the Water's Edge



THE MAZE OF THE MAR CANAL AT SRINAGAR

Houses That Grow into Beautiful Forms and Delicate Tracery, Yet Awry with Neglect and Ready to Fall

in the sunlight, on the low grassy shore of the Jhelum by the suspension bridge, one can see it coming exultantly along with the strength of many lions, dashing with its masculine beauty and joyousness into the laughing vivid Kisheng Anga; and thence rushing on for a space shoulder to shoulder with her but still apart, till a little further under the cliffs their waters mingle and the streams become one.

One sees from here so many things that quicken the imagination; the statue of the God there graven in stone upon the pillars of the bridge; the grey and grim old Mogul serai, with its grand air and lofty porte, where the Emperors encamped, in marked contrast with the domestic English peace and beauty of the bungalow; the sunlight gleaming upon the white houses of Muzaffarabad as upon some hill-town of Italy, the blue mountains and shining lustre of snow, the wild pomegranate, red as the lips of Anarkali, and the oleander her lover made his horsemen wear in their plumes as they

marched gloriously up the valleys to Kashmir.

And yet when all is said, the sentiment of this place is neither of India, nor of Asia, nor of any named corner of the world; but just of one of those fragrant and exquisite spots where waters meet, and birds sing, and flowers bloom, and trees are heavy with shade, and the seclusion is unbroken by grace of the high encompassing mountains.

#### GARHI

Thirteen miles along the Jhelum river, through lilac avenues that shimmer and meet overhead, bring one to an Elysian haunt, known as the bungalow of Garhi. But here I had a singular conviction that I had dropped into a corner of old France. This was after I had breakfasted and fell a-dreaming in the secluded garden, where a round table stood in the center, laden with the lilac drift. There was an outer circle of wooden benches ranged about it, one of which was crimson with the fallen petals of a rambler — nature's *pot-pourri* — while other roses drooped in luxuriant bloom, their burden with difficulty upheld by wooden props. Their perfume filled the garden with its richness, and was blown by the breezes over the walls to the highroad along which the world passed on its way. A young plane tree, the first of the Kashmir *chinars*, flung her deep and abundant shade over a part of the house, and made of her grace a lovely portal. Outside the green bare Pyrenean forms of the mountains towered into the sky on one hand, while upon the other the river, unseen but heard, like the murmur of the wind, flowed upon its destined way. Upon every branch of the lilac trees and in the rose bushes

there was a bird singing with all the joy of spring in his throat, and anon the great ravens came and flung their somber shadows over the garden, and broke its music of wind and water and song with their loud sinister notes. In the Pyrenees, I remembered, each of them is supposed to embody the soul of a departed Saracen.

It was of France, as I have said, that this garden, run to weed a little, exuberant with its own abundant fertility, full of whispers of summer days and fading roses, somehow reminded me.

There were, I noticed, wild strawberries growing about the benches amidst the clover; there were mulberries and figs and a cypress tree, while the hollyhocks clustered like a nursery of children about the knees of the table, touching its very rim; and there was an old dog who came along unobtrusively wagging his tail and lay down in the clover and the lilac drift, meekly thankful for anything I had to give him.

I was so pleased with the soft summer airs of

this garden, and its note as of a place haunted with tranquil memories, that I sat very silent in it, and half closed my eyes the better to absorb its character; and I must have done so for some minutes, when an old woman in a check apron, with a handkerchief over her silvery hair, and wooden shoes on her feet, came down the path under the plane tree and wished me a good day.

"And where," I said, "is *Monsieur*?"

"*Monsieur le Vicomte*," she said softly, and yet with a touch of fire in her voice, "*est parti pour la Frontière*," and with this she looked wistfully about her at the fallen petals and the shadow of neglect that lay upon the garden. "*Mais la patrie . . . la patrie, Monsieur*" . . . And with this her voice broke and she could say no more. Upon which I awoke, for I must have slept in these moments stolen from a day of travel, to find the driver standing beside me, with his battered bugle and professional air, and a suggestion that we should proceed upon our way.

#### URI

At Uri I passed the night. The post-house here was less charming, perhaps, than those at Garhi or Domel. There was no secluded garden here, the roses were less abundant, and the season being later at this elevation, for we had climbed two thousand feet from Domel, they were not yet in

bloom. The high stern mountains, the river rushing far down in the narrow valley, the freshness and verdure of the meadows and the fields, intersected by channels of water; all these took me back to Spain and Andorra; and the snow-spangled summits of the greater mountains might have been those I looked upon one summer day when first entering the little republic.

But how different is the temper of the people! There they would die rather than yield up their pride and their independence of a thousand years: here they are a people whose spirit, crushed under centuries of misrule, is only now timidly lifting its head from the dust.

I walked for an hour in the village lanes, and passing a lovely chinar tree came to a new mosque that was nearly completed for prayer. Here I met the Maulvi and some Elders who invited me to enter and look within. Built of timber and stone, with carved windows of arabesque designs that linked with their subtle harmonies this little village chapel with the perfection of the Generalife, it was of two stories, with a slight inner staircase leading from one to the other; the one I was told for use in summer, the other in winter. The timber was a free gift from the Maharaja, who, with a true Hindu feeling, has a soft heart for all religions; and the labour, save that of the master builders, had been given as of love by the Moslems of the

valley; so that the mosque has cost very little in money. Its design was charming and very happily adapted to its mountain environment. It took the place of an older mosque, which had died of age, and its very foundations were set amidst the earthen graves of bygone generations.

"I have seen just such a mosque in use amongst the Mussulmans of China," I observed; and they wondered at their faith being spread so far abroad; and with that note of communal affection which is so characteristic of Islam, they asked:

"Are they well favored by the King of China?"

I replied that it might be so now, but that in the past they had suffered much persecution. Whereupon they shook their heads sadly, as those not unacquainted with sorrow, and said gratefully



INFINITE PATIENCE AND INCREDIBLE TOIL WITH FINE NEEDLES

The Cunning of the Hand Has Been Fostered for Centuries by the Sons of the Kashmiri. Who in Bygone Days Made Their Shawls the Wonder of the World

enough: "It is not so under the benign rule of our Emperor of London. Since you came here our fate has changed, and our religion, our lands, and our women have been left inviolate. We know to whom we owe this change, and we are grateful."

As I walked on by a little stream, under a hedge of young poplars, I came upon an ancient, a visiting saint from the capital; one of those devout but seemingly idle people, for whose existence there seems so little justification in the pages of a statistical work; yet it seemed to me that this man's presence might well bring with it something of a benediction; for his mien and voice were gentle, and his large dark eyes shone with humanity. Here I observed was no fanatic of Islam; but a timid old philosopher, with the heart of a child.

In the rice fields here and there in its lordly beauty and isolation stood a chinar tree, mighty of girth and old at its base, but satin-bodied and young above, with its wealth of drooping foliage.

"It was there," said the saint, "when I was a child, and as high and big as it is now. It belongs to another and a bygone age, and was planted by some dead Sultan."

A boy of nine or ten—though he could make no guess at his age—spoke to me of his heart's ambition to become a public servant.

"What would you like to be?" I inquired.

"Ah!" he said with a singular sweetness and beauty of expression, such as you might look for on the face of a young girl dreaming of the unknown lover, "I cannot tell!"

If his mother when she bore him was as beautiful as he, with his lustrous eyes, and deprecatory air, and finely-cut features, she must have been a joy in his father's eyes.

At Uri the morning broke fresh and exquisite, with the crisp freshness of mountain air, and the world shone new-minted after recent rain. While the horses were being brought up I walked upon the village green, where the ardent golfer drives his first ball in Kashmir. It was set about with English cottages and slim poplars, and over it was a sky of blue, and upon all the circle of the valley there were mountains, enclosing in their dark and sunlit folds white gleaming shapes of snow. One of these shone above the old Fort of Uri and its loop-holed walls, another loftier and of a keener gleam looked over the valley of the river towards Kashmir. Under the rising sun there was a wide expanse of rock-hewn peaks and soft billowing fields of snow; and behind me the river plunged on its way to the sea. The crystal clearness of air, the emerald freshness of the grass, the wonderful sensation of a world upborne in security and peace, were such as one may enjoy in a mountain land

alone, when the winter is over and gone and the voice of spring is calling in the valleys.

From Uri one soon passes into the fellowship of the great mountains, with their blue forests of deodars and high and mighty cliffs of basalt, which rise from the swirling river like the breastworks of a titanic world. From afar off through the sequestered gloom of deep gorges there descend in white foam, like a silent dream, long waterfalls, and at their base spread velvet meadows and camping grounds under the shade of the cedar trees. In the midst of these wonders of nature, whose gigantic character would alone impress the imagination, one is suddenly confronted with the first of the classical temples of Kashmir.

It stands by the wayside, where from immemorial days the world has passed; and its beauty infringes upon one with the clear flash and sword-stroke of the human brain. It is so small a thing in its environment, yet it dominates all, as a beam of light in a great chamber. It has many graces of colour and form, and time has laid its hand upon it, softening its lines and yielding up to it some of the wistfulness of the departed centuries; but its principal quality is that which descends to it from the Greek genius. That is unmistakable.

How, or by what wondrous paths, the Hellenic spirit inspired these early buildings in this far-withdrawn valley is something of a mystery (was it here that Dionysius came?); but that it did inspire them, no man can doubt.

The spirit of Islam, the worship of the one God, which has given us so much that is clear and sublime and touched with emotion, the pagan fecundity of Hinduism which has lavished its skill upon a thousand intricacies of carving and created generations of craftsmen; the Roman grandeur of our own great bridges, which hold in their iron grasp the passion of our Indian rivers, these are things familiar upon the face of the Indian Peninsula; but it is here, unexpectedly, in the mountain fastnesses, that one is met by this sudden and overwhelming claim of the Hellenic mind. Even in this its derivative form, it seizes one here, and gives this little wayside temple lordship over all the majesty of the hills.

#### THE CAPITAL

Srinagar is unique. You may compare it with this or that (and it is like a tattered Venice most of all), but it remains, and will always remain, in a category apart. Some fourteen hundred years ago it supplanted Asoka's city of Pandrethan hard by, and it has retained by right of place its claim to be the capital of Kashmir.

"Where else," asks its chronicler with an affectionate pride, "where else on earth, apart from that city, can one find easily streams meeting, pure and



LIFE IS BUT A VOYAGE IN THE CURRENT OF THE WORLD

Poling North Up the Jhelum, Where There Climbs Toward Heaven the  
Mighty Wall of the Himalayas, That Great Barrier Built by the Greatest of  
Architects to Hold the Tide of the Sea of Peoples of China and Tibet from  
its Encroachment Upon India



THE HIGHWAY THROUGH THE VALE OF KASHMIR, WHICH FOLLOWS THE RIVER TO GARHI

High Up 'Twist Heaven and Earth in the North of India Are the Greatest Mountains and the Freshest Valleys in the World. Where Easy Adventure Lies Behind the Turn of the Road

lovely, at pleasure residences and near market streets?"

"Where else in the centre of a city is there a pleasure hill from which the splendour of all the houses is visible as if from the sky?"

From this acropolis, indeed, one can look not only upon the streets and lanes, the canals, the lazy coiling river, the shining lakes and pleasure gardens, the mosques, palaces, temples, and many-storied houses of the city, but upon nearly the whole of the valley of Kashmir. In bygone days the city itself was known as Kashmir, and it ruled the valley and the mountains and absorbed them into its own life as completely as Athens did or Florence. All the tradition and personality of the Kashmiri—the intellect, wit, craft, arts, religion, beauty, refinement, and degradation of this singular people—are concentrated in this sordid yet lovely city, that fascinates and repels one by turns.

Its soul and impulse is the river, which winds through it in loops, flowing under its seven bridges; its stone embankments in which the shattered remnants of temples and shrines and violated gods are buried; its stairs where the people bathe, and women, with their bare feet, descending and ascending, fill their water-pots; its shops, its mosques, its gardens blowing by the water's edge. Side

canals, that ultimately link with it, flow through dark alleys and under ancient high-backed bridges, and carry one into the city's most secret haunts. Streets and lanes intersect the maze of houses, with the same bewildering complexity that they do in Venice; and curious surprises await one, as when the Mar Canal, after an hour's wandering, carries one's boat to a point whence it is borne upon the shoulders of a dozen men through a crowded lane of high houses that almost meet overhead, and dropped into the wide open stream of the river. Here in the heart of this city is Asia; life and death jostling each other; children that swarm in prolific homes, while cholera and disease slay them without pity; vice in the dark alleys and secret places; piety in the streets, where men seem ever at prayer; houses that grow into beautiful forms and delicate traceries as by the light of nature, yet are so shaken and awry with neglect that one marvels how they escape an instant dissolution; gardens, laden with roses and filled with scent of lilacs and jasmines, overhanging dark waters, whose breath is the breath of a sewer; a populace steeped in poverty and given to incredible toil with fine needles, that in bygone days made the shawls of Kashmir a wonder of the world; yet a people idle and pleasure-loving, who pass you with smiles upon their hand-



some faces and the treachery of centuries of practice at their hearts; homes that are sealed to the outer world, yet a life that is lived in public with astonishing candor, sociability and charm that characterize the East.

You enter your *shikara* and are carried down the buoyant water, swaying with its life, and as you go the houses of the city defile before you. Here is a shop, with its carved oriels overlooking the river, and its creaking signboard inviting you to buy the finest carvings, the best *papier-mâché* in Kashmir. At the windows are the numerous proprietors calling upon you with voice and gesture to enter. You yield to the invitation, resolved to buy nothing; your boat is stopped by a flight of stairs; you climb a narrow and sullied street, and you enter—an enchanted garden! Did you think when you climbed up here and crossed that forbidding threshold that you would find before you a sunlit patio, green grass and banks of Persian lilac, whose perfume would fill the drowsy air? Those dark and solemn cypresses, that little orchard set upon its terrace, these roses waiting to bloom?

At the far side of this inner court, seated at the carved Saracenic windows, each a frame for a picture, sit the patient carvers and painters, while the rooms beyond are full of lovely things, the product of their skill. From the windows on the river-face there is a view that is one of the world's masterpieces.

You resume your journey. The river rushes under the wooden piers of the bridges, the people pass overhead; from carved oriels and fretted balconies groups of women and girls look out upon the passing show. Some have beautiful faces, many more are graceful. At others there are old men with white beards, and these sit with a singular dignity by the windows reading from some scriptural text, regardless of the outer world. Children laugh and play by the stream's edge. Upon the silvered roofs of the temples the sun shines with a dazzling light, and the whole face of the river is luminous with a brightness that vanquishes the eyes. A puff of white smoke suddenly emerges from one of the bastions of the fort overlooking the city, the air is filled with a roar, and slowly round a bend in the river comes the Maharaja's barge with its towers in scarlet, its walls lacquered and painted in red and yellow, the colours of Spain. In the rush of boats that follows your own is jostled and splashed with the sparkling waters.

You leave the river and enter the narrow crowded streets of the city, where the people are as bees in a hive. Here goes the Pandit with his stately air and his pretty wife in a rose pink gown; the Mullah with his rosary, representing



THE GATEWAY OF THE FORTRESS OF AKBAR  
Twelve Years of Toil Built This Wall of the Mogul,  
Which Has Now Become an Entrance to Srinagar

the rival creed; the Hamal, as you have seen him in Stamboul, bent under a great burden; here in the shops are the tailors and the goldsmiths, the cobblers, the braziers, the bookbinders, the confectioners, and all those numerous people who ply their trade under the public eye in an Eastern city. And here are the purchasers, women buying little cups of milk for a farthing, and small groceries meticulously weighed out, and life in all its variety and simplicity.

Islam has done much for the world in its architecture, inspired by the doctrine of the one God; but the havoc it wrought in its iconoclastic fury is fearful to think of. All over Kashmir there lie in ruins the classical temples of the past, and countless others have disappeared from the face of the earth, broken into road rock, built into dams and embankments, and flung into the lakes and rivers. There was one egregious person who boasted of the



A RIVER FIT FOR THE SPLASHING SWEEP OF THE MAHARAJA'S BARGE

A Turn of the Ancient Jhelum Near the Line of Mighty Mountains, the Abode of Snows and the Home of the Gods, Where the Seclusion Is Guarded by High Encompassing Hills

title of the Sultan Butshikast—the Image Breaker—by which infamous designation he is likely to be known with increasing ill-favour as the full extent of his depredations is revealed.

There are other mosques, some of marble built by Queens' daughters, others of wood; there are temples covered with tin, and one with sheets of tarnished gilt by the Maharaja's rococo and bastard palace. There is even a ruined place where Christ is supposed to have lived and whence he ascended into heaven. And then, overlooking all this strange welter of beauty and decay, this maze of streets and canals and houses, and all the seething life of this incomparable city, is Akbar's old fortress, with its castle high upon that hill, "whence," as the old chronicler says, "the splendour of it all is visible as if from the sky."

You enter it through a great gateway of cut stone fashioned with the unerring hand of the Moguls. Here, through its half gloom from sunlight to sunlight, the people pass on their way to and from the city. Over the archway an inscription upon marble in the flowing script of Persia records the construction of this new (and now so old) city of Akbar, its walls and towers at a cost of so many lakhs of rupees. Twelve thousand workmen in

stone, and skilled masons, were brought here from India to build it, and it was twelve years, as the people will tell you, before the Emperor and his son Jahangir, who had begun at opposite ends, finally met upon the completion of the walls.

But the glory of Akbar's day has departed; the titanic wall, with its embrasures and loopholes, is shattered and in ruins; the great gates are crumbling, and within there is scarcely a trace now of the houses and palaces and buildings of that period. Herds of cattle and ponies graze on the soft undulating grass which covers the waterways and fountains of some old garden, and almond trees now blossom over the whole of the vast interior. Here in the spring the city people come and sit all day under the white bloom which ushers in the vernal year, and here, as one stands upon the battlements and looks down far upon the back-waters of the lake, one realizes that one is looking upon the remnants of an early time, when the foundations of an empire were being laid, and before the silken days of pleasure had supervened. For it was Akbar's half century of mastery that won for Jahangir his thirteen years of ease and dalliance in Kashmir.

# TRANSFORMING THE MIND OF CHINA

By JOHN DEWEY

THE beginning of the modern age in China dates from that bloody episode, the Boxer Convulsion. Its outbreak signalized the supreme endeavor of old China to have done once for all with the unwelcome intruder, so that it might return untroubled to its self-sufficiency. Its close marked the recognition that the old China was doomed, and that henceforth China must live its life in the presence of the forces of western life, forces intellectual, moral, economic, financial, political. With its usual patience China set out to adapt itself to the inevitable. But in this case, something more than a patient passivity was necessary. China learned in 1900 that she had to adjust herself to the requirements imposed by the activities of western peoples. Every year since then she has been learning that this adjustment can be effected only by a readjustment of her own age-long customs, that she has to change her historic mind and not merely a few of her practices. Twenty years have passed and the drama does not seem to be advancing. China seems to be marking time. As with the drama of the Chinese stage, the main story is apparently lost in a mass of changing incidents and excitements that lack movement, climax and plot.

But the foreign interpreter comes to the scene with a mind adapted to the quick tempo of the West. He expects to see a drama unfold after the pattern of the movie. He is not used to history enacted on the scale of that of China. When he hastily concludes that nothing is doing, or rather that although something new and unexpected happens every day, everything is moving in an aimless circle, he forgets that twenty years is but a passing moment in a history that has already occupied its four thousand years. How can a civilization

that has taken four thousand years to evolve, that has crept about and absorbed every obstacle hitherto encountered, that has countless inner folds of accumulated experience within itself, quickly find itself in new courses? We talk glibly about the importance of the problem of the Pacific, and even the school boy can quote Seward, Hay and Taft. But what do we suppose this problem to be? One that concerns a superficial waste of mobile waters? No, the real problem of the Pacific is the problem of the transformation of the mind of China, of the capacity of the oldest and most complicated civilization of the globe to remake itself into the new forms required by the impact of immense alien forces.

Analogies, especially when they are obvious, are as deceptive in the field of political thinking as they long ago proved in natural science. The tempting comparison of the future of China, in its reaction to western ideas and institutions, to the record of Japan is misleading. The difference of scale be-

tween a small island and a vast continental territory makes the correspondence impossible. China emerged from feudalism two thousand years ago, but without at the same time becoming a national state in the sense familiar to us. Japan's emergence coincided with its opening to the West, so that its internal condition and the external pressure from other nations enabled it to take the form of an absolute state (with certain constitutional trimmings) externally similar to states produced in the evolution out of feudalism of modern Europe. The development of a strong centralized state, with unified administration and militaristic protection, was as easy for Japan as it is difficult for China. More fundamental is the difference in national psy-



THE MAN OF LEARNING IS REVERED IN CHINA  
Ability to Read and Write Is Considered Synonymous  
with Wisdom. The Conservative Chinese  
Scholar Is a Prophet Honored in His Own Land



#### FAMILY OF A CANTONESE MERCHANT

It is the Chinese of This Class Who Represent the Intelligent, Progressive Element of the Population. The Cantonese Are Especially Famed for Their Espousal of Radical Innovations in Public Life

chology. Something over a thousand years ago Japan took on Chinese civilization via Korea and yet remained essentially Japanese. For the past sixty years it has been taking on western civilization. Yet the writers and thinkers most characteristically Japanese tell you that Japan is not westernized in heart or mind. Though it borrows wholesale western technique in science, industry, administration, war and diplomacy, it borrows them with the deliberate intention of thereby strengthening the resisting power of its own traditional policies. It acknowledges without reserve the superiority of western methods, but these superior methods are to be used to maintain eastern ideals intrinsically superior to the foreign. This may seem to the foreigner an evidence of the conceit often associated with Japan, but the retort is easy: Is the European complacent conviction of superiority anything more than the conceit of prejudice? At all events, this doubleness of Japanese life, its combination of traditional aims and moral ways with the externals of foreign skill and specialized knowledge, accounts

for the impression of duplicity which so many carry away from contact with contemporary Japan.

It is to be doubted whether such a dualism, such inconsistency of inner and outer life, can be long kept up. Yet its successful achievements marks the record of Japan in its relations to western civilization. And it is precisely this sort of thing which cannot happen in China. She has evolved, not borrowed, her civilization. She has no great knack at successful borrowing. Her problem is one of transformation, of making over from within. Educated Chinese will already tell you that if you wish intact survivals of old China, you must go to Japan—and Japanese tell you much the same thing, though with quite a different accent and import. The visitor is struck by the fact that it is in the public buildings and schools of Japan, not of China, that the eye everywhere sees the old Confucianist mottoes, especially those of the reactionary and authoritative type. China with all its backwardness and its confusion and weakness is more permeated today with western contemporary thought than is Japan. There is some significance in the fact that while the circulation of President Wilson's war speeches was legally forbidden in Japan, they have furnished for the past two years China's best seller. There will be many to say that Japan's retention of the ideas that she took from China in the best days of the latter's history, and then protected against deterioration, is the cause of Japan's strength, and that China's decay is precisely because she has permitted the infiltration of ideals and ideas that are foreign and consequently destructive. This may be true. I am not here concerned to deny it. In any case, it illustrates our proposition: China must run a course radically different from that of Japan.

There will either be decay and disintegration, or thoroughgoing inner transformation. There will not be adoption of western external methods for immediate practical ends, because the Chinese genius does not lie in that direction.

Japan's influence upon China has been enormous. The westerner who has not studied the situation is quite unaware of the extent to which China after the Russo-Japanese war in particular took over Japanese administrative and educational methods. But it is already obvious that they are not working here as they worked in Japan. A large part of the present intellectual and moral crisis in China is due to reaction against this factor in Chinese life. Doubtless it is artificially strengthened just now by immediate political causes. But beneath this surface there is a general intellectual ferment, and a belief that China must resort not to Japanese copies of western forms, but to the original sources of western moral and intellectual inspiration. And the recourse is not for the sake of getting models to pattern herself after, but to get ideas, intel-

lectual capital, with which to renovate her own institutions.

National conceit, national vanity, is a sealed book to the outsider. We are sure that our own is only just pride and self-respect, and that the foreigner's is either ridiculous or a mark of offensive contempt and dangerous hostility to our own cherished ways of life. But dubious as is generalization on such matters, one is struck by certain differences in the group self-consciousness of Japan and China. Its quality is perhaps suggested in certain comments which they pass not infrequently upon each other. A Japanese will tell you that the Chinese do not care what other persons think of them. A Chinese says that Japan has no sense of its "face." The two criticisms are enough alike to be intriguing. But it may be suggested in explanation that Chinese complacency is the deeper seated and hence is not so acute. It is fundamental and taken for granted. It does not need to be asserted in special instances. As long as the Chinese retain unimpaired their own judgment of themselves, their own reputation with themselves, their face is saved, and what others think is negligible. On the other hand, it is humiliating to them to borrow as Japan does. It would be a confession of absence of inner resources. When Japan engages foreign experts, she is interested in results, and so gives them a free hand till she has learned what they have to give. China engages the foreign expert—and then courteously shelves him. The difference is typical of a difference in attitude toward western life. It is a large part of the cause of Japan's rapid progress and of China's backwardness. The Japanese naturally places himself in the stead of the western spectator and is acutely conscious of the criticisms the beholder might pass upon what he sees. He tries to make over the spectacle to satisfy the demands of the western onlooker. He reserves his deeper pride for his national ideals. The Chinese scarcely cares what the foreigner may think of what he sees. He even brings the skeletons in his closet cheerfully forward for the visitor to gaze at. The complacency or conceit involved in this attitude has enormously retarded the advance of China. It has made for a

conservative hugging of old traditions, and a belief in the inherent superiority of Chinese civilization in all respects to that of foreign barbarians. But it has also engendered a power of objective criticism and self-analysis which is rarely met in Japan. The educated Chinese who dissects the institutions and customs of his own country does it with a calm objectivity which is unsurpassable. And the basic



THE CHINESE FARMER IS CONTENT WITH THINGS AS THEY ARE. Old Methods, Old Ways, Old Superstitions, Old Faiths Are His Invaluable Inheritance from the Ancestors Whom He Worships. He Sees No Reason to Change His Mode of Living

reason, I think, is the same national pride. His institutions may not stand the criticism very well, but the people who produced these institutions are intrinsically invulnerable. They produced them, and when they get around to it they will create some new ones better adapted to the conditions of present life. The faith of the Chinese in the final outcome of their country, no matter what the despair about the current state of things, reminds an American of a similar faith abounding in his own country.

We are brought around to our main contention. China's slackness with respect to borrowing the technique of the West in civil administration, public sanitation, taxation, education, manufacturing, etc., is quite compatible with an effort on her part to bring about a thoroughgoing transformation of her institutions through contact with western civilization. In this remaking she will appropriate rather than borrow. She will attempt to penetrate to the principles, the ideas, the intelligence, from which western progress has emanated, and to work



Harvard G. Williams

**A CHINESE PRIEST WITH A SENSE OF HUMOR**  
*Sociability and Practical Common Sense Are Racial Attributes of the Chinese, Without Reference to Class or Position*

out her own salvation through the use of her own renewed and quickened national mind. The task is an enormous one. Time is of the essence of the performance. Just because the task is to effect an inner modification rather than an outward adjustment, its execution will take a long time. Will the forces that are playing upon China from without, forces that have contemplated its territorial disintegration, that are desirous of dominating its policies and exploiting in their own behalf its natural resources, permit a normal evolution? Will they stand by to assist, or will they invade and irritate and deflect and thwart till there is a final climax of no one knows what tragic catastrophe? These are some of the elements in the great drama now enacting.

The baffling and "mysterious" character of China to the West is genuine enough. But it does not seem to be due to any peculiarly dark and subtle psychology. Human nature as one meets it in China seems to be unusually human, if one may say so. There is more of it in quantity and it is open to view, not secreted. But the social mind, the political mind, has been subjected for centuries to institutions which are not only foreign to present western customs, but which have no historic precedent. Neither our political science nor our history supplies any system of classification for understanding the most characteristic phenomena of Chinese institutions. This is the fact which makes the workings of the Chinese mind inscrutable to the uninitiated foreigner, and which makes it necessary to describe so many things in

contradictory linguistic terms. The civilization itself is not contradictory, but in its own self-consistency it includes things which in western life have been sharply opposed. Then there are intermediate forms, political missing links, which to our grasp must prove elusive; they are vague because we have no comparable forms by which to define and interpret them. Yet the Chinese mind thinks, of course, as naturally in terms of its customs and conventions as we think in ours. We merely forget that we think in terms of customs and traditions which habituation has engrained; we fancy that we think in terms of mind, pure and simple. Taking our mental habits in the norms of mind, we find the ways of thinking that do not conform to it abnormal, mysterious and tricky. We can get the key to mental operations only by studying social antecedents and environment, and this truth holds pre-emi-

nently in an old civilization like the Chinese. We have to understand beliefs and traditions to understand acts, and we have to understand historic institutions to understand beliefs.

It is clear enough that the Korean question is quite pivotal in many of the most urgent external political questions of Asia. Yet Mr. Holcombe has told how the question was complicated in earlier days by the misconceptions which formed the basis of dealing with it by western nations. They knew that there was something of a relation of dependency of Korea upon China. They assumed the kind of relationship with which the West was acquainted, that of suzerain and vassal. When China declined to bear the responsibility of enforcing certain demands upon Korea as being out of her authority, the western nations thought that China was either insincere or else disclaimed all political jurisdiction. That there should be a genuine relationship of dependency, but of an advisory, homiletic, grandfatherly type, was beyond the scope of western precedent and understanding. The early relations of western diplomacy with the Imperial Court at Peking are a record of similar misunderstandings. There were all the insignia of royalty over China, extending even to despotic power. In relation to happenings in the provinces, therefore, it was natural to endow the "Government" at Peking with all the attributes of sovereignty as that is constituted in Europe. That the central government (beyond certain well-established relations of taxation and appointment of civil service)

sustained mainly a ceremonial and hortatory connection with a large part of China was beyond conception. These grosser misunderstandings could be multiplied in considering almost every detail of Chinese institutional life. It has to be understood in terms of itself, not translated over into the classifications of an alien political morphology.

The story of the difficulties that had to be overcome in the introduction of railways into China is perhaps the best known of Chinese incidents. But it bears retelling because it affords a typical illustration of the fact that the chief obstacle in the effective contact of West and East is intellectual and moral. Opposition to railways was not a matter of routine conservatism, blind sluggish opposition to the new just because it was new. The Chinese have the normal amount of curiosity, and perhaps even more than the normal amount of practical sense of the advantage to be gained by a novelty which does not conflict with traditional beliefs. A difficulty presented itself in getting a clear right of way for railways, on account of the graves, which, from the western standpoint, are scattered at random. But from the Chinese standpoint, they are located with the utmost science, and to disturb them is to throw out of balance the whole system of environmental influences that affect health and good crops. Moreover, the graves are the center of the system of ancestral worship, and that is the center of civic organization. The tale might have been invented to show how completely the forces to be reckoned with are intellectual and moral, and how completely they are bound up with the structure of life. Without a change of national mind it is hopeless to suppose that China can go forward prosperously because of intercourse with the West.

It is a rash enterprise to form a generalization about the factors of the Chinese popular psychology that count most, whether positively or negatively, in the task of regenerating China. But the strong points of a people, as of individual character, lie close to its weak ones. So perhaps it is safe to say that the promise of China's rebirth into full membership in the modern world is found in



A COOLIE AS WELL AS AN ARISTOCRAT TAKES HIS BIRD AIRING

A Solid Sense of Democracy Which Abolished the Feudal System Two Thousand Years Ago and Which Has Always Accepted the Theory that Government Must Be Subservient to the People Is One of China's Precious Stepping-Stones to Social and Political Freedom

its democratic habits of life and thought, provided we add to the statement another: the peculiar quality of this democracy also forms the strongest obstacle to the making over of China in its confrontation by a waiting, restless and greedy world. For while China is morally and intellectually a democracy of a paternalistic type, she lacks the specific organs by which alone a democracy can effectively sustain itself either internally or internationally. China is in a dilemma whose seriousness can hardly be exaggerated. Her habitual decentralization, her centrifugal localisms, operate against her becoming a nationalistic entity with the institutions of public revenue, unitary public order, defence, legislation and diplomacy that are imperatively needed. Yet her deepest traditions, her most established ways of feeling and thinking, her essential democracy, cluster about the local units, the village and its neighbors. The superimposition of a national state, without corresponding transformation of local institutions (or better without an evolution of the spirit of local democracies into national scope) gives us just what we now have in China: A nominal republic governed by a military clique, maintained in part by foreign loans made in response to a bartering away of national property and power, and in part by bargainings with provincial leaders whose power rests upon their control of an army and the ability this control gives them to levy on industry and wealth. In

fact, we have a state which, if it were taken statically, if it were frozen, would reproduce the evils of the old despotism with new ones added, and which can be saved only because it has released popular forces that make for something better. But it remains to organize these popular forces, to give them play, to build for them regular channels of operation.

Up to the present western thought has confined itself to the more obvious, the more structural, factors of the problem. These are naturally the problems most familiar in occidental political life. They are such things as the adjustment of the power and authority of the central government to that of local and regional governments; the problem of the relations of the executive and legislative forces in the government; the revision of legal procedure and law to eliminate arbitrariness and personal discretion. But after all, such matters are symptoms, effects. To try to reorganize China by beginning with them is like solving an engineering problem by skilful juggling. The real problem is how the democratic spirit historically manifest in the absence of classes, the prevalence of social and civil equality, the control of individuals and groups by moral rather than physical force—that is, by instruction, advice and public opinion rather than definitive legal methods—can find an organized expression of itself. And the problem, I repeat, is unusually difficult because traditionally, in the habits of beliefs as well as of action, these forces out of which the transformation of China must grow are opposed to organization on a nation-wide scale. Take a conspicuous example. To maintain itself as a nation among other nations of the contemporary world, China needs a system of national finance, of national taxation and revenues. But the effort to institute such a system does not merely meet a void. It has to meet deeply entrenched local customs, so firmly established that to interfere with them may mean the overthrow of all central government. To put another system of taxation into force requires the operation of the very national organs which depend upon a national system of public revenues. This is a fair example of the vicious circles that circumscribe all short-cut systems of reform in China. It is another evidence that the development must be a transforming growth from within, rather than either an external

superimposition or a borrowing from foreign sources.

There are many, including a rather surprising number of Chinese as well as foreigners, who think that China can get set on her feet and become able to move for herself only by undergoing a period of foreign guardianship or trusteeship. The feeling is sedulously fostered by some persons in a neighboring island, and there is some undoubted response in China, though much less than there would be had the point of view not been unduly identified with the point of a bayonet. There are others who look to some western democracy or to the League of Nations to exercise the needed guardianship. We may waive the question whether at the present time there exists in the world a sufficient amount of disinterested intelligence to perform such a job of trusteeship. We stay on safe ground if we confine ourselves to saying that to be successful such a guardian would have to confine his efforts to stimulating, encouraging and expediting the democratic forces acting from within. And since such a task is almost entirely intellectual and moral, the guardianship is not necessary provided that China can be guaranteed time of growth protected from external attempts at disintegration. All that is necessary is a sufficient international decency and sufficient enlightened selfishness to give China the *ad interim* protection. She may have to sink deeper yet into the slough of confusion before she can get upon firm ground and move about freely. There is only harm in underestimating the seriousness of the task.

The evolution of Japan, as I have already said, offers no fair precedent. The problem is even more perplexing than that of the change of feudal into modern Europe. For medieval Europe was not civilized in the sense in which old China is civilized. There was not the inertia and weight of institutions wrapped up in the deepest feelings and most profound thoughts of the people that is found in China. Moreover, the European transition could take its own time to work itself out. That of China has to be accomplished in the face of the impatient, mobile western world, which, if it brings aid, also brings a voracious appetite. To the outward eye roaming in search of the romantic and picturesque, China is likely to prove a disappointment. To the eye of the mind it presents the most enthralling drama now anywhere enacting.





## SCULPTURED ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA



Pabbhara's Photo Service

A little below the Fort of Agra, on the bank of the Jumna, rises the dream of a great dreamer—the Taj Mahal. Three centuries ago Shah Jahan built it to the memory of Arjmand, the beloved wife of his youth, who died the year after he succeeded the throne of the Moguls. All the wealth of India and Persia was gathered together for the building of this perfect monument, and from the widest ends of empire came the master craftsmen of every delicate art to aid in its perfecting. A contemporary Persian MS. in the Imperial Library at Calcutta tells how Kandahar contributed a master mason at a salary of 1000 rupees a month, how an expert in dome construction and two specialists in making the pinnacles surrounding domes were summoned, together with a master carpenter from Delhi, and how four famous calligraphists for drawing out the inland marble inscriptions came from Shiraz, Bagdad and Syria. Besides these were two flower cutters from Bokhara, stone and marble cutters from Bengal, a Hindu expert in gardens, and the chief architect, "the best designer of his time." Twenty thousand artisans, we are told, worked for twenty years to clothe Shah Jahan's dream in its vestments of marble and many colored precious stones. Today the Taj stands, humanly lovely, delicately ethereal, a fitting abode for dreams, if spirits dream; for rest, if they walk no more with unquiet feet. Behind a screen of lace-like marble tracery repose in eternal silence the great tombs of Shah Jahan and of Arjmand.



Palace entrance

Some one has said that the beautiful courts and palaces of Jahangir and Shah Jahan always carry a "suggestion of fountain spray and singing birds." Particularly is this true of those apartments where once the silken rustle and musical laughter of the ladies of the court gladdened the long days of eternal spring. Like the Taj Mahal, Shah Jahan's Palace within the Fort at Delhi everywhere betrays the grace and refinement of an age when the culture, if not effeminate, was at least tending toward disintegration. Yet the impact of Islam upon the master builders of Asia, as E. B. Havell has pointed out, produced in the first half of the 17th century a lyric architecture unsurpassed in beauty throughout the world. Walls of pure white marble, of yellow, brown or violet marbles from the quarries of Rajasthan, sometimes carved in low relief, sometimes inlaid with exquisite floral designs in precious stones—carnelians, agates, turquoises, lapis lazuli, malachite, deep red corundums, dull yellow jasper, coral, conch shells and cloud stones—give the effect of a light, bright somnolent scarf. Gates and screens of open-work marble standing at the ends of long corridors prove that the builders were sculptors as well as artisans. Formerly the ceilings in many of the rooms were of silver. Through the middle of the Ladies' Apartments ran a channel for sluicing water to cool the chambers during the days of excessive heat. The extravagance and luxury of the Mogul Court was without bounds.



Peltzner Photo Bureau

After Shah Jahan's death, his son Aurangzeb succeeded to the Mogul throne. Unlike his father, who recognized no sect or caste in the realms of beauty and who had freely made use of all the master craftsmen of India for the building of his marble cities, Aurangzeb turned out a bigoted Mohammedan zealot, who would not let any save the true sons of the Faith take part in the erection of the various mosques to which he gave his attention. The result was that the artist craftsmen of India were drawn into the services of the native princes of the north, where the splendid tradition of Indian architecture took new root, and the Mogul architecture, which had sprung into existence with the fine, virile forts and palaces of Akbar in the 16th century, dwindled into insignificance. The ruin of one of Aurangzeb's mosques is left to mark the scene of some of the fiercest fighting at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, where the British garrison and community were besieged by mutinous native troops in 1857.



*Published Photo Series*

*The Ratra Das Jain Temple in Calcutta suggests an Oriental building on the midway of some exposition grounds, with its ornate and hybrid architecture far removed from the austerity of Buddhist influence or the elegance of the mighty Moguls. Jaina architecture of the best type, set off by rugged and lonely environments usually chosen as sites for the temples, instead of modern factory chimneys, is a distinctive contribution from India. It is based on Buddhist models, but the normal temple is square, lit only from the door, and rooled with a Sikra or pyramided storied tower in receding angles. A columned hall or pariksa is also a feature. The Jains claim half a million adherents in British India. They represent a sect akin to the Buddhists, but have introduced the worship of saints or quasi-divine teachers, twenty-four in number for different eras, for the Buddhist deities. The founder of the order was Mahavira, a contemporary of Gautama's, who died in 322 B. C. Among the principal Jain teachings are man's dual personality, the souls of things, including those of animals, plants, minerals, and air, fire and wind, and the denial of a supreme deity. The first principle of ethics involved is non-hurting, and at one time, by a curious syllogistic reasoning based on the negation of a negation, capital punishment was meted out to transgressors guilty of killing. Broad hospitals always exist in Jain communities, supported by the members.*



Buddhism traveled to Burma with missionaries sent out from Ceylon in 307 B. C., but its real acceptance as the religion of the further East dates from about A. D. 450. Today Burma is the land of shining pagodas. Everywhere they point at the blue sky their attenuated spires capped with iron rings, from which hang innumerable small jeweled bells that tinkle softly in the passing breezes. The ancient Buddhist stupa or stupas, with its bell-shaped dome, enshrining sacred relics of the Buddhist saints, was transplanted to Burmese soil, where it became the popular shrine of the people. In Mandalay, city of pagodas and temples, is the Arakan Pagoda, as sacred to the Upper Burmese as Shwe Dagon in Rangoon is to Lower Burma, on account of the great sitting image of Gautama, made from brass, which is here preserved. It was brought from Akyab in 1785, and the story runs that the parts could not be fitted together for some inexplicable reason, until suddenly Buddha himself appeared. The silence was so great that no one was able to discern which was the Buddha and which the image, so long as the Master remained on the scene. Candles and smoldering incense sticks have darkened the inner shrine, so that today the likeness does not strike the incredulous visitor. The gilded Andaw Yuh Pagoda near the Queen's Golden Monastery, and the 750 Pagodas at Mandalay Hill, where the holy books of Buddhism are engraved on great stones, are also holy ground in Mandalay.



*Publishers' Photo Service*

*At the foot of the terrace upon which stands the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda of Rangoon are two enormous Isigpyas, constructed from brick overlaid with plaster. Once upon a time a certain Indian princess became the wife of a lion, according to the popular tradition. Subsequently the lion was slain by his own son, whereupon the prince fell dangerously ill, and was cured only when he had dedicated the figure of a lion to a pagoda. In reality the lions go back to a pre-Buddhist cult in which they figured as inviolable guardians. From the Isigpyas a stairway, broken and worn by the feet of countless pilgrims, ascends to the platform of the gigantic pagoda. Stalls where one may buy gold-traj with which to plaster the image of Buddha, flowers for offerings, marionettes, gongs and bells, fortune tellers and beggars, crowd every inch of space, for the chant of pilgrims is never silent, day or night. With the ever-recurring yellow robes of the mendicant priests and the gay garments of the Burmese, the Shwe Dagon offers one of the most picturesque pilgrimages in the world.*



February 1900

The most venerable and universally visited of all Burmese pagodas is the Shwedagon, said to have been erected in 588 B. C., although the present structure dates from A. D. 1364. Eight hairs of Gautama are the inestimable wealth of this sacred shrine. The work of gilding the pagoda is entirely voluntary labor, and gifts of money and jewels support the necessary restorations. Hundreds of Gautamas, sitting, standing, reclining, in white and black, in alabaster, bronze, clay and wood, are enshrined in small side temples and niches about the main terrace, each with its altar for votive offerings. Much of the trunk carving on the temple buildings and the elaborate inlay glass work, of which the Burmese are particularly fond, may be found among these wing temples of the Shwedagon. The famous great bell, the third largest in the world, is also to be found here. The English once attempted to carry it away, but it was so massive and unmanageable that it was accidentally sunk in the river, where it remained for some length of time. The Burmese finally asked permission to raise it, and succeeded in restoring it to its place in the temple.



*Pallabani's Photo Service*

Among the most beautiful of Shah Jahan's sculptured monuments is the Pearl Mosque at Agra. The entrance gateway of red sandstone contrasts effectively with the interior of white and blue-tinted marble. An inscription in letters of black marble states that this mosque may be likened to a precious pearl, for no other mosque is similarly lined with marble. The Indian influence upon Mohammedan architecture of this period is evidenced in the lotus petal cap decorating the domes and in the purely Hindu faience, legitimate Mohammedan mosques bearing instead the simple spire with the star and crescent. The foliated arches come from a Buddhist source, symbolizing the lotus-leaf shaped aura around the body of Gautama. The pointed upper foliation is derived from the shape of the leaf of the bodhi or pipal tree, under which Gautama attained to enlightenment and Buddhahood, and is commonly used in Buddhist imagery to indicate the nimbus around the head. The master builders of Mughal days were chiefly Indians from Bengal, and since they were artists and artisans rather than mechanical workmen, much of the inspiration of the beautiful architecture of this period must be accredited to them.



# THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION IN CHINA

By ROGER S. GREENE

**T**HE purpose of the Rockefeller Foundation, as stated in its charter, is "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." Two questions naturally come first to the minds of men charged with the execution of such a trust: Where is the need greatest? and then, Where can the available funds be used to produce the most far-reaching results in terms of human well-being?

Shortly after the Foundation received its charter from the State of New York in 1913, a number of gentlemen familiar with conditions in the Far East, as seen from the varying points of view of the business man, the missionary, the educator and the government official, were invited to meet the officers of the Foundation, in order to consider whether this new agency might be able to carry out a useful work in China, and to advise as to the kind of activity, if any, it might most advantageously undertake. As a result of this discussion, the trustees came to the conclusion that there was great opportunity for usefulness in China and that aid in the development of modern medicine would probably be the most effective service they could render there.

Before actually undertaking work in China the trustees decided that they should have more information as to the condition of public health and the medical profession in that country, and a more detailed plan of the operations which the Rockefeller Foundation might appropriately conduct, if participation in the medical work should seem desirable. Accordingly a commission consisting of President Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago, Dr. Francis W. Peabody of the Harvard Medical School, and Mr. R. S. Greene, then in the United States Consular Service, was asked to visit China and study these questions on the ground. Starting at Peking in April, 1914, the commission traveled through nearly all the more easily accessible parts of China, visiting most of the medical schools that had been established by the Chinese Government or other agencies and a great number of hospitals as well. Upon its return to the United States in the fall of the same year, the commission published a report, recommending the development of scientific medicine in China. At the same time a plan of operations was outlined.

The commission had found a great deal of very creditable medical work going on in China. The most widespread, and on the whole the most effective, was that being done by the various missionary societies. Although one sometimes hears Chinese

say that foreign doctors are good at surgery, but do not understand the inner workings of the Chinese body as well as the old-style Chinese physician, in general the superiority of Western medicine as well as surgery is recognized by a far larger number of the people than could be adequately cared for by any number of doctors we can expect to see in China for years to come. As a result of the need for assistants in mission hospitals, there early began to be some medical teaching in certain centers, first in an informal way, with only a handful of students at a time, and later in organized schools. Most of this teaching was very defective as far as the fundamental sciences were concerned, but in some cases there was more thorough clinical teaching, with closer and more constant contact between teacher and student, than in many institutions in the United States, with the result that a few extremely useful practitioners were turned out. The majority of the graduates, lacking a thorough scientific preparation, and unable on account of their ignorance of foreign languages to keep themselves abreast of the constant advance of their profession, had a very limited sphere of usefulness, and in most cases deteriorated rapidly after losing contact with their teachers. A number of government schools had also been started by the national and provincial authorities, but they were little superior to the mission schools in physical equipment for the fundamental sciences, and with the exception of a few foreign instructors in two or three schools, they were inferior in the quality of their teaching staff, in the preparation of their students and more particularly in the hospital facilities that are so essential a part of a medical school.

We commonly think of the Chinese people as having inherited a high degree of immunity from disease, and remarkable powers of resistance, but an estimate that is the result of inquiry among doctors of long experience in China places the death rate as high as 40 per thousand, as compared with 14 in the United States. Lack of health statistics makes it impossible to compare accurately the prevalence of particular diseases in China and in other countries, but it is a matter of common knowledge that infant mortality is extremely high, that smallpox is so common that the anti-vaccinationist who has practised his theories with impunity at home usually falls a victim to it if he remains long in China, that tuberculosis is very common and is perhaps on the increase, while



BEAUTIFUL OLD CHINA MAKES WAY FOR  
A MODERN PROGRESSIVE CHINA

The Palace of an Imperial Prince Was Torn Down  
to Make Room for the Peking Union Medical College,  
Instituted by the Rockefeller Foundation



YU WANG FU PROPERTY, NOW PART OF THE COLLEGE GROUNDS

The Location of the New Medical College is in the Southeastern Part of  
Peking, in the Vicinity of the Legation Quarter

Western countries are beginning to make some headway against it, and that the number of harmful animal parasites found in human beings is incomparably larger than with us. Plague is a permanent resident in some regions, and cholera a frequent visitor. Besides all these and other troubles, from which China has long suffered, the situation is aggravated by the sudden introduction of the machinery of modern civilization, without the safeguards which experience and governmental control have provided in the West. Railroads, motor cars, modern factories, in those places where they have already been introduced, produce a regular supply of patients for the hospitals. Crowded boarding schools are taking the place of the little village day schools, and private tutors who conducted the education of the favored few in the old days, and large workshops are taking the place of widely distributed home industries, bringing in new dangers against which the inherited experience of the country is unable to provide adequate safeguards. More frequent intercourse with foreign countries increases the risk of infection from without, and the greater rapidity of internal communications causes such epidemics as the pneumonic plague outbreaks of 1910 and 1918 to spread in a way that would have been very improbable in earlier days.

The government has as yet no active organization to safeguard the public health. In a few of the more important cities which have modern police

forces these assume a certain responsibility for sanitary measures, but they lack trained personnel for such work. While interest in this subject is growing rapidly in official circles, there is comparatively little understanding of the importance of the problem, or of the measures needed to deal with it. To care for the sick in China and to protect the well against the attacks of disease there are in the country perhaps 2000 physicians with some kind of training in Western medicine, of whom less than 1000 are foreigners or Chinese trained abroad. The remainder are graduates of the very inadequate schools which have existed in China up to the present time. If we accept the population of China as 400,000,000, this means one doctor for every

200,000 people, as compared with one for less than 600 in the United States. Even if we accept one in 2000 as a reasonable allowance, if all are adequately trained, China is short at least 99 per cent. of the doctors she should have. In these circumstances the doctors now at work are unable to give proper attention to all who wish their services, and many large communities are entirely without modern medical assistance.

The report of the commission having been accepted by the Rockefeller Foundation, it was decided to adopt its recommendations as a basis for operations, and a special department, known as the

Hunan Province, by the Yale Mission in co-operation with the provincial government and gentry. It is expected that the medical schools supported by the China Medical Board will turn out comparatively small classes for some years to come, whence it is felt that it is much more important to produce a few highly trained men, who will themselves, after a suitable period of apprenticeship, be able to take the lead in future medical development in China, than to graduate large numbers of mediocre men who would be dependent on foreign leadership all their lives, and might conceivably prove to be a stumbling block in the way of progress.



AS THE PEKING UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE WILL LOOK WHEN COMPLETED IN 1920

The Type of Chinese Architecture Which Prevails in the Palaces and Temples of Peking Has Been Followed as Closely as Possible Without Sacrificing the Purposes for Which the Buildings Are Primarily Designed

China Medical Board, was organized to have charge of the work. The main lines of activity decided upon were first in the development of medical education, and secondly in the improvement of existing hospitals in various parts of the country.

The first need was for well-trained men to serve as investigators, teachers, practitioners and public health workers, and therefore it was determined to undertake first the improvement of medical education in China. With this in view the property of the Peking Union Medical College, a school previously supported by six missionary societies, was reorganized under a board of trustees representing both the China Medical Board and the missions. It is intended to make this a really good institution not inferior to those of the best schools in the West. The plan contemplates the establishment of a similar medical school at Shanghai, and aid has already been given for the development of an independent school established at Changsha, the capital of

In formulating detailed plans for its educational work, the China Medical Board has had the advantage of the constant advice of such experts as Dr. William H. Welch of Johns Hopkins University and Dr. Simon Flexner of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, both of whom accompanied the General Director, Dr. Wallace Buttrick, on a trip through China in 1915, in order to study the medical situation at first hand. Their continued participation, for both are members of the China Medical Board and of the board of trustees of the Peking school, is one of the principal assets of the whole enterprise.

Considerable progress has already been made with the plans for the development of the school at Peking. The most important element, of course, is the personnel. The trustees were fortunate in securing as director of the reorganized school Dr. Franklin C. McLean, a graduate of Rush Medical College, who holds also the degree of doctor of

philosophy in physiology from the University of Chicago. Dr. McLean was for a time professor of pharmacology at the University of Oregon and later served on the staff of the Rockefeller Institute Hospital in the department of internal medicine. He has published some important contributions to medical science, and his standing among his fellow-physicians is shown by the fact that when he entered the army after the outbreak of the war he was assigned to assist Colonel W. T. Longcope in organizing the medical, as distinguished from the surgical, services in the army hospitals. He was finally sent to France as senior consultant in general medicine for the American Expeditionary Force, with the rank of major.

In general it may be said that the staff has been made up from three groups of men. In the first place a number of appointments have been made from among the most promising younger men in the United States, who have had some years of teaching experience in such institutions as the University of Chicago, Columbia, Johns Hopkins and Western Reserve, and have become known for their productiveness in research. Then a number of those medical missionaries in China who were most interested in teaching and research were given fellowships for further study and practice in the United States. Some of them held positions of responsibility in one of the best teaching hospitals in this country during the emergency caused by the war, and made good so convincingly that they were naturally offered positions on the new faculty, in which their previous experience in dealing with Chinese conditions will make them especially valuable. Finally, several Chinese doctors, some who had received their undergraduate medical training in China and others who had graduated abroad, were sent to the United States to prepare themselves for more responsible work in the future. These men were selected with a good deal of care, on the basis of their efficiency in practical work in China, and the results have been most gratifying. Men of this class, beginning as associates or assistants, will be advanced as rapidly as their attainments and the opening of vacancies permit, but they must first clearly demonstrate not merely ability to pass examinations, but also special gifts in teaching, research and the practice of their profession. Chinese who are the equals of foreigners in these respects, and in administrative capacity as well, will, of course, be much more useful in their own country than foreigners of similar attainments.

The construction of new buildings for the laboratories and hospital of the school was begun in the autumn of 1917, the cornerstone of the anatomy building being then laid by the Chinese Minister of Education, who thus indicated in a formal way the

interest and sympathetic support which the Chinese Government has shown in many practical ways since the institution was founded. The new plant is in the southeastern part of Peking near the Legation quarter, on property which formerly belonged to an imperial prince. In design the type of Chinese architecture which prevails in the palaces and temples of Peking has been followed as closely as possible, without sacrificing the purposes for which the buildings are to be used. Four buildings are devoted respectively to anatomy, chemistry, physiology and pharmacology, and pathology, to which, with their sub-departments, the first two years of the four-year course will be devoted. The remainder of the plant is given up to the hospital, which offers accommodations for 225 patients. The hospital and laboratory buildings are all connected by corridors, the whole forming one compact unit, in which the physical proximity of all the departments to each other will make possible their close interrelation in teaching and research, in a way that is not equaled in any medical school in the United States. Frequent intercourse between members of different departments is also facilitated by the fact that all the faculty devote their full time to teaching and research in the school and hospital, without the distractions of private practice for personal profit, an advantage which is not enjoyed by any other first-class school under an American charter. The cost of buildings and equipment cannot be accurately stated now, as the war and the consequent fluctuations in silver exchange have upset all calculations, but it will run up into the millions. It is hoped that the whole plant will be finished about the end of 1920.

The preparation of students fitted to study in a high-class medical school has been a serious problem. Instruction must be given almost entirely in English at the outset, partly because it is not possible to find a sufficient number of competent teachers who are also proficient in Chinese, or who could remain proficient in their subjects during the years of study necessary to master the Chinese literary language. Even the best Chinese doctors prefer to teach and study in a foreign language, since no satisfactory medical terminology in Chinese has been adopted as yet. Furthermore, there is no medical literature in Chinese that is at all adequate, and the student must therefore have a good command of a foreign language in order not only to acquire a knowledge of medical science as it exists today, but also to keep up with advances in his profession. Students must therefore be well prepared in English. The admission requirements are intended to correspond to the American equivalent of two years of college work in the sciences, after graduation from a high school, but since the work in the Chinese middle schools is not quite up to the



THE ELEMENTARY PHYSICS LABORATORY IN THE PRE-MEDICAL SCHOOL ATTACHED TO THE COLLEGE

The Preparation of Chinese Students for Serious Study in an Institution Like the Medical College Is No Easy Task. The Instruction Must be Given Almost Entirely in English, Since Chinese Text-Books, Teachers and Satisfactory Medical Terminology Are Lacking

standard of our high schools, a third year has been added. As there are no schools in and around Peking which now give satisfactory college courses in all three of the required sciences, physics, chemistry and biology, a special department known as the pre-medical school has been opened to prepare students for the medical school itself, with Dr. W. W. Stifler, formerly instructor in physics at Columbia University, as dean. During the summer this department turned out the first class to enter the medical school proper opening this autumn.

The establishment of these high standards for admission to the medical course, with the example supplied by the pre-medical school of the kind of work required in preparation for modern scientific studies, is apparently having a stimulating effect on the high schools and colleges of North China, and we may look forward to a real improvement in some of these institutions as an important by-product of the activities of the China Medical Board. Grants have been promised to two colleges, \$80,000 to St. John's University in Shanghai and \$163,500 to the Fukien Christian College at Foochow, to enable them to improve their scientific department, from which a certain number of students will probably go in the future to medical schools supported or aided by the China Medical Board. In regard to the effect of the Board's medical schools on medical education by the Chinese Government, the presence of well-equipped foreign

schools will doubtless help the directors of government schools to convince the authorities of the need of larger funds for their institutions.

The important part that women can and do play in medical work has not been overlooked. While it has not seemed advisable to incur the expense involved in promoting separate schools for women, it has been decided to open both the pre-medical school and the medical school proper to women on the same terms as men. This may be regarded as a somewhat radical innovation, but after actual experience with certain classes attended by both men and women during the past few years, the conclusion has been reached that no special difficulty need be anticipated in carrying out this policy, especially since the educational requirements will be so severe that only the more serious students will be able to remain in the school. While it is true that the Chinese people are in some respects very conservative, present conditions in China having caused such a complete break with old school traditions that the taking of the additional step involved in co-education in a high-grade professional school does not seem so revolutionary to many Chinese as it does to some of us.

An opportunity for even more important service is opened to women in the nursing profession. In the past the nursing in men's wards has been done in China almost exclusively by men, and while they have proved much more satisfactory than male

nurses in other countries, they are not equal to women in this work. There has not been sufficient attention given in the past to the training of either male or female nurses, and much more emphasis must be placed upon it if the supply of nurses is to develop in the proper ratio to the supply of doctors. In the new teaching hospital at Peking there will be maintained a training school for women nurses and the nursing will be done almost exclusively by them, with perhaps somewhat more assistance from orderlies than is common in the United States. Miss Anna D. Wolf, lately Assistant Superintendent of Nurses in the Johns Hopkins Hospital, will be the superintendent of the training school. She will be assisted

in the teaching and supervision by several American and British graduate nurses, and by a few Chinese women who have been trained abroad, some of them having studied under scholarships offered by the China Medical Board.

A fine site consisting of twenty acres in the French Concession, close to the Chinese City, has been purchased for the Shanghai Medical School, the second institution contemplated in the plan of the China Medical Board. In view of the other demands upon the men and the funds available during the war, however, further development of this project has been postponed. In the meantime the China Medical Board has contributed the support of one doctor in the medical department of St. John's University. The development of the Hunan-Yale College at Changsha, towards which the Board has appropriated \$98,200 for operating expenses and \$37,765 for a pre-medical science building, has been hampered, first by the war in Europe which interfered with the securing of an adequate staff, and later by the civil war in China, which was at its worst in Hunan Province, and undermined the provincial finances upon which the school depends for a large part of its budget. A fine hospital has, however, been built through the generosity of a Yale graduate, probably the finest hospital building hitherto constructed in Eastern Asia next to the Philippine General Hospital in Manila, and the first class of students is now halfway through the medical course. The school is also teaching in English and maintains a high standard.



THE ANATOMY BUILDING IS NOW ALMOST COMPLETED  
The First Two Years of the Four-Year Course Are to Be Devoted to Laboratory Work. All the Laboratories Are Connected with the Hospital, and Close Interrelation of Work Is One of the Aims

Inasmuch as the new schools teaching in English will not be turning out any considerable number of doctors for years to come, there has been a very strong feeling that something should be done to meet the immediate emergency in mission and other hospitals which are doing what they can to help the sick at the present time in China. The missionary societies have been trying to meet this need, but as their resources were divided among many different institutions they labored under great difficulties through shortage of staff, buildings, equipment and current funds. There has for some time been a movement among the leaders in medical missions in China to concentrate their educational efforts at one institution, and considerable progress has lately been made in this direction. Two schools, those at Hankow and Nanking, have been closed and part of the resources used there have been diverted to the Shantung Christian University Medical School at Tainan, to which also goes some of the support formerly given to the Union Medical College at Peking when it was under exclusively mission control. The China Medical Board, while having no share in the control of this school, maintains friendly relations with it, and has given it \$100,000 for maintenance expenses during the difficult period of reorganization and \$50,000 for new buildings and equipment. This school conducts its teaching in Chinese, but the students are required to study English side by side with their other work. A well-organized faculty is being built up at this institution, and far better

instruction in the fundamental medical sciences is being offered than was ever given by any of the separate schools which it succeeds. A presidential order issued in 1913, permitting human dissections and autopsies, has done a great deal to invigorate and place on a sounder scientific basis the work of this and all other medical schools in China.

Besides its fundamental work in the promotion of medical education, the China Medical Board is endeavoring to assist in the improvement of hospitals and nurses' training schools not connected with medical schools. This is an important branch of its activity from more than one point of view. In the first place it brings the satisfaction of assisting to some degree in alleviating the present suffering among the Chinese people, as well as encouraging those self-sacrificing men and women who have already done so much to win recognition for Western medicine. By providing additional doctors and nurses, improvements in buildings and equipment, and badly needed funds for current expenses, much can be done to conserve the strength and promote the efficiency of the original workers. But more important even than this, the improvement of outlying hospitals provides opportunity for employment under proper conditions with helpful supervision for the doctors who are to be turned out from the schools, thus carrying on the process of education and safeguarding the output. The Chinese people will eventually provide their own hospitals, as they are beginning to do already in some places, but the cost of maintenance of any kind of modern hospital is so much greater than would seem reasonable to the ordinary layman, that improved mission hospitals will be useful for a long time to come as a demonstration of the minimum requirements of an efficient institution. Up to the end of 1918, the China Medical Board has made appropriations to thirty-one institutions, totaling \$676,889.70, payments to spread over nine years.

The grants have been made first to hospitals in strategic centers near the medical schools, where the doctors in charge were found to be particularly enterprising and where the mission or the community were giving or might be induced to give the

necessary financial backing to make the cooperation of the China Medical Board effective. In spite of the delays due to war conditions, very great improvements have already been made in many hospitals. This is particularly noticeable in and around Peking, where several institutions have been almost transformed. New buildings have been built and equipped, additional staff and more systematic nursing has been provided and higher standards have been introduced in the treatment of patients. Apart from grants to the hospitals themselves, fellowships and other aids have been granted to fifty-five medical missionaries on furlough, and forty-five scholarships have been given to Chinese doctors, medical students, nurses and pharmacists. In the future it will be possible to provide constantly larger opportunities for post-graduate study at the institutions maintained by the China Medical Board in China.

In view of the importance of developing in the future a medical literature in Chinese, the Board has at various times made contributions, aggregating \$12,400, toward the work of translating medical and nursing text-books. This work has been carried on by the China Medical Missionary Association and the Nurses' Association of China. The former organization has been engaged in co-operation with strictly Chinese medical societies and representatives of the Chinese Government in work-



AN INDICATION OF CHINA'S CRYING NEED FOR HOSPITALS  
A Patient Successfully Operated at the Changsha Yale Medical Mission  
Returned to His Home a Hundred Miles Away and Brought Back Five  
More Eye Patients



ROGER S. GREENE, RESIDENT DIRECTOR OF  
THE CHINA MEDICAL BOARD

Mr. Greene Has Had a Long and Extremely  
Varied Experience as American Consul



WALLACE BUTTRICK, PRESIDENT OF THE  
GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD

Dr. Buttrick Was General Director of the China  
Medical Board During Its Formative Years

ing out a uniform terminology for the medical sciences.

Up to the present the China Medical Board has not felt prepared to undertake any work in the field of public health. The control of such work must rest in the hands of the government if it is to be effective, and while private agencies can undoubtedly be helpful in many ways in investigating the causes and methods of transmission of diseases, and in assisting in the education of the people to a proper understanding of what they should do to protect themselves, the main task rests with the government. Meanwhile, in times of special emergency such as the recent plague epidemics, the national and local authorities have appealed to the foreign doctors for assistance and have given in some cases not only generous appreciation of the service rendered, but also, which is more important, the administrative support necessary to make the work effective. This was notably true in Shansi a year ago, when the Governor made Dr. C. W. Young, the dean of the Peking Union Medical College, adviser to the provincial plague prevention bureau, and with his help fought the epidemic very successfully. As time goes on more and more opportunities for such public service, in equally im-

portant but perhaps less striking ways, will undoubtedly offer themselves to the men whom the China Medical Board is sending out or training in China.

Beginning with the administration of Yuan Shih-kai, each succeeding government has shown itself most appreciative of the work of the Rockefeller Foundation, and has given substantial proofs of good will through the remission of certain taxes and the facilitating of the work in other ways. Particular acknowledgments are due to the Ministry of Education of the Chinese Republic, which has given official recognition to the graduates of the school at Peking, and has shown itself most accommodating in the settlement of matters of curriculum and other details which must receive Government approval if the privilege of official recognition is to be retained.

Since the plans of the Foundation provide for co-operation not merely between Chinese and Americans, but also with citizens of other countries, there is ground for hope that there may result, if the projects are wisely worked out, a substantial contribution to the great task of introducing a new era of good will in international affairs.



# A JAPANESE NOVEMBER

By LILIAN M. MILLER

## I.

*Lo, with a swift decaying pomp, November comes,  
Her scarlet tresses rippling along the trees  
And all her robes in tapestry of bronze  
And gold. Across far fields of rice she comes,  
Stopping to peer into the sunny courts  
Of sleek, thatched farmers' cottages, where bright  
Persimmons hang their burnished fruit aloft  
On wrinkled boughs, like orange elfin lanterns  
Strung in brocaded patterns with the rich  
Blue-green of pines. Even the slim bamboos,  
Soft-whispering to the winds, wave gold-tipped plumes;  
And myriad leaves drop from their summer nests  
To crumple down beside old temple walls  
Where, in a last imperial pageantry,  
Russet chrysanthemums flaunt to the end  
Their wine-tipped petals. Breathlessly, the world  
Waits for the golden bubble of autumn to fall,  
Burst by cold winter's ruthless, ice-ringed hand.*

## II.

*And lo, with a gaunt mysteriousness, November goes  
From hedge and maple grove to the high, lone hills:  
There, tiredly, to sink beneath the pines,  
Tall, grey-winged pines, ghosts hauntingly half veiled  
In blowing mist, that stand and watch alone  
Between dim, shadowy voids unfathomable.  
Gravely she lies, lulled by the murmuring rains  
That string the slender needles of the pines  
With crystal beads; and silently she sleeps  
Under the pale dream mountains, half revealed,  
Half melting into mist; while o'er her grave  
The long, faint bamboo grasses whisper low  
With swaying leaves in rustling requiem,  
As she glides forth to grey eternity.*





# NOTES ON LANDSCAPE IN THE ARTS OF THE EAST AND THE WEST

By HAMILTON BELL

THE art of landscape painting is popularly supposed to be of no great antiquity; nor is it, in Europe.

Titian (1450-1576) was perhaps the first great artist to paint landscape for its own sake, though it is possible that Dürer (1471-1528) and Patinir (b. 1485) may have slightly antedated him. Rubens, too, painted important landscapes, but Claude Gellé, called Lorrain (1600-1682) was the real father of European landscape painting. Inspired by his work, the great French, Dutch and English painters devoted themselves with growing ardor to this fascinating art.

In literature, although we find delightful "landscape backgrounds," so to speak, in the works of many of the great poets in all languages, Wordsworth (1770-1850) is justly regarded as the founder of the school which Shelley (1792-1822) carried to its highest point of achievement. The latter was perhaps more directly inspired by the work of Southey, which in this field was more imaginative and romantic, more "Turneresque," than the elder poet's, whose *Descriptive Sketches*, with all respect be it said, are a trifle *terre-à-terre*. It is inevitable that in a rapid sketch like this many a notable achievement should be passed over, but in general these are the facts, which are too familiar to need labouring.

In the Far East, both in poetry and painting, the presentation of landscape alone and for itself is of much greater antiquity. It may be perhaps a manifestation of an innate tendency of the oriental mind to take refuge from time to time in solitary communion with nature.

Moreover, to the western mind, man has been always the centre of the universe round whom the rest revolves, and this absorption in self is reflected in all the religions and arts of the Occident. In the Farther East the opposite ideal prevails, and the fundamental conception is that all creation is one and everything which exists is fellow creature to every other.

Even St. Francis of Assisi, who realized this, perhaps better than any other Christian, would hardly have refused, as did Yudhishtira, the sole survivor of the heroic Pandava brethren, to enter paradise without his faithful hound, crying "Oh mighty Indra! I will not forsake this dog of mine even for my own salvation."—*Mahābhārata*. This disposition is reflected in the earliest literature in which Eastern religion and philosophy, that of

Brahmanism, Buddhism and Taoism at any rate, are enshrined for us.

The Vedic hymns to Nature Gods, which are regarded as dating from between 2000 and 1400 B.C., particularly those to Ushas, the Dawn, betray the sensitiveness of their authors to the beauties of the world about them. The gods were believed to love the high forests on the mountain slopes, and there doubtless they were worshipped, even as to-day; every traveler must be struck by the secluded beauty of the ancient groves wherein, in the Far East, the most famous temples are reared. We may gather from a story in the *Upanishads* how Satyakama, the cowherd, learned from his solitary communing with the wilds some lessons of the unity of man with nature. His Guru, struck by the luminous gaze of the lad, questioned him, "You shine like one who knows God; who then has taught you?" and was answered, with a radiant smile, "Not man."

Even in these early days the seeker after knowledge withdrew into the forest or sought refuge in the mountain fastnesses and in Brahmanic times we are told that contemplation was practised "in a place apart, pure, delightful by its sounds, its waters and its bowers, full of shelters and caves." By this means man might himself be absorbed in the world of nature and so in the Divine.

Sakyamuni, the Buddha, trained in the Brahmanic school, adopted this discipline of meditation in the presence of nature into the practice of the religion he founded. All the important recorded events of his life are associated with the works of Nature. He received the Truth Eternal under the Bodhi tree and under it he entered Nirvana; his favorite retreats were the Deer Forest, the Bamboo Grove, the Vulture Peak, and he and his immediate followers accepted nothing from convert rajahs of greater value than a grove or a garden plot wherein to set up their rustic shelters of leaves. To them "the body itself was but a hut in the wilderness, a flimsy shelter made by tying together the grasses that grew around. When they fell apart, they were again resolved into the original waste." Their aim was to become at heart a wild creature "filled with the forest sense of things," as one of them sang, and united with nature. This union, the Buddha taught, both by precept and practice, was to be obtained by meditation in solitude.

Seated one day among his disciples on the Holy



MA YUAN, SUNG DYNASTY, FROM  
THE COLLECTION OF THE MAR-  
QUIS INOUE IN TOKYO

Vulture Peak he held up a lotus bud in silence. Kashyapa, one of the two best beloved, alone of them all showed by a smile that he comprehended the mystic message conveyed.

In reward he received the blossom and with it the mission to transmit the meaning. On the departure of the Master from this world he became the first Buddhist Patriarch and is revered by the followers of Zen<sup>1</sup> as the founder of that sect, although he can hardly be said to have formulated its tenets; still this hymn, ascribed to him, contains all the love for and sympathetic insight into nature that inspires his followers:

*Those upland glades, delightful to the soul  
Where the Kaseri spreads its withering wreaths,  
Where sound the trumpet-calls of elephants,  
Thus are the highlands of my heart's desire.*

*Those rocky heights with hue of dark-blue clouds,  
Where lies enshrouded many a shining tarn  
Of crystal clear, cool water, and whose slopes  
The "herds of India" cover and bedeck;  
Thus are the highlands of my heart's desire.*

*Towering like battlements of azure cloud  
Like pinnacles on lofty castle built  
Re-echoing to the cries of jungle folk,  
Thus are the highlands of my heart's desire.*

*Fair uplands, rain-refreshed and resonant  
With created creature's cries unghonal,  
Where venerable Rishis oft resort,  
Thus are the highlands of my heart's desire.*

*Here is enough for me who fain would dwell  
In meditation rapt and solitude,  
Here is enough for me who fain would seek  
Well-being undisturbed in calm retreat.*

*Here is enough for me who fain would dwell  
In happy ease a brother filled with zeal,  
Here is enough for me who give myself  
To studious toil, so am I filled with zeal.*

*Clad with the azure bloom of flax, blue-backed  
As sky in autumn; quick with crowds  
Of all their varied winged populace,  
Such are the highlands of my heart's desire.*

*Free from the crowds of citizens below,  
But thronged with flocks of many winged things  
The home of herding creatures of the wild,  
Such are the highlands of my heart's desire.*

*Craggs where clear waters lie, a rocky world,  
Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,  
Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver streams,  
Such are the highlands of my heart's desire.*

Some two hundred and sixty-four of these hymns, in Pali, survive until to-day. They are attributed to Buddhist Thera, i. e., Brethren, more or less contemporaneous with the Buddha himself, and have been translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids. These early brethren took fanciful names to denote their predilections. Sambhuta was known as Cool-woods, Sarabhanga as the Reed-picker, who built himself a reed hut like St. Francis of Assisi; others were Lone-dweller and Woodland-Vaccha. The Zen priests in China and Japan, a thousand to fifteen hundred years later, took just such names, Cloud-

<sup>1</sup>See *Nandini, Dhyanas*; in Pali, *Jhana*; in Chinese, *Ch'an*.

peak, Oak-shade, Lake-heart, Moon-valley, and their poems read like echoes of the earlier *Theras'* psalms.

The cave cell of Malinda or Mahendra, the brother, or, according to the Sinhalese legend, son of the Emperor Asoka, who carried Buddhism to Ceylon between 250 and 200 B.C., is still shown in the Mihintale eight miles east of Anuradhapura.

Buddhism is usually said to have been officially introduced into China in A.D. 57, but Shen Kua, of the 11th century A.D., quotes a number of historical passages supporting the view that it was known in that country at least two centuries before our era. The following is from a work written at the close of the 4th century: "These Buddhist books had been long circulated far and wide, but disappeared with the advent of the Ch'in Dynasty; that is to say, at the "Burning of the Books," in 220 B.C. In the year 216 B.C. during the reign of the First Emperor, a Buddhist priest, Shih-li-fang, and others arrived at the capital, bringing with them for the first time Sutras written in Sanskrit. A Buddhist work states that there were eighteen of these priests and recounts their imprisonment by the Emperor and their deliverance by a miracle. A later history says that in 121 B.C. "for the first time an image of Buddha was secured," taken by a victorious Chinese general from a Hun chieftain to whom it was an object of worship; a still later chronicle says that the reigning Emperor placed this among other images in his palace and burnt incense and offered prayer to it, though he did not sacrifice to it. Dr. Giles' is strongly of the opinion that these records have as much claim to recognition as the story of the vision of the Emperor Ming-ti in A. D. 57 and the resultant mission which brought the Buddhist religion to Han.

When Buddhism made its first appearance in China, it was fiercely opposed by the followers of Lao'tzu, who are known today as Taoists.

Lao'tzu was born in all probability in 604 B. C. There is a tradition narrated by Sau-ma-t'ien (died c. 87 B. C.) that Lao'tzu, as an old man, disheartened by the misgovernment of the Chou Empire, turned his back to the world, went out through the Western Passes and was never seen again, so that no man knows where or when he died. On this substructure Taoist vain-glory erected a fable to the effect that he went then to India and became the Buddha. It was doubtless to offset this legend that Chinese Buddhists falsified the date of Sakya-muni's birth more than five hundred years so as to give his teachings precedence in age; the modern view is that the Buddha died in 483 B.C. at the age of about eighty.

There seems to me little or nothing in the writings ascribed to Lao'tzu or those of his apostle

\*H. H. Giles, *Confucianism and Its Rivals*.



MA KUEI, SUNG DYNASTY, FROM  
THE COLLECTION OF THE MUSEUM  
OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

Chuangt'zu, who lived in the 4th century B. C., to justify the insistence of oriental writers on the influence of their works on the doctrines of Zen, but their statements are so positive as to enforce respect from one whose acquaintance with these scriptures is limited to translations.

On the other hand, Dr. Giles asserts that no Chinese scholar of repute believes in the genuineness of the *Tao-te-ching*, which is the title of the



PAINTING BY TUNG YUAN, AN ARTIST OF THE SUNG DYNASTY

only book ascribed to Lao'tzu, and that even Chuangtzu's work contains many spurious interpolations. The *Tao-te-ching* is mentioned for the first time by Ssu-ma-t'ien in recounting the legend of Lao'tzu's passage from the world of men, and according to the eminent English Sinologist it is practically certain that this book was pieced together from the traditional sayings of Lao'tzu towards the middle of the 2nd century B.C. by a not too skilful forger, and canonized as a sacred text. He furthermore states that the writings of the prince of Huai-nan, grandson of the founder of the Han Dynasty, who died in 122 B.C., contain "what we may begin to call the doctrines of Taoism, and that from this time we have no longer to deal with the original Tao of Lao'tzu."<sup>1</sup> About this time, or shortly thereafter, Taoism, which till then was a philosophy and not in any sense a religion, adopted its ritual from the Indian faith. It created a Trinity, wrote scriptures, erected temples and instituted a priestly hierarchy on Buddhist lines; the institution of the Taoist patriarchate is claimed for the 1st century A.D. Most important to us for the moment was its borrowing of the practice of contemplation from Buddhism. As early as A. D. 240, if not before, Taoist devotees began to live as the Buddhist Thera did in groves and mountain caves, where they practised in solitary meditation the quest for complete vacuity into which the truth might enter and abide.

It seems very difficult even for the learned to decide how much of Zen is Buddhist and how much Taoist, the two systems having apparently borrowed freely from one another in their long struggles for supremacy.

Okakura Kakuzo declares that "whatever sectarian pride may assert to the contrary one cannot

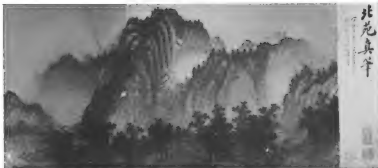
help being impressed by the similarity of Southern Zen to the teachings of Lao'tzu."<sup>2</sup> He gives A. D. 800 as the approximate date for the modification of Zen by Laoism, as he calls the earlier, purer form of Taoism. He says that Baso (d. 788) made Zen a living influence in China. Hiakujo (719-814), his pupil, founded the ritual of the sect and built the first Zen monastery. After Baso it was that Laoism began to modify Buddhism in Zen. The whole subject is maddeningly obscure to a student who is not at the same time a Sinologist. One of the most valuable contributions that could be made to our knowledge of the art of the Far East would be an authoritative exposition of the influence of Taoism and Zen on each other and on the work of the Sung painters.

When Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth successor of Kashyapa in the papal chair of Buddhism and the first Chinese patriarch, arrived in that country from India in A.D. 520, he taught positively that "you can not learn the truths, find the heart of Buddha in books. If you want enlightenment you must get it, as Sakyamuni did, by meditation."

The essence of this doctrine was unity with Nature. "Nature in its entirety, the infinitely great and the infinitely small is Buddha." Dogen, who first brought Southern Zen (founded by Zeno, sixth Chinese Patriarch, A.D. 637) to Japan in 1227, during the Sung Dynasty, expanded this teaching: "The scriptures were but waste paper; the universe was the scripture. Shaka the Buddha read the universal Sutra in the morning star as he sat under the Bodhi tree, Li Yun in the blossoming of a peach tree, Hsian Yen through the rustling of a bamboo grove and Su Shih in the murmur of falling water at twilight." Huen Sha, about to preach, was ar-

<sup>1</sup>Su. Sh. Giles; other authorities hold various, different opinions.

<sup>2</sup>Book of Tea, Duffield and Company, New York, 1912.



FROM THE COLLECTION IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

rested by the twittering of a swallow. "Listen!" said he to his disciples. "She preaches the essential doctrines and proclaims the eternal truth," and he returned in silence to his cell.

Here at last we have the doctrine of Zen clearly stated and can perceive its practical identity with that of the Buddhist Thera of seventeen hundred years before. We have now to consider its manifestation in the art of the Far East.

There are many reasons for believing that *San-Sui*, "Mountain and Water" painting, was practised in China as early as the era known as the Six Dynasties (A.D. 255-617) since the name was invented by Hsieh Ling-yun (c. 424). The poetry of this period is full of the intense adoration of nature. Hsieh ho (A. D. 479-502) laid down six canons of pictorial art, of which Fidelity to nature is the third, the first being "The Life-movement of the spirit through the Rhythm of things." By T'ang times (A.D. 618-906) landscape must have played as important a part in painting as it did in poetry. We cannot be absolutely certain that we possess any examples of T'ang *San-Sui* painting, but from the days of Sung (A.D. 900-1279) we have a price-less remainder of some of the loftiest and most inspired landscape that the world has ever seen.

The golden age of Zen, according to Nukariya, lasted from about 756 in T'ang to the period of Hsiao Tsung of Southern Sung (1168-89) and the tradition of the influence of the doctrine on Sung art has been cherished by Japanese authorities. There is no doubt that the Great Ashikaga painters of Japan, whose art in its external aspects was founded on that of Sung, were all ardent devotees of Southern Zen, with the spirit of which their work is impregnated; those few of them who were

not priests of the sect lived ascetic, almost cloistered lives, meditating and painting in solitude, and we may believe that their Sung exemplars were likewise so inspired. Certain it is that we find nowhere else in the art of the landscape painter such subtle interpretation of human emotion through the medium of the presentation of nature in her varying moods. The line of descent of Zen painting is stated by one Japanese authority to be

Chinese—Sung: Mu Chi (c. 1240), Lo-Tsung, Wu Chun, Jih K'an (c. 1260), Ning I-Shan, a Chinese priest, went to Kamakura and Kyoto about 1260.

Japanese—Ashikaga: Kao, a Chinese priest (c. 1317-50); Shubun, a Chinese priest (c. 1375-1400); Josetsu, a Chinese priest (c. 1375-1420); Sesshu (1420-1506), to name only the greatest lights and those whose influence on Japanese art can be most clearly traced.

This is hardly the place to discuss the technical side of this great art of Sung, nor need I give lists of the scores of painters, which may be found in any work on Far Eastern painting—that by Laurence Binyon, for example.

The three great masters in landscape of the Sung era are usually considered to be Kuo Hsi (c. 1040-80), Hsia Kuei (c. 1190-1220) and Ma Yuan (c. 1175-1225). Of this last we are, through the generosity of its owner, the late Mr. Charles L. Freer, enabled to reproduce portions of what is perhaps his greatest work, now extant; indeed an inscription on it, dated 1380, announces that it is. This is a magnificent roll (eight feet eight and a half inches long by twenty-five inches wide), painted on silk in Chinese ink, with here and there the faintest touch of green, yellow, red or blue.

<sup>1</sup>Nukariya, *Religion of the Samant*.

It is signed at the end, "In the second month of the third year of Chao Hsi (A. D. 1192) the public servant Ma Yüan painted this glorious view of river and mountain by Imperial order." It has other confirmatory inscriptions.

The contemplative unrolling of such paintings has been aptly compared to hearing fine music and with very little stretch of the imagination this one might be read as a grand symphony. Chinese paintings are as consciously composed as is the work of a great musician.

I have indicated how this art passed with the Zen teachings from China to Japan and how, under the Ashikaga Shoguns, together they came to dominate the civilization of the Island Empire. We have seen, too, how somewhat later but disconnectedly the artists of Europe seem to have begun to show a growing interest in landscape for its own sake. But it is not until quite the end of the eighteenth century that we find anything like the oriental sense of the interdependence of nature and humanity manifesting itself in the arts of the West, and then not in painting but in poetry. True, we may perceive traces of it in some of Turner's pictures; he was too sensitive an artist not to have felt some stirrings of a spirit of the age which moved so deeply many of its greatest souls. In Wordsworth and in Shelley, although it is so improbable that they should even have heard of their Far Eastern forerunners that we may dismiss the fancy from our minds, we find expressed the same sense of the oneness of all created things as inspired the Buddhist Thera of more than two thousand years before. It might be one of these and not the author of "Alastor" and the "Ode to the West Wind" who sang:

*"Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is;  
What if my leaves are falling like its own!*

.....

*Drive my dead thoughts over the universe  
Like withered leaves to quicken a new birth!"*

It has always seemed to me that it must be this informing spirit in Shelley, the consummate master of landscape poetry, that makes his poetry and the great Sung landscapes, such as Mr. Freer's, so suggestive one of the other. I can find in him a quotation for almost every Sung landscape I see. Do not those misty mountain ranges of Ma Yüan's like Shelley's "far Apennines" lie islanded in the immeasurable air? Prince Tokugawa in Tokyo has a wonderful painting by Ma Chi, the master

of soft wet ink. A bar of mist crosses the silk, through which may dimly be seen, as by moonlight, the far side of a lake among the hills. No moon is visible in the sky, but floating in the foreground is her image, irresistibly calling to mind,

*"The calm rivers, lakes and seas,  
Like strips of the sky fallen through me on high,  
Are each paved with the moon"*

It would be impertinent to quote extensively from so familiar a source, yet where else in art shall we find pictured that lonely vale in the Indian Caucasus wherein Asia and Panthea hold inspired discourse, noted only by echoes and the forest into which they pass?

*"The path through which that lovely twin  
Have passed, by cedar, pine and yew,  
And each dark tree that ever grew,  
Is curtained out from Heaven's blue;*

.....

*And the gloom divine is all around,  
And underneath is the mossy ground.*

.....

*There the voluptuous nightingales  
Are awake through all the broad noon-day."*

Can nature and humanity blend in one more perfectly than in the marvelous chorus of spirits which opens the Fourth Act of "Prometheus"? It is too long to quote, but such passages as

*"The pine boughs are singing  
Old songs with new gladness"*

and

*"Weave the dance on the floor of the breeze."*

will illustrate my meaning.

As the spirits drift away Ione asks:

*"Feel you no delight from the past sweetness?"*

Panthea cries, like Ushaba the Thera, only more exquisitely:

*"As the bare green hill,  
When some soft cloud vanishes into rain,  
Laughs with a thousand drops of sunny water  
To the unpavilioned sky!"*

Ushaba of Kosala, a contemporary of the Buddha, coming forth from his cave at the breaking up of the rains, once exclaimed:

*"The trees on high by towering cloud refreshed  
With the new rains break forth in verdant growth,  
To Ushaba, who for detachment longs  
And hath the forest sense of things, doth come  
From this responsive spring abundant growth."*





# BUDDHA AND THE WHALE

By HELEN WADDELL<sup>1</sup>

**T**HE Buddha at Kamakura is very great. He is so great that a man may sit upon his thumbs. But in the sea which is north of Japan there is a Whale who is also great. And for many years neither knew of the other, for both were of that greatness which compels to be solitary.

The Buddha indeed had no intimates, but the Whale had one, and that one was a Sprat. One afternoon as he scratched his friend's left eyelid and sought to make conversation he bethought him of the great countenance of shining bronze new reared at Kamakura, and told how himself had seen it far at sea, a countenance great and benevolent as the countenance of his master the Whale. In this the Sprat did foolishly, for hitherto the Whale had accounted himself the only magnitude, and enlightenment was grievous. For a space the sea which is north of Japan was made to boil like a pot, and the Sprat regretted his loquacity. In due course, however, the Whale composed himself and asked with assumed indifference:

"Who then is this Buddha?"

"Master," said the Sprat, "he is a great god."

"Hear, O Sprat," said the Whale, "there is none great but I."

"True, O Master," said the Sprat, "but I spake after the measure of a man, and not after the measure of a whale."

With an effort the Whale controlled himself, but there was a ground swell in his voice as he asked, "And after the measure of a man, is he great?"

"Master," said the Sprat, "I have heard that he is very great."

"Go, then," said the Whale with extreme bitterness, "since thou art wise and full of information, find me how great is this Buddha and bring me word again, and let not seaweed grow upon thee as thou goest." As he spoke he turned upon his flank, and the fishing boats in the harbour of Enoshima rocked with the displacement of the water. Meanwhile the Sprat hasted, reproaching himself with bitter reproaches as he went, for he was averse to exercise, and the command of his Master entailed very much exercise indeed.

Arrived at Kamakura, his difficulties broke upon him. For a while he trod water, eyeing the great Temple which the faithful had meantime reared around the Buddha. It is not far inland from the sea, but a little way is far for a Sprat. In his extremity he espied a crab, who sat upon the sand and sunned himself.

"Greeting, O Lord of Earth and Sea," said the Sprat.

"What aileth thee?" said the Crab rudely.

"Would," said the Sprat, "I were as thou, and that my legs could command the land even as they command the sea; for then it is not water I should be treading this day. Fleet thou art in the sea, but fleetier upon the land. Give thanks, and despise not the unfortunate."

"Nay, then, what seekest thou on land, my brother?" said the Crab compassionately.

"I seek the Buddha."

"And what wouldst thou with the Buddha?"

Said the Sprat forlornly, "I would measure him."

At this the Crab fell into a great laughter, and with difficulty the Sprat contained himself.

"Thou!" said the Crab, spluttering. "How many times wouldst thou compass the Buddha in thine own person? Why, were it even myself who went—"

"Would," said the Sprat earnestly, "that it were."

The Crab eyed him. It was impossible to help liking a little fellow of so much right feeling.

"Take comfort, brother," said the Crab, "we cannot all be great. Myself will go."

So it came about that the Temple priest was that night perplexed by the noise of small and stealthy goings somewhere in the dark. And that on the morrow, by the practice of restraint and diplomacy and virtue, the Sprat returned wise and full of information to his master the Whale. For a long time the Whale would affect to be unaware of him in the water, but this was an insult to which the Sprat was seasoned, and while he was yet coming he shouted:

"Master, I have caused him to be measured, and 'round about him it is five and seventy thousand paces."

The Whale turned a paler green. "Speakest thou of the paces of a man?" he asked faintly.

"Nay," said the Sprat, "I speak of the paces of a crab."

So great was the relief of the Whale that he laughed aloud. "And where, O Spratling, is thy crab," he asked, "that I may measure him? Hast thou concealed him upon thy person?"

Then the Sprat changed countenance, for he saw that his labour was vain. But the Whale was in high good humour.

"It is naught, Spratling, it is naught," he said, for when all is said there was no malice in him. "Keep thou the house, and I will e'en go myself." Therewith he departed, and there was a tidal wave

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted for the framework of this legend to Dr. W. E. Griffis, "The Fire-Fly's Lovers," Crowell: New York.

along all the coast, and the drowning of much people.

Outside Kamakura, however, he waited until nightfall, feeling the delicacy of his errand, and conscious that his size might make his person conspicuous on the roads. Consequently it was approaching midnight when he arrived within the shadow of the great doorway. Here for a moment he again sat down to consider what decorum demanded. Inside the Temple the candles burned low, and certain small sticks made a pleasing odour, which he inhaled. The sensation was agreeable, but he sneezed with violence, and in recovering himself struck the door of the Temple with one fin.

"Enter," said a voice resonant and mighty, chiming through the Temple like a gong. The Whale recoiled a pace, realizing that he had roused the Buddha himself.

"Enter," said the voice again. By this time the Whale had collected himself.

"I cannot," he said simply, "I am too big."

Then was the Buddha very much astonished. And in his astonishment he rose and came out, and so encountered the Whale. Then were they both very much astonished.

The Whale, being in a measure prepared, was the first to recover himself.

"In truth," he said, "thou art very great."

"There is no greatness," said the Buddha mechanically, "but the greatness of the mind."

"I speak," said the Whale with dignity, "of the greatness of the body."

"Nay then, brother," said the Buddha pleasantly, "methinks thou art greater than I."

"That," said the Whale firmly, "is what I am come to find out."

The Buddha seated himself and began to look abstracted.

"Consider, my brother," he began, "we are but two, and there is none to measure us. Where Two be, there is no measure, unless there be a Third.

Brother, it is a great profundity. Let us meditate upon it."

"I do not wish," said the Whale, "to meditate. I wish to be measured."

The Buddha continued to look abstracted. Beyond him the Whale espied the frightened eyes of the Temple priest peering through the lattice.

"Come out, little man," said the Whale, and the priest came out.

"Measure me," said the Whale, and sat down. "With thy rosary," he added encouragingly. The knees of the priest were as water and his hands shook so that the rosary slipped many times. But the Whale was very patient, and the priest made a progress 'round him as one surveys land. At each fresh position of the rosary the Whale counted loudly.

"Now," said the Whale, "measure me the Buddha." Him the priest approached delicately, but the Buddha nodded. "It is our guest," said the Buddha blandly. The priest began his progress anew, and the Whale breathed hard.

"Master," said the priest desperately, "he is two inches greater than thou."

Then was the Whale very joyous, and departed without making adieux or compliments, traveling swiftly that he might inform the Sprat. As for the Buddha, his countenance remained abstracted, and he returned without haste or embarrassment and sat down upon his base with detachment. The priest followed him, and for a space there was nothing said.

"Henceforth," said the Buddha, casually, "let there be two standards of measuring in Japan, a standard for hard goods, such as wood and iron and bronze, and a standard for soft goods, goods compressible, such as this Whale. And let the difference between them be two inches, yet let each be accounted equal. So shall there be fairness in the land."

And it is so in Japan unto this day.



## FLAMINGOES

By CLARK ASHTON SMITH

*On skies of tropic evening, broad and beryl-green,  
Above a tranquil sea of molten malachite,  
With flare of scarlet wings in long and level flight,  
The soundless, fleet flamingoes pass to isles unseen.*

*They pass, and disappear, where darkening palms indent  
The horizon, underneath some high and tawny star,  
Lost in the sunset gulfs of glowing cinnabar,  
Where sinks the painted moon, with brows of orpiment.*

# OPENING CHINA'S INLAND EMPIRE

## IV. The Banking Consortium and Equal Foreign Commercial Opportunity

By SILAS BENT

*Illustrations from Richard Wood Randolph's Official Photographs*

**R**AILROADS and railroad concessions constitute only part of that jumble of international claims awaiting liquidation in China, but they typify the whole problem. If the conflicting privileges and ambitions of the nations most involved can be adjusted without transgression of Chinese sovereignty, the world may hope to find an answer to the entire Far Eastern enigma, with the possible realization of the Open Door policy as a fact and not a pleasant fiction. Nowhere may the principles which prompted the formation of a League of Nations be applied to better effect.

The Hukuang Loan, under which Richard Wood Randolph, an American engineer, directed the survey of a railroad line into Szechuan, was in part an effort to reconcile conflicting international claims in the Yangtze Kiang valley and to stop competitive struggle. But it also marked a certain degree of coöperative effort among four of the great Powers for China's development. If the Hukuang idea is expanded as now proposed, in accordance with the ideals behind the League of Nations, it will necessitate a survey of the whole field of Chinese development, and the pooling of outstanding railroad, commercial, industrial and political privileges.

Skeptics may hear this with a shrug of the shoulder as a visionary hope that the Powers will forego the fruits of the old-order diplomacy. The best practical answer is the Four-Power banking consortium, an American proposal and outgrowth of the Hukuang experience which is well past its preliminary stage. This plan for financing China's development is inseparable, if effective, from a nationalization and standardization of China's railroads.

Spheres of influence would be wiped out under such a plan. For the allied consortium proposes not only to unify and develop China's railroads, but to offer its aid in other industrial undertakings in China's reorganization. Its most difficult task is to erase spheres of influence. Since the armistice was signed there has been an increased uneasiness lest Japan, France and Great Britain had entered into an arrangement, perhaps informally, to shade those spheres the more deeply. But if a consortium is formed, the United States, at least for the next decade, must be its tower of financial strength, and, in the eyes of the Chinese, its stronghold of confidence. The United States has therefore only to

demand satisfactory guarantees of the abandonment of the spheres-of-interest policy to put a quietus upon it.

The system under which the old diplomacy functioned in China was to grant concessions to foreign nationals for railways having industrial or political advantages. Often concessions were obtained merely for future trading purposes or to block the game of some other national. How the blocking was accomplished is illustrated by this incident: Paul S. Reinsch, then American minister to Peking, made a visit to this country in 1916 with the avowed intention of enlisting American capital in the development of China. Soon thereafter William F. Carey of the Siems-Carey Railway and Canal Company, a subsidiary of the American International Corporation, went to Peking, and in a short time obtained five concessions. The most important was for a railroad into Szechuan from the Han basin, starting at Hsin-Yang, on the Peking-Hankow Railroad, and running over the ridge separating the Han basin from the Yangtze basin. This way may conceivably be chosen as the route for tapping Szechuan instead of the route surveyed by Mr. Randolph. Another of Mr. Carey's contracts was for dredging and improving the Grand Canal, which traverses Shantung from north to south. The additional railroad projects have been enumerated as follows: From Kwei-hua-cheng to Ninghia, following the bend of the Yellow River, in inner Mongolia; from Ninghia to Lanchow, capital of the remote province of Kansu; from Hangchow to the port of Wenchow, in the province of Chekiang; and a line in the island of Hainan, between the Gulf of Tongking and the China Sea.

Each one of these was a development project. It was Mr. Carey's début as a concessionaire. And it is related that in making himself acquainted with the mysteries of the situation he visited the chargé at the Russian Legation. As the two stood looking at a map the Russian interpreted China's geography. He explained that the Yangtze valley was English (meaning that it was a British sphere of influence), that Yunnan was French, that Fukien and Manchuria were Japanese, and that Mongolia was Russian.

Mr. Carey stood silent a few moments, intently inspecting the map, and then looked up.

"But where in hell is China?" he asked.

For it so happened that every one of the Carey

concessions stepped on another nation's toes. France had a treaty with China, it was asserted, providing that no other nation should develop Hainan. Japan had already set up her claim to Shantung, and purposed to dredge the Grand Canal herself if it were dredged. Three of the railroad concessions encroached on Russian and British spheres. Peking was set agog. Japan and Russia were said to be negotiating a new offensive and defensive alliance. Representations were made to Washington by Tokyo and Petrograd, Paris and London. But although Mr. Carey apparently had visited China at the request of the American minister, his State Department declined to be held responsible. The Chinese then explained the concessions. At least one reason for their granting was to see whether the United States would stand back of the Open Door.

China found out. The United States has given little but lip service to the Open Door theory. It has been written into every treaty during the last decade involving the Far East, it has been subscribed to time and again by each of the great Powers, and for the most part it had been studiously ignored. The American plan for a consortium is an effort to make it a reality. But this conflict of international special privilege is only one of the difficulties. The old system was based on advantage to the foreigner rather than to the Chinese. It fed not infrequently on inefficiency and waste. It encouraged international duplicity, jealousy and

friction. Here's an example of how things happened in China when the Powers united to weave their web of diplomacy, finance and trade about a concession there, of how the interests of China were apt to become quite secondary, of why and how inter-Power rivalries arose. It is a suppositious case, but it is a composite of what actually went on.

A group of Powers would unite for the construction of a railway. The titular representatives of the private lending agencies were the agents of the big European banks in China. They gathered about the big table in the high-ceilinged, eminently dignified inner room of one of the banks along Legation Street in Peking to arrange terms. The loan was made to the Chinese Government. In theory the Chinese were to build the railway and name the engineers, from men approved by the lenders. As a matter of fact, the bankers appointed the engineers and built the lines. That was necessary for the protection of their investment.

Across the way from the Peking Bank were the legations, and outside the Legation Quarter was the Chinese Foreign Office. The ministers of the Powers in Peking were, as a matter of official routine, the representatives of the private interests underwriting the loan, and their weekly calls at the Chinese Foreign Office, although suave, correct and even affable, were unmistakably specific in their objects. Gold was the woof of the web the bankers spun; those diplomatic visits were the steel



CHUNGKING, THE CHINESE ST. PAUL TO THE MINNEAPOLIS OF CHIANG-PEI-TING  
If the Conflicting Ambitions of the Powers Toward China Can Be Adjusted by America's Latest Proposal, Then the Pleasant Fiction of the Open Door Policy May Become Established Fact

warp which gave it tensile strength. And the Chinese were politely but none the less clearly made acquainted with these facts.

Two others lent a hand in the spinning of the web. One was the engineer, often far in the interior, surveying or building. The other was a figure of greater glamor; a man of the world, polo player, collector; a brilliant companion, cosmopolitan, widely read, resourceful, seasoned in world affairs. He lived near Legation Street or even in a legation, and he knew everything that happened in that agreeable inner banking-room and most of what went on at the Foreign Office during the weekly calls. He was the representative of the big steel rail, locomotive, or railway equipment manufacturer in one or another of the European countries. And of course his inside line of advance information from the banking and diplomatic quarter of Legation Street to his manufacturers at home was an impregnable defense against outside competition.

Ostensibly the bidding for equipment was competitive; actually, the various lending groups parceled the line more or less amicably among themselves. Bids were open to all, but the engineer in charge of a certain section could very easily take care that the specifications were such that only his own nationals could meet them. Manufacturers in other countries could not compete without an actual alteration of the plans and plants. The height from the rail of a coupling pin, the size of

an axle, the weight of a girder, the length of a piston rod, the size of a rail, the power of an engine, the side of a locomotive to carry the train pipe, might be the barrier to manufacturers in all but one country. And sometimes it happened that the Legation Street representative of one big European manufacturer would get mysterious word that the specifications for a supply of rails, for instance, would call for delivery on a certain date, would cable his concern, and would have the material on the way to China to arrive at a time which made it impossible for any other firm to get a shipment to the spot at the specified date. The possibilities for international double-dealing, jealousy and rancor—seeds of wars where the stakes are high—are apparent under a system of this nature. And thus it happens in China that one travels on the railroad system from England to Belgium to France to Germany, so far as type of equipment is concerned. The snags in the way of coöperative railroad development where there is no standard practice in equipment are obvious. It is impossible to establish any unified railway system.

That is one reason why nationalization of China's railroads has come to be a paramount issue today in that country and in others where China's development is under serious consideration. Tremendous obstacles lie in the way of such a consummation. Even in China there is some opposition to it, chiefly among the militarist faction in Peking, which has a selfish interest in keeping any source



THE CROWDED HOUSES OF CHIANG-PEI-TING, CONNECTED WITH CHUNGKING

The Old Concession System Encouraged International Duplicity, Jealousy and Friction. America Can Demand Abandonment of Spheres of Influence As a Practical Beginning of the New World Order

of revenue to themselves free for manipulation among the powers who have money to lend. But the argument advanced by its enemies is worthy of serious consideration. Their plea is that it would threaten the Republic's sovereignty. Various plans have been advanced to avert that menace while providing a workable program. Out of all the discussion it appears that any pooling scheme should embrace some such general provisions as the following:

(1) A board should be created of foreign and Chinese engineers to design a railroad system covering outstanding concessions and other lines vital to China's commercial and political welfare.

(2) All holders of concessions should be required to surrender them to the Chinese Government, or to the consortium, and should receive the privilege of constructing an equal mileage in the unified system, or should be otherwise reimbursed.

(3) All secret agreements regarding railways should be abrogated.

(4) The Chinese Government should agree to make known to the consortium financing the railroad construction the full details of any other credit it may wish to establish; or it might be provided that the consortium should first have the opportunity to make any loan desired, on condition that it would make terms as favorable as those made in good faith by any outsider.

(5) Chinese capital should have equal participation in the construction and profits of the railways, in so far as it desire to partake of them.

(6) In order to avoid the continuance of nepotism, which has been a curse of Chinese officialdom, all employes on the railroads should be subject to civil service examinations and regulations.

(7) Contracts for the new national system should be let on the basis of a fixed percentage of profits above the actual costs of financing and construction, in somewhat similar manner to the agreement between the United States and the Philippine Railway Company.

(8) The Chinese Government should own and operate all the railways, but representatives of the consortium should have access at all times to the books and supervision of expenditures.

(9) Loans advanced by the consortium should be secured by a first mortgage on the physical properties and the earnings of the railroads, guaranteed as to interest by the general revenues and good faith of the Chinese Government.

(10) Standardized specifications should be adopted in so far as possible for all future construction, that there might be free international competition in bidding, and the railroads already built should be standardized as rapidly as possible.

(11) Other nations should be admitted to the

consortium as they indicated a desire so to do and demonstrated their financial equipment.

This rough outline follows in a general way features of plans by George Bronson Rea and other experts on Chinese railways, although I have departed in places from all of them.

Whatever the plan adopted, it is realized as imperative that the new order in China must wipe out the old spheres of influence. There is a growing feeling among American experts that even if it is impossible to internationalize all of the present 6000 miles of China's railroads because of the unwillingness of individual powers to throw them into the pool, their evil effect will be nullified if all the extensive building of the future is internationalized. It is only in this way that the Open Door can become a reality. It is only thus that the seeds of war already sown in the Far East can be prevented from sprouting. A brief survey of American diplomatic policy in the Hukuang Loan will serve to throw into bolder relief the need of a consortium such as the United States has now proposed.

Philander C. Knox was Secretary of State when the United States obtained representation through a banking group in the Hukuang Loan. The negotiations were precipitated some time before, on September 27, 1904, by a cablegram to the Department of State from Minister E. H. Conger in Peking, as follows:

"Chinese Government has promised in writing that if foreign capital necessary Americans and British should have preference in railway Hankow to Chungking. French and British capitalists will meet in London October 20 to discuss question. British minister, recognizing our rights, inquires if American capitalists will not join. If they do not, I shall oppose concession to others unless otherwise instructed."

An effort was made to enlist the interest of American capitalists in the enterprise at that time, but without success, and there the matter rested for four years. It was not until the proposal by other nations to make a loan for the project and secure it in part by *likin*, the internal revenue collected by Chinese provinces, that Washington saw possible political consequences of a grave nature involved; and so Philander C. Knox, then Secretary of State, decided to take a hand. The first move he made was to cable W. W. Rockhill, Minister at Peking, on May 24, 1909, that he had seen newspaper reports of an understanding between English, French and German financial groups for the construction of the Hankow-Szechuan Railway. He reminded Mr. Rockhill of China's promise in regard to that project. Mr. Rockhill cabled that he



AN ANCIENT SPAN AT WAN HSIEN, BUILT BY SWEATING TOIL IN LONG DEAD CENTURIES  
Along the Line of the Proposed Railway to Link Up China's Hungry Cities with the Produce Towns of  
the Fertile Upper Yangtze Valleys, Where Intensive Cultivation Is of Ancient Success

had called three times at the Chinese Foreign Office on the subject, and added:

"Chang (Chih-tung) has not yet replied. The President of the Foreign Office thinks probably it is too late now to participate in the present loan, which is ready for signature, but as it only covers Hupeh section of road, American capital might find employment financing construction Szechuan section. The President of the Foreign Office is very desirous to see America participate in financing Chinese railway enterprises, and he is of opinion American capitalists should be represented in Peking as other groups are."

On June 6, 1909, an agreement was initiated by the representatives of the Chinese Government and German, British and French banks in Peking for a loan of \$27,500,000 for twenty-five years at 5 per cent. It was to be secured by the revenues of the railways and *likin*, salt and imported rice taxes of Hupeh, and general and salt *shin* of Hunan. The price of the bonds to the Chinese Government was to be 95. Mr. Knox and Mr. Fletcher continued to bring strong representation upon the Chinese for inclusion of the United States in the loan, insisting that in addition to the assurance of 1904 by the Chinese, giving American capitalists rights equal to those granted British interests, the United States should participate in this loan because the pledges of security were not merely a first mortgage on the railroad property, but a lien on the provincial revenues. The United States, for its own advantage and China's, should be in a position to exercise an influence equal to that of the other

three Powers in any future international claim on China that such an extended pledge might involve.

Mr. Knox also directed Ambassador Hill at Berlin to sound the German Government on the subject of American participation. Mr. Hill saw Baron von Schoen, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, who told him: "We have taken no part as a Government in the arrangement of loans in China, and up to the present have left those matters entirely to the bankers." To this Mr. Hill replied that if this were the universal rule and if it were loyally observed, it might be best to leave those transactions entirely to those immediately concerned in them; but that as matters then stood, since some governments used great pressure to obtain advantages for their nationals, it could not be to the others a matter of indifference if their citizens failed to receive due consideration, especially when that had been specifically promised. Mr. Hill also told Baron von Schoen that, in his personal opinion, the United States was, perhaps, the least aggressive of any of the great Powers in demanding from the Oriental countries special privileges of any kind, never having asked for anything but an open door and a fair field.

The American group had been formed in the meantime, composed of the National City and First National banks, and the houses of J. P. Morgan & Company and Kuhn, Loeb & Company. Under the terms of the Chinese promise in 1904 it was felt that America was entitled to one-half of the project, but Mr. Knox evidently was not concerned with that fact so much as with the imperative need of



having a voice in China's affairs for China's protection. There was a deal of dickering between the American group and the other groups as to terms and the extent of American participation. When it appeared that a deadlock had been reached, the State Department cabled Ambassador Reid to notify the American group "that if the banking syndicate which undertook to sustain the American policy of equal participation ignores the national aspect of the transaction, or fails to co-operate in the broad purpose in view, the Government will seek other instrumentalities to secure proper American recognition; that it should be clearly understood that this Government is interested purely for broad

"I told him," Mr. Fletcher reported, "that the British, French and German Governments had agreed to American participation in principle, and that I had been assured by Sir John Jordan (British Minister) and Mr. Hillier that no pressure would be brought to bear on China whereby she might be placed in an awkward position. I told him that if any action should now be taken by China inconsistent with her assurances, it would have a most deplorable effect in the United States. He admitted that China had not been asked by the diplomatic representatives of the Powers interested to take any steps, but that the bankers had been pressing Chang Chih-tung and that the latter was get-



THE FERTILE VALLEYS OF SZECHUAN HAVE LONG BEEN HIGH DIPLOMATIC STAKES

The Chinese Want a Railroad Here and the Outside World Wants to Build One. Difficulty of Reconciling International Political Policies Underlying China's Development Blocks the Completion of the Road

national reasons; that the Government alone has any rights in this matter; and that it holds such rights in trust for the good of general American interests in China."

The bankers' dispute in Paris, however, was not the only stumbling block. Mr. Fletcher cabled, for instance, that Liang Tun-yen of the Wai-wu Pu (Chinese Foreign Office) had asked him to make a personal call, and had informed him that Messrs. Cordes (Deutsch-Asiatische Bank) and Hillier (Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation) had said that the representatives of the European bankers had offered the American group one-fourth participation in the loan and that the Americans had refused.

ting impatient at the delay and wanted to go ahead and close up the present loan as it stands.

"I earnestly requested him not to take any action which would place China in an awkward position and seriously affect the friendly relations of our two governments; that I felt sure that the banks would agree to American participation on the basis of 25 per cent., when they realized that the attitude of China and the United States was firm on this point, and that whatever pressure was now being applied by the banks must be without their governments' support."

Even the intervention of President Taft in cabling Prince Chun, regent of China, was not immediately successful in bringing the negotiations



to a head, although it put an end to any lobbying at Peking against participation by this country. The terms of the loan were still in dispute and there were matters of materials, engineering personnel and future loan privileges to be settled. The late Major Willard Straight was sent to Peking as the representative of the American group, arriving August 19, 1909. On the following day he held a conference at the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank with Mr. Hillier of the British, Mr. Cordes of the German, Mr. Casenave of the French bank, and Mr. Fletcher. As a result of this and other conferences, working regulations were drawn up by the director-general of the Hupeh-Hunan section of the

wield no effective influence on the destinies of the Chinese people except by taking an active part in Chinese development. And they reveal the tenacity, amounting almost to obduracy, necessary to obtain for this country, or its nationals, participation in the Hukuang project. Since then our policy has vacillated. Mr. Knox proposed, as a measure of protection for China, the neutralization or internationalization of the railways in Manchuria, but when Japan showed her teeth the project was abandoned. A Six-Power group, including American bankers, was formed to advance a reorganization loan to China, but Mr. Wilson did "not approve the conditions of the loan or the implications of



FROM THE EAST GATE THE TILED ROOFS OF WUSHAN HIDE ITS BUSY THOUSANDS

The Lure of Riches in This Province of Szechuen Led to the Hukuang Loan, but the Principles of a League of Nations May Be Applied Here with Real Effect Through the Allied Consortium

Canton-Hankow Railway and the Hupeh section of the Szechuan-Hankow Railway. These provided for the personnel of the survey and of the line when completed, for accounting, requisition of funds, purchase of land, purchase of materials and contracts for work. It was agreed that where Chinese materials were obtainable they should be used; but that in case they were not, the materials should be purchased one-fourth in each of the countries making the loan. The agreement was finally signed in Paris on May 23, 1910.

The foregoing excerpts from international diplomatic interchanges, selected from the records of the State Department, show for themselves how the United States came to the realization that it could

responsibility on its (the Administration's) own part which it was plainly told would be involved in the request." Mr. Bryan, who was then Secretary of State, declared himself roundly against "dollar diplomacy." The Administration, on familiarizing itself somewhat more fully about Far Eastern and other international affairs, has come to realize that the dollar and diplomacy cannot be divorced under the system prevailing in China. It has been largely due to the Administration's invitation that the American group of banks has been reformed to participate in the Four-Power group, the completion of whose organization now hangs on whether Japan is willing or not to "play the game" by throwing Manchuria into the pool.

The consortium agreement is now being worked out. At the conferences held in Paris after the armistice was signed a memorandum prepared by Mr. Reinsch was the basis of discussion. That document would be well worth presenting in full here did space permit. A few paragraphs, indicating the foundations and scope of the consortium, may be repeated:

"It was frankly recognized that the war had created such a mutuality of interests between certain Governments and peoples as to render their co-operation essential to any constructive program of financial assistance to China. It was, therefore, the earnest hope of the Government of the United States that the other Governments which were largely interested in China and in a position to render substantial assistance at this time—namely, Japan, Great Britain and France—might see fit to join with this Government in its proposal plea and consent to the formation of similar national groups (of banks) organized on the same basis to co-operate with the American group; for it was and is the firm conviction of this Government that only by such co-operation and such principle can the best results be obtained for China and for the common interests of the other Powers concerned.

"If each of the four Governments should form a group of its own which should include all those who have made or would like to make loans to China, and if each member should share with the other members of its national group all future loans, including those to which it has a preference or on which it has an option, there could be little or no objection in the financial circles of the respective Governments to such an arrangement.

"Then if each of the four national groups should share with the other national groups any loans to China, including those to which that national group may have a preference, or on which it may have an option, and all such business arising in the future, it is felt that the best interests of China would be served—a purpose which the Government of the United States has in all sincerity formed, and would have the cordial support of all powers which have at heart the welfare of China."

When Mr. Reinsch referred to "such a group" of American banks he had in mind the fact that our group extends from coast to coast and is truly representative of the country. It includes thirty-seven institutions. Eighteen principal Japanese banks have been grouped to represent that country, but

if the French and British bankers have formed groups their composition has not been made public at this writing. It has been stated that the amount of the loan would be \$200,000,000, divided into four annual installments.

The militarist faction of Japan, the ruling faction, has made no bones of its opposition to the plan since the Paris conferences were held. Suggestions have been offered and have been approved by the Japanese Cabinet that Manchuria, Mongolia and Shantung be excluded from the operations of the consortium. In other words, Japan has proposed that she enjoy all the advantages of participation without the surrender of her rich spheres of influence or the nationalization of her profitable railroad concessions. Further, one readily perceives why Japan does not want to forego the advantages of the score of loans she made to China during the war, when one remembers that nine Japanese officials were decorated for their work in negotiating those loans and obtaining additional privileges from them. But it is not likely that the other Powers will agree to Japan's exempting her spheres from the workings of the consortium. To do so would defeat the very purposes of its formation. There remains, then, the possibility that Japan's position may defeat its consummation. The alternatives are that America, Great Britain and France proceed without her; or, if Great Britain and France are unwilling, that American banks and engineers go it alone. In either case, if any of the three mean business, inevitably there will be friction with Japan. Is not Japan willing to play a sportsman's game for the concord of the world?

It was the lure of Szechuanese riches which led to the negotiation of the Hukuang loan, but it was interest in China's welfare which prompted American participation. The Hukuang Loan was the stalk on which the present peaceful co-operative method of stimulating and developing China has blossomed. Thus the group of American and Chinese engineers who threaded the perilous gorges of the Yangtze and carried their levels across the Chengtu plains were messengers not only of an economic fruition, but possibly as well of good-will in the cultivation of the earth's greatest fallow region. It remains for Americans to see whether that promise is carried out to their own and China's permanent prosperity and contentment.



# TURNING A LEAF OF THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE

How A Litterate China Has Been Ordered by Proclamation

By H. C. REYNOLDS

**T**O destroy last week's newspaper shows a gross lack of character. To crumple the printed advertisement received in the morning mail shows the haste of unreason. To tear the printed page shows that you are mentally deficient. Carelessly to toss a book on the floor shows your tendency toward violence. That is a statement of the Chinese attitude toward the sanctity of the printed page. Printed characters have some sentimental beauty and a hidden value quite unknown to us. This worth and respect is founded on the truth, which we of the Occident readily admit, that the printed page is the lasting record of the mind and sometimes of the philosophic thought of the writer. The Chinese are seekers after philosophy, wherever it can be found—in ancient legend, in daily life or in daily writings. This habit of philosophy searching is much more cultivated with them than it is with us, and to the educated Chinese mind all philosophic thought is worthy of at least passing respect.

A handbill circulated through the crowded street arouses interest by the mere fact that it is printed, and this, together with the gullibility of the crowd the world over and the suggestion that it may contain some fragment of undiscovered philosophy of health or of disease, explains its acceptance. This easy acceptance, for the same sort of reason, may be seen in the jostling crowds of New York, at Park Place, or in the hurry of Wall Street, where recently an afternoon newspaper, in an effort to increase its circulation, distributed through the streets a handbill containing the lucky numbers for a money prize. The New Yorker was eager to

Phonetic Symbols	Key Characters	Wade Rom'an
<b>INITIALS</b>		
1 ㄍ	哥	KE
2 ㄎ	科	K'É
3 ㄣ	(我)	NG (O)
4 ㄣ	基	CHI
5 ㄣ	奇	CH'I
6 ㄣ	尼	NI
7 ㄣ	得	TE
8 ㄣ	特	T'É
9 ㄣ	訥	NE
10 ㄣ	撥	PE
11 ㄣ	坡	P'É
12 ㄣ	摸	ME
13 ㄣ	佛	FÉ
14 ㄣ	窩	(WO) V
15 ㄣ	婆	TZÜ
16 ㄣ	疵	T'ZÜ
17 ㄣ	私	SZÜ
18 ㄣ	之	CHIH
19 ㄣ	池	CH'IH
20 ㄣ	詩	SHIH
21 ㄣ	隨	HÉ
22 ㄣ	希	HSI
23 ㄣ	勒	LÉ
24 ㄣ	日	JIH

Phonetic Symbols	Key Characters	Wade Rom'an
<b>MEDIALS</b>		
25 一	衣	(Y) I
26 ㄨ	烏	(W) U
27 ㄩ	迂	(V) Ü
<b>FINALS</b>		
28 ㄚ	阿	A
29 ㄛ	哦	O.É
30 ㄜ	耶	(Y) EH
31 ㄝ	危	(W) EH
32 ㄞ	哀	AI
33 ㄟ	歐	AO
34 ㄠ	安	OU
35 ㄡ	昂	AN
36 ㄢ	恩	ANG
37 ㄣ	呼	(É) N
38 ㄤ	兒	(É) NG
39 ㄥ	兒	ÉRH

*Tone Chart.* Dot at corner indicates tone as in chart. The first tone will be indicated by a short horizontal stroke under the lower left-hand corner.

**SYMBOLS THAT OPEN THE MIND OF CHINA**  
A New Writing Whose Brevity and Ease Bring  
Nearer the Awakening of the Asiatic Giant

to read and to discuss the revered works of the ancients.

Something is happening in China which will undoubtedly leave its historical impression. Veteran traders and missionaries discuss the possibilities seriously and, if they have a love for the vast, unhappy nation, with great hope and joy. The immense republic, they say, may sweep into the forefront of modern civilization much sooner than the most sanguine had expected.

The new simplified National Phonetic Writing, they report, is making most amazing progress. It is as easy for the Chinese to learn to read and write now as it is for the American boy. The graduate of a Chinese Governmental College is, after many years of study, supposed to know about 40,000 ideographs or thought characters; this as compared to

accept it because it might become of cash value to him, though he thinks nothing of printed sheets or of philosophy or its relation to his immediate life. There is also a feeling of sentiment surrounding writing and printing in China which we do not possess here; the black ideograph represents the thought and the mind and the heart and becomes an impress of the soul of the writer. And, logically enough, those printed thoughts which result are worthy of interest between educated souls.

It must be remembered that in China the scholar, the writer and the reader of the printed page are absolutely the top of the common social scale throughout long ancestral centuries. With them the test of social position is not so much the test of wealth, but more the test of the scholarly qualities of writing and the ability



*Methodist Episcopal Cemetery Committee*

**THE CHINESE NEWSBOY IS FAST BECOMING AS MUCH OF A PERSONAGE AS OUR OWN**  
 The New National Phonetic System of Writing, of Chinese Inception, Has Made Such Amazing Progress Among All Classes That New Journals and Magazines Are Appearing Daily



*Methodist Episcopal Cemetery Committee*

**POLITICAL FACTIONS POST THEIR PARTISAN JOURNALS ON THE BULLETIN BOARDS**  
 The Ability of the Common Coolie to Master the Mystery of Reading Enables Him to Climb the Social Ladder Three Rungs at a Time. If the Coolie Can, So Can China



Methodist Spenser Century Commission

**LABORIOUSLY CARVING NEW CHARACTERS REQUIRED BY NEW THOUGHTS**  
 In America New Ideas Make Progress. In China the New Idea Cannot Be Expressed in the Old Ideograph System, and Each Publisher Must Keep a Craftsman to Hammer Out New Type



Methodist Spenser Century Commission

**TRYING TO FIND THE AGE-OLD THOUGHT CHARACTER FOR TOMORROW'S HEADLINE**  
 Thousands of Ideographs Make the Chinese Typesetter a Searcher for Long Unused Type to Express the Used Language. The New System Lightens Work, Increases Speed and Reduces Costs

about 4000 words in the vocabulary of the usual American. F. W. Bible, a Presbyterian missionary from Hangchow, told me that the pupils in Christian schools mastered the new system in a month as compared with the five or six years needed for the old ideograph system. Some illiterates are taught to read in two weeks with lessons of two hours a day.

With their reverence for literature and their fine industry, the Chinese seize upon the boon offered them and make it their own in a way that would surprise a Western community. Old women are learning to read at seventy, and coolies coming out of mission hospitals after three weeks in bed go back to exhibit an ability as scholars that seems to their open-mouthed fellow villagers just short of magic. To successfully grasp this ability is to climb up the social ladder three rungs at a time. If the coolie and the simple souls of China can successfully master the essentials of reading and of writing in so short a time, does it not seem possible that China can climb up more quickly than we have dared believe toward plans for national unity and national organization?

But what is the immediate meaning of this new writing to China and to the world?

Of China's four hundred million or more inhabitants only about five per cent. can read at all, and no more than two per cent. are real masters of the written language. It is quite possible that 375,000,000 Chinese may learn to read and write within one generation, or even in the next ten years. Anyone who knows China realizes that the Chinese do not stand behind the men of any other race in intelligence. In literature alone the performances of the past would lead us to expect that a literate China would produce something of inestimable value to the whole world.

Two questions naturally arise in an American's mind when a man from China has told him this much: What is the new system, and why is it suddenly going so well?

Chu Yin Tzu-Mu, as it is called, is not the first attempt to give China a rational writing. It had thirty or forty predecessors. The Christian missionaries have always been busy on the problem. Attempts at Romanization, or writing in characters similar to English, failed dismally. The system of Wang Chao, a Chinese scholar, had some success; but the Chinese as a whole did not show great interest.

The new system is a decided improvement on Wang Chao's construction and all those that have gone before. To understand it, one must remember that Chinese is entirely made up of monosyllables. There are only 420 monosyllables in the Pekingese official dialect. The number of words in the Imperial Dictionary of K'ang Hai, two centuries old,

but still the standard, is 44,449. Each monosyllable on the average has 105 meanings. These are distinguished in two ways; first, by the slight differences of pronunciation, and second, by the association of one word with the word next to it.

It must be remembered that each of these 105 variations of the same monosyllable is an entirely distinct word to the Chinese, and each has an ideograph which bears no suggestion of the 104. It is easy to see why Romanization failed. In a little dictionary which the missionaries tried to use were 165 characters Romanized as "chi" and 178 as "i" (pronounced like English "e").

Chu Yin Tzu-Mu uses thirty-nine symbols, twenty-four initials, twelve finals and three medials or connecting sounds. These do not even remotely suggest Roman characters, but they represent all the sounds of what is to be the new national language.

Because the Chinese themselves are pushing the system it is going through the country very fast. The previous systems were handicapped for the most part by being foreign. Chinese pride and conservatism smothered them.

But it seems there has really come a change over the spirit of China. Repeated humiliations are getting deep underneath the skin. Her educated and intelligent thinkers have been pondering on what is wrong and realized gradually that they must have a national spirit and a national patriotism comparable to the Western nations. To accomplish this they decided China must have a national language and a method of reading and writing everywhere understood, so that there could be quick nation-wide dissemination of ideas.

The new National Language was founded on the so-called Mandarin. This was already spoken in fifteen out of the eighteen provinces, for the southern coast provinces have a quite different speech. But the pronunciation of Mandarin varied so much that natives of different provinces often were unable to understand each other.

To overcome this difficulty a standardized pronunciation was adopted. The pronunciation was fixed for about 800 words, and all the rest grouped themselves naturally around these. It is believed that in the course of time this will be the accepted tongue of China, except in the far isolated districts.

Then in the fall of 1918 a special congress of representatives of all the provinces, called by the National Ministry of Education, officially adopted Chi Yin Tzu-Mu as the written language of China. A government decree to this effect, Order No. 75, was promulgated November 23, 1918.

The method taken to spread the language was to teach it first in the government normal schools, then in the lower normal schools, and finally on down through the grades to the primary schools.



*Methodist Episcopal Conference Commission*

THE CHINESE BOOKSTORE IS NO LONGER AN ARISTOCRATIC ACADEMIC INSTITUTION  
Only the Scholars, Until These New Ideographs Were Constructed, Have Explored the Hidden  
Mysteries Locked Within the Covers of Books and Seen the Key to Progress

Progress was very rapid. In the Province of Shansi the Governor appointed lecturers to go into even remote towns. Where he found the old conservatives hampering him he forced the merchants to attend the classes under threat of dire punishment. Though thoroughly against our ideas of personal liberty, would it not be worth while in the long run to Americanize some of our foreign communities by the Chinese process of forced literacy by Presidential proclamation? Even the colleges held institutes to teach the system to school teachers. Books and magazines began to appear. The system was adopted for signal codes in the armed forces, and also by the police in many places. Even before its adoption by the government the system had been taught in the Labor Battalions in France, and many thousands are returning from the war with the key to literature in their possession.

In the primary schools it is considered that the system means a saving of two years of a child's education.

Having learned by the lessons of the past, the missionaries are trying to use great tact in helping along the new movement, although they are much interested at the course things are taking. A special committee of the China Continuation Committee, an interdenominational body, recommended the adoption of Chu Yin Tzu-Mu last February. Miss S. J. Garland was appointed to create a bu-

reau to have charge of the work with the goal to "teach this form of writing to all the Christians during the next year." Much literature was quickly turned out by the Christian mission presses, which at first was given away, but is now selling readily.

One thing more the new writing has done—it has given China the typewriter. Chinese merchants indeed used a kind of typewriter for the old ideographs, but it had 8000 characters, and its only function was to make carbon copies of letters of importance. Now several American typewriter companies are putting Chinese typewriters on the market and preparing to push them vigorously.

But in material things the possibilities are even greater. China may hope to catch up with Japan, and with incomparably greater natural resources and population eight times as large might soon east the island nation in the shade. Just how much strength a China with modern ideas, modern science, modern methods, would build up is difficult to visualize. She would certainly become a giant of nations who might compete with all Europe on equal terms. That literacy will accelerate this transformation several centuries is not so very inconceivable. Such a change would indeed upset the balance of the world, and the center of civilization might again stand "east of Suez" as it did twenty centuries ago.



# THE "TAPAS" OF THE SOUTH SEAS

By M. D. C. CRAWFORD

**W**HAT a world of adventure is conjured up by the very term, "South Seas"! We are at once a-sail with the sturdy navigators of the sixteenth century. English Drake, Davis, Forbisher, and Portuguese Magellan are our deck companions. Strange voyagers and stirring actions move across the pages of the ancient tomes of Hakluyt and Mavor. How minutely these tarry old shipsmen detail the setting of courses, the handling of sails and ropes, and how remote all these things are from our own days of steam and wireless! And yet, the iron magic of the romance still is ours. Ships laden with hopes bravely sail out from ports of old Europe, slowly melting beneath the horizon, and on and on into a greater land and a more perfect adventure than even their daring captains intended. Mutiny, shipwreck, the scurvy taking its yellow, gruesome toll, water running short, famine and fierce encounters with tattooed warriors, are recounted as the expected attendants of voyages in those brave times. Truly the men who changed the flat maps of the Middle Ages into the rounded globe of to-day wrote as well a new chapter, a new credo, of courage and hardihood.

But there was still another side to these old Sagas. All was not hardship nor violent death. There were more subtle dangers; charms that held terrors; loveliness that lay like a mantle over danger. How soft becomes the sea-roughened vocabulary as the rope-stiffened hand cramps upon the quill, and the old sea vagabonds tell of loveliness of land and sky and life, difficult indeed to believe in the Europe of that day! Vistas of sandy beach, shadowed with delicate palms, and behind, the castellated hills of fairyland. Women of strange ivory beauty. Songs of haunting sweetness coming from groups of palm-thatched huts. Strange indeed the customs observed and commented upon, as the ocean-wearied men drifted by strange shores.

Nor were these the only nor, in point of fact, the first users of the ocean lanes to know and love these islands of Earthly Paradise. Backward for centuries stretches the line of traditional voyages from Asia the Ancient. High-sided, honest junks from trading China, lean Malay prows of doubtful character, knew these seas. And the Islanders themselves thought of the ocean but as a convenient highway. In canoes eminently sea-worthy, shaped with the grace of the shark and carved in the spirit of medieval craftsmanship, they made voyages of hundreds of miles. Their own record

of discovery, could it be unraveled, would be no mean contribution to the world's history, for if the coral atolls bred loveliness in women, the ocean trained men in courage and the love of adventure.

Behind the modern historic period extends a wide horizon of interest. For in the traditions, the arts, the customs, the physical characteristics of the natives of the South Seas, the scientific investigator has a deep and growing concern. Here in ancient times mingled the races; here is the fringe of early world history still preserved for those who can read dimly the brave tale. From the eastern islands comes this tradition, fraught with significance: a tale of a weary sea voyage of thousands of miles in open boats, questing for new lands. And then the bitter disappointment of coming on shores that were not surrounded entirely by water, and hence were no fitting home for islanders and seamen. Can they have been describing in this dim, uncertain manner the desert coast of Chile and Peru, and were these the Vikings of the western seacoast? Was this an isolated voyage, or were there others?

Fire-making implements, tag ends of folk stories, the shape of the skulls, the character of the arts, have certain similarities with other sundries in widely and significantly separated positions of the world. It is a crossing of human currents no less than those of ocean. Who first unravels this racial and cultural snarl will earn great praise from a few earnest men from whom commendation is a great and worthy prize. For it will solve many a problem that has held the scientific imagination of two continents enthralled.

*Tapa*, miscalled "bark cloth," is no mean element in these problems. It may be one of the links that connect the technique and art and customs of these peoples of the South Seas with their pre-historic antecedents. And there is a virile quality in the art of *tapa* that is a highly desirable basis of inspiration. We need just this tonic. More particularly in the specimens from Samoa, Hawaii and Fiji, there are many splendid ideas and suggestions for modern fabric decoration. But the art of any people is a barren thing unless we can connect it in some way with historic sentiment, or with that more subtle appeal to subconscious and universal emotion.

For the arts of peoples whose history is more or less entwined with our own, we have a natural and obvious sympathy. But there is a vast field of design which moves us in a very different man-





SAMOAN BELLE WEARING A SKIRT OF TAPA  
The "Bark Cloth" or Paper of the South Sea Islands  
Presents a Material of Enduring Quality



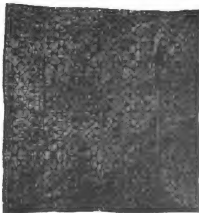
TAHITI WARRIOR ELABORATELY TATTOOED  
The Designs of the Tattoos Are Closely Related to  
Tapa Patterns in Common Use

ner, appealing to emotions which reflect, perhaps, our previous mental conditions. If the word "psychology" may be used in connection with art, I assume that the awakening of age-old emotions through decorative form might be comprehended under this head.

Our penchant constantly to change styles, especially in female apparel, has given rise to the impression that art is always a new creation. If anything, we have been strengthened in this fallacy by the so-called modern schools of the past generation. But as a matter of fact, art is a slow, organic growth, new forms gradually developing from old, as the flower from the seed, or rather as one specie mutates from another, and the variety from age to age is one rather of arrangement and purpose than of creation *de novo*. The beauty of one age, or of one race, is the basis for that of the next cycle. If a musician refused to recognize old composers, if an architect neglected old architecture, or a writer employed none but freshly coined words and phrases, such a musician, or architect, or writer would be on a par with the designer who neglects the study of art development.

I wish to say a brief word on the psychology of

ornament. Design develops from definite mental conditions. Good ornament is never accidental, although to a certain degree the charm of individual pieces depends upon happy and casual incidents. But its longevity, its power for continuous interests, depend less upon technique and medium than upon fundamental inspiration. So if composition and detail, out of the obvious associations, have the power to produce vivid mental reaction, this is based on fundamental and universal experience. Constantly in our imagination, in the amusements that we seek, in the literature that appeals to us, we respond to previous conditions of life; there are emotions and responses that can only be accounted for by reference to inherited tendencies, on the basis of submerged experience. Surely we may safely reckon a love of romance among universal experience and despite the more or less prosaic incidents of conventional life, decorative effects that arouse these emotions, that break through current surface thoughts and open for us the enchanted paths of adventure, are to be reckoned in the category of good design. We have need for ornament that stimulates as well as for decoration that soothes.



*American Museum of Natural History*

**A FIJI ISLAND TAPA OF PRIMITIVE DESIGN**  
 Designs of This Sort Have an Evident Sympathy  
 with Rough Carvings and Weavings

The decorative material known as tapa cloth is in reality not cloth at all. It is a form of paper. In the South Sea Islands it is made from the pounded bark of the paper mulberry, but it occurs in some form in every tropical country in the world. In the jungles of Brazil, in the steaming swamps



*American Museum of Natural History*

**FIJI TAPA DESIGN IN RED, BROWN AND WHITE**  
 The Colors, Which Are Sustained and Quiet in  
 Tone, Are Applied Through Painting and Stamping

of Africa, natives still make tapa. The ancient Aztec and Mayas and Egyptians, the early inhabitants of China and Japan, had learned the use of tapa in its modern form of paper to convey literary thought as well as artistic efforts. And in Mexico and the Chinese Republic it still holds its early usage in offering a simple and easily decorated material for ceremonial costumes.

The technique of tapa-making is very simple. Although tapa is still produced, as a bait for tourists, in the South Sea Islands, one must put any description of its processes into the past tense, for the art has become submerged as far as the Islanders themselves are concerned. In former times, more particularly in Samoa and Hawaii, the mulberry tree was very carefully cultivated with a view to the making of tapa. The shoots were allowed to grow two or three feet in height and about one and a half inches in diameter. No branches or leaves occurred except at the crest. At the season when it was full of a glutinous sap, the bark was stripped off and steeped in running water until the outer part softened, and could easily be scraped off. Next the inner pulpy mass was pounded on a smooth log of hard wood with paddles made of the wood of the palm, and sometimes slightly corrugated to give texture. This process exactly resembles gold-beating. The result was that a strip of bark originally three or four inches in width was flattened out to ten or twelve inches. Several of these strips (which were about as thin as paper) were pasted together with a vegetable glue made from arrow root, and the strips laminated together in the same manner. This process corresponds in a way to the early Egyptian method of making papyrus. But so skilfully was this process executed that in many of the finest pieces it is impossible to detect the lines of jointure. All work connected with the making of tapa was done by the women, for it was considered a degrading act for the men to occupy themselves in any of its processes.

Tapa naturally differs in fineness. The cruder sorts are about as thick as cardboard but are much more pliable, whereas certain specimens reserved for special ceremonial occasions and for the ruling classes are as sheer as light muslin. Before trade cloth became common in the islands there was a great demand for the finer types for the garments and hangings of the native potentates and for gifts at wedding ceremonies. In the interesting narrative, *Cook's Voyages*, there is an illustration of a woman wrapped in a marvelous, mysterious manner in folds upon folds of tapa. She probably represents a bride and her gifts to the family of the groom. The extent of the former practice of this art is testified to by the accounts of the early voyagers who one and all comment upon the constant

noise of pounding heard in the islands, made by the tapa beaters.

Tapa took the place of cloth in the island culture. It was used for garments, bed coverings, hangings to keep out the mosquitoes, mats, as well as for many other decorative and useful purposes. The collection in the Field Museum of Chicago shows a most extensive collection of ceremonial objects in which tapa figures. Huge, grotesque masks made from a frame-work of light wood covered with tapa painted in the conventions of mythological characters are of unusual interest. In these objects there is a very strong reminiscence of the Japanese and Chinese paper dragons and other paraphernalia of their ceremonies. And perhaps, since religious and secular dances occupied a large place in the lives of the island peoples, here may have been one of the principal uses for tapa material.

The methods of decorating tapa, while comparatively simple, have yet a marked variety. There is, of course, direct painting on the surface face; a technique resembling block printing consists in stamping the material by means of carved wooden paddles; a third method is dyeing; and a very interesting fourth method partakes somewhat of the nature of plate printing. Ribs of the palm leaf were sewn on a strip of stiff bark so as to form a raised pattern. Over this the tapa, in a slightly dampened state, was stretched and the surface rubbed with a pad soaked in dyes. The color took effect in only those portions raised by the patterns made by the palm leaf ribs, but of course the tendency of the dye to permeate the entire fabric made the outlines of this design charmingly indistinct. In addition, in Samoa and Hawaii, where the patterns are generally divided into rectangular divisions, the squares were formed by stretching a taut spring soaked in dye across the tapa, and snapping it. It is exactly the same way in which a mason makes a straight mark with his chalk line.

The design limits of tapa art, while not nearly so great as those found in true textiles, have a character and individuality and boldness all their

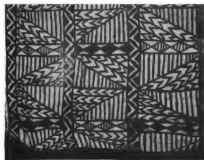


SAMOAN WOMAN PAINTING A DESIGN ON TAPA CLOTH

After the Design Is Applied, the Surface of the Tapa Is Treated with a Chlorinous Vegetable Matter, Making It Partially Waterproof

own. In modern times there has been an obvious and quite comprehensible copying of calico designs. (When trade fabrics were first introduced they were very expensive, and the fact that they were "imported" had the same charm for these simple people that the idea holds to-day for more sophisticated races. The result was that the natives discarded their own designs, which were often of a much higher artistic quality, for the designs of the foreign material.)

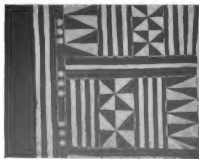
But this was not the first textile influence. In some of the most characteristic patterns obvious adaptations from textile figures occur. This is especially significant since there was no part of the technique of ornament that made this adaptation necessary: printing and painting could be executed in any type of pattern that was desired. If we are to assume that these people were of the same general racial types as the New Zealanders, it must seem strange that into their tapa designs they did not carry the carved curvilinear patterns of the Maori. It seems at least a rational assumption, then, that since they were not weavers, they got their weaving patterns from some source where weaving was a highly advanced art. Perhaps these



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**TAPA CLOTH FROM THE ISLAND OF SAMOA**  
 Designs of This Sort, Simple and Structural in  
 Character, Offer Interesting Suggestions for the  
 Modern Productions

designs are a reminiscence of earlier, forgotten trading expeditions of Asiatic peoples, or they may even be a faint reflection of the arts of the natives themselves practised in the lands from which they wandered. Designs that are sufficiently ancient to have become thoroughly impregnated with the individuality of a people are of an immense scientific import. These intangible records often endure beyond any mere physical material. But they form data for conclusions that require the most careful and technical handling. Before we can absolutely determine that some tapa designs are purely woven patterns, for instance, it is necessary to consider the technique of the allied art of carving with the form of tools used, such as sharks' teeth and gouges shaped from shells or bone. It may be that



American Museum of Natural History

**HAWAIIAN TAPA OF BOLD DESIGN**  
 The Translation of This Type of Design Into Modern  
 Floor Rugs of Rough, Vigorous Texture Nat-  
 urally Suggests Itself

certain of these patterns are the result of some such influence as well as that of weaving, or a combination of both.

I can never study primitive art without considering how the forms, how the designs and the spirit may be made of value to-day. The past two or three centuries of civilization have been rich in many inventions, in knowledge of social, industrial and political organization. But these activities have left us with but small leisure and perhaps small inclination for artistic matters. It is therefore necessary for us to seek all ways of recovering an artistic sensitiveness and one very obvious and very direct method is to study every distinct form of creative expression and abstract from it such material and ideas and suggestions as may be appropriate to our needs.

The bold character of the designs in tapa naturally suggests as one use their translation into modern rugs. We need certain types of rugs that are strong in design, simple in character. It requires a rough, vigorous texture to carry such design, and the type of rooms in which such rugs may be used should be most carefully studied. A vigorous design treatment makes it necessary that other elements in the room correspond.

In curtains and in furniture covering, especially in furniture covering for reed chairs and tables, a similar adaptation would be very useful. A rough fabric of linen or of a mixture of cotton and jute would make an excellent medium for expressing these designs. There are many decorative schemes that require a bold, strong treatment, and distinction in such expression is a very rare quality. The country house, the bungalow in the mountains or at the seashore, the athletic club, would be a splendid setting for the virile ornament of this character.

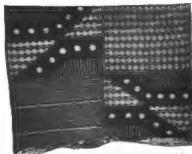
Wall paper is perhaps the most neglected of all our so-called industrial arts. For some reason hard to understand, this interesting material has been permitted to degenerate into most conventional and uninteresting designs. Part of the fault may be ascribed to the effort to imitate in paper the texture of other materials, such as silks or leather. Such imitations are not only obvious to the beholder, but create in him a feeling of distaste at what is so obviously a fraud. There is an artistic quality in paper texture that is full of possibilities. The manufacturer of wall paper or paper material for any decorative purpose should bear this in mind. As an illustration of what can be done with simple materials, a brief survey of Japanese papers would be illuminating. The designs in tapa, except some of the simpler, more subdued types, would no doubt be too bizarre for wall coverings, except when used in panel effects, but the texture of the tapa might easily be imitated by modern wall paper manufacturers.

Another use was suggested to me by an incident which occurred in my laboratory in the museum. A piece of tapa from the Fiji Islands contained a simple geometric surface pattern of the usual type of dyes and an additional element of circles and curves which had been applied with translucent dye. The light from a window, shining through this, produced a most interesting effect and suggested that in materials so treated and with designs of this character, lamp shades and light coverings of great interest could be developed. I should include in this list fire-screens.

In coverings for containers and boxes, in wrapping paper, there are infinite suggestions and infinite possibilities. One idea of a box or wrapping paper is to attract attention to a particular parcel as well as to satisfy the artistic inclination of the purchaser. In these very bold and distinct designs there is great opportunity for indirect publicity of this character.

I do not feel any sense of incongruity in suggesting the use of the arts of any time or any race for modern purposes. The effort to keep primitive peoples in *status quo* generally results in disagreeable consequences. When these people come in contact with modern civilization their life relationships naturally change, and to endeavor to keep old customs and habits alive after their interest has flagged is a waste of energy. What we can do is to carry forward the spirit of creation that was theirs, to emphasize the dignity and the beauty of their arts in the materials that we send to them, taking advantage of their penchant to copy designs of modern industry by sending to them again the beauties that their ancestors created.

Modern mechanical progress is unquestionably a great boon to civilization, but it has been bought at a great price. We begin to realize that for many purposes of utility as well as art, the machine can never entirely supplant the craftsman, and perhaps the day is not far distant when we shall see the revival of certain forms of handwork. Our increasing interest in the arts and our ever-advancing standards of taste all suggest that the emphasis upon the purely mechanical has been too great. Life is not measured, after all, merely in quantity, and we realize that a large part of the joy of living is in the contact with objects and materials that have an individuality and a charm distinct from their mere costliness. We may find it necessary to retrace our steps—at least to reconstruct certain arts and certain methods of production that have been submerged during this vigorous mechanical century. Civilization is largely a mental attitude. It suggests the ability and willingness to absorb ideas and methods from all historic periods and the power to vitalize this knowledge and fit it again into our organic life.



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**SAMOAN DESIGN, PROBABLY SUGGESTED BY IMPORTED CALICO**

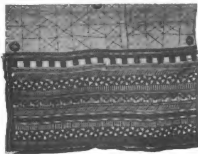
This Design, Somewhat Complex in Character, Has Been Produced by Stamping



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**IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA**

Clubs for Beating Out Pulpy Bark. Flat Pieces of Bark with Raised Designs for Rubbing Off Patterns, and Threaded Piece of Bamboo to Roll Over Damp Tapa to Produce Appearance of Texture



American Museum of Natural History

**COMPOSITE DESIGN FROM THE FIJI ISLANDS**

The Ordinary Interchange Among the Various Islands of the South Seas Has Influenced the Art Expressions of the Different Peoples

# ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN ASIATIC RUSSIA, by M. Philips Price. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1918, 296 pp.

In November, 1914, Mr. Price was sent to Russia as special correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian*. In the Preface to his book he explains that the rigid censorship made it impossible for him to write the truth concerning what was happening, and that rather than bury his conscience in Europe he decided to betake himself to Asia. The latter half of 1915 and the whole of 1916 were spent in the Caucasus, making journeys into the neighboring regions of Persia, Greater Armenia and the Black Sea coast. Part of this time Mr. Price was engaged in relief work among the refugees in the Trans-Caucasus and Turkey. His observations are the careful records of his travels in this part of the world, recorded in diary form at the time, including conversations with large numbers of missionaries, foreign officials, native rulers and magistrates, officers and common soldiers, peasants and tribesmen. The war, both the actual campaigns and the far wider-reaching influences, which precipitated the nationalistic development among the various peoples of the Caucasus and Asia Minor, is the warp and woof of Mr. Price's book. As first-hand observation on the part of a clear thinker and well-trained, accurate and independent journalist, *War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia* will in all certainty go down to posterity as a rarely authentic document covering a wide range of circumstance and interlocking drama in the Near East and Central Asia.

The book is divided into four parts. The Introduction deals with the physiography of the land, particularly the two "gateways" between Europe and Asia, the one extending from the deserts of Central Asia across a wide plain into Central Europe, covering Russia; the other leading from the plateaux in the heart of Asia across Asia Minor into Southeastern Europe. The nomad invasions into the West and the reversing penetration of European influence into Asia today concern themselves with the control of these gateways and have a direct bearing on the causes of the great war. Also the cross-movement of the Russian current toward the South is laid bare, with its political bearings. The character and nature of the peoples inhabiting the promontory of Asia Minor and the vast tablelands of Central Asia, the nomads of the mountains and des-

erts and the submissive peoples of the oases are briefly outlined as necessary to an understanding of later economic and political developments.

Part One presents a military history of the Caucasus Campaign of 1914-1916. The author adopts the point of view that the Eastern battlefront was as integral a part of the "ring" with which Allied strategy was attempting to surround the Central Powers, or should have been so considered, as the Western front. The Caucasus campaign, along with the Mesopotamian and Egyptian campaigns, forged an important link in this ring, working toward the defeat of Germany. But it did more. "There have been three competitors for the prize of the southern 'gateway' between Europe and Asia: the Central land Empires, the western maritime Empire of Great Britain, and, before the Revolution, the land Empire of Russia. The fortune of war might give to any one of these the control . . . or it might decide in favor of a political Balance of Power," Mr. Price declares. It would seem that at the final reckoning Great Britain has emerged as conqueror, with the principle of Balance of Power making a last grasping fight for its life.

Part Two covers the author's personal experiences with the Russian Expedition in Northwest Persia and Kurdistan, with the Armenian volunteers around Lake Van, at Erzerum after its capture by the Russians, a summer journey on the Kars plateau, and refugee work in Lazistan.

Part Three is devoted to a political discussion of the Armenian question, nationalism and internationalism in the Caucasus, and the Russian Revolution and its effects in Asia. The situation of Armenia, placed between two Imperial Powers and considered as a pawn in the cynical game played by the European Powers, is graphically revealed. Mr. Price comes to the conclusion that the scattered remnants of Armenians, Kurds and Assyrians, constituting the former Armenia, will probably draw together again and should be given an opportunity to decide their own fate through a Kurdo-Armenian Assembly. He does not believe that it will be possible or practicable to create a separate political unity or that Armenia can be reunited with Turkey. It is possible, he declares, that a large proportion of the people might vote for union with Russia. The prospect of an American mandatory is not mentioned, although elsewhere the

work of American missionaries is praised very highly as practically the only unselfish contribution to the welfare of this sorely-trying people of Asia.

The concluding chapter on the Russian Revolution points towards the author's faith that a new order dawns. Russia's participation in the war as mere strategy on the part of the corrupt ruling class to postpone concentration of attention on internal mismanagement, the great food crisis which brought the revolutionary movement to a head, and the growing conviction among masses of people that the proletariat of the world, with self-consciousness and the consequent demand for education, can substitute the welfare of the many for the selfish interests of the few, are the steps with which we are all more or less confusedly familiar. That "the shots fired on the banks of the Neva echoed far and wide across the plains of the Ukraine to the Cossacks' steppes, over the snowy peaks of the Caucasus to the bleak plateaux of Armenia, and across the Caspian to the sandy wastes and fertile oases of Turkestan," is less widely known.

Mr. Price's narrative stops with the spring of 1917. His testimony, or his opinion on events that have since taken place, would be of inestimable value in the attacks and counter-attacks and tissue of lies that have successfully confused all issues and kept us from learning the truth about the greatest problem of the day.

G. E.

THE TRUTH ABOUT CHINA AND JAPAN, by B. L. Putnam Weale. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1919, 246 pp. 2 maps.

This study of the conflict between China and Japan gives an historical outline of their relations and the part Korea has had in them, first as a vassal of China and then of Japan. The suzerainty of China over Japan in ancient and medieval times is clearly stated, as well as Japan's growing purpose to reverse these positions since her opening to the West, and her rapid adoption of western mechanical methods and military science. Of course, Japan is not the only aggressor; all the great Powers followed selfish and short-sighted policies toward China. China herself has contributed much to her own difficult position. Her collapse is traced from the Korean War of 1894. Although since 1911 she has officially and publicly

thrown overboard her old civilization and system of government, "she has not yet substantiated anything more solid than the theory of western practice." In taking up this problem of Peking as much more than an Asiatic question, Mr. Weale insists that its essential point is Japan's double policy—one for the East, advanced by military power and secret loans, and another for the West, carried out by diplomacy and publicity. "Japan's Chinese policy is as purely a Japanese product as are the gets (wooden clogs) of the Japanese people. That policy clatters noisily along the international high road just as if it were shod in resolute *prts* so that everyone can see and hear it; but every so often the clogs are slipped off, and Japan enters her neighbor's house in her stocking feet (as good manners demand); and then very

secretly behind the *shoji* (screens) she whispers that unless her tutelage is accepted it will be highly unfortunate for China." The reactionary northern section of China, supplied, according to the writer, with Japanese funds, is at civil war with the Young China of the South. Japan entered the European War as an ally of England's, and carried on her military operations against the Germans at Tsingtao, in China. In order to secure these gains in Shantung, Japan forced China to accept her famous Twenty-one Demands, January, 1915. So much for Japanese military force and secret treaties. Her diplomatic successes were those at Petrograd, 1914 (nullified by the Revolution) and the Ishih-Lansing Agreement, at Washington, 1917. In Siberia with the Allied forces, Japan alone backed General Hor-

vath, the reactionary master of the Chinese Eastern Railway, in order to gain control of the road. To pass from the steps in Japan's domination over China, completed when a fully ratified Peace Treaty gives her the Shantung privilege, to the question of what reforms China must make, Mr. Weale deals at length with four—leased territories and spheres of influence, railroads, tariff reform, judicial reform. This program calls on Japan and the other Powers to play straightforward, unselfish rôles in China's rehabilitation. It also requires from China unified, reliable dealing with all the powers, instead of her old policy, dictated by weakness, of playing one foreign faction against another. The political essays first appeared in Asia. Appendix gives treaties and documents.

M. K.

## ASIATIC HATS

By ELIZABETH GOAN

A MODERN woman in selecting a hat for its ornamental qualities is following a very ancient instinct. In demanding æsthetic quality in a hat, women are merely carrying on the tradition upon which all arts are based.

Asia presents almost every gradation of civilization, and extends over varying geographic and climatic conditions. The hats of Asia are, therefore, highly diversified. From hats of jewels denoting the extremes of human luxury, to the simple embroidered fur caps of the frozen steppes, every possible type is represented. Moreover, oriental headgear is rich in significance. The hats worn by both men and women have been an index, decreed by rigid caste order, to social position. Through gradual evolution they have been subjected to that ornamental modification which

springs from an instinctive artistry, and the color, shape and character of ornament have come to have definite reference to the rank, wealth and origin of the wearer. Only under the most rigorous climatic conditions is the head covering purely utilitarian, and even in these few instances ornamental features are not neglected.

Here lies a wealth of ideas for the milliner of today, or for the woman who makes her own hats. Artists for centuries have embellished these hats of the Orient: each function of life, each station of society; each turn of whim, mode and fashion, have left their influence. Surely in such a wealth of suggestion there is much that can be adapted to our own use today.

Recently I arranged an exhibition for the Retail Milliners' Association of this

country, designed to show the history of the hat and something of its wonderful background. The collection itself was taken from the American Museum of Natural History and the Brooklyn Institute Museum. In the fifty specimens shown there were examples of hats from all over the world, including different parts of North and South America, Africa, Japan, China, India, Russia, the Philippines and South Sea Islands. Many professional designers took advantage of the exhibition to create a number of smart models, sometimes by borrowing the basic shape or bits of ornament directly from the document. The shape of a Manchu woman's bonnet, for instance, was made up in black velvet trimmed with burnt goose. Black velvet was also used for an adaptation from a Chinese baby's bonnet, and the



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effect of the embroidered piece standing up in the back was reproduced in cock feathers. A third model was fashioned after the helmet of a Japanese warrior, but instead of being worked out in



AS THE NEW YORK DESIGNER MODIFIES  
A TIBETAN IDEA

leather and gilt, a similar effect was gained by the use of brown velvet and tan wings. The results of this experiment were most gratifying. When a buyer from one of the largest department stores in the country saw the models she asked if it would not be possible to place an order for them immediately, even though they were not being offered for sale.

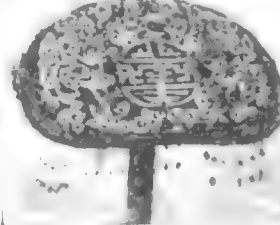
In certain parts of the world, where exposure either to extreme heat or cold is a great danger, we find the hats designed primarily for protection. Curiously enough, with all our modern discoveries, we have not yet been able to improve on these types, and explorers of today resort to the garments and methods of protection in use among peoples in such zones of danger. The sub-arctic people from the frozen tundras wear a snugly-fitting bonnet with ear-laps, designed to exclude the cold as well as to conserve the heat. Although the utilitarian side is the essential feature, and each of the twenty or more little pieces used in the construction of the bonnet are necessary to make the shape, the people who wear this head-gear have adapted ornamentation to its limitations. Fur is the basic material, but there are effective inserts of different colored strips of leather, some of which are woven with leather of a contrasting shade. In introducing bright colors they depend almost entirely on quill work, although occasionally bits of trade cloth are used. The aesthetic value of the colors, in a cold climate, is an important aspect of this type of head covering, which remains structural and in good taste.

In India we find the turban worn to protect the head from excessive heat, the thickness varying according to the climate in each locality. These turbans

are made of cloth of from twenty to forty feet long and from twelve to eighteen inches wide, and are wrapped around the head in endless variety, according to rank and taste. All those who can afford it wear a band ten to twelve feet long, made either partly or wholly of gold thread, on top of the turban. There are a number of accessories worn in combination with the turban. One beautiful ornament, limited to the use of kings, princes and nobles, is a beautifully embroidered velvet band about six inches long and two broad, into the middle of which is inserted a gold plate set with precious stones. This is worn obliquely in front of the turban, and the band is fastened behind by means of a silk thread fastened to each end.



TIBETAN HEAD-GEAR SHOWING  
BUDDHISTIC INFLUENCE



MANCHU WOMAN'S BONNET, WITH  
FEATHERED ORNAMENTS

The natives of the Philippines and South Sea Islands wear large sun-hats as a protection from the heat. Palm leaves of various kinds furnish the material generally used, but the shapes differ. Some are woven flat and some with a peak. The commonest form in the Philippines is made of palm leaves covered with cane, a cane bandeau giving an air space above the head. The ornamentation of these hats is very simple; no colors are used with the exception of brown, which is occasionally introduced in the use of hemp.

In China we find, in addition to the large peaked coolie hat used as a protection against heat, that hat which is emblematic of rank. The social position of a Manchu woman, for instance, could always be determined by the ornaments on her bonnet, often consisting of precious jewels. These hats ranged in price from a few dollars to as high as ten thousand dollars apiece, making our so-called extravagant hats of today sound cheap in comparison. One of the most interesting specimens on exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum is a hat covered with delicate ornaments of turquoise blue kingfisher's feathers, in imitation of jewels formerly used, fastened to a frame of a stiff black open mesh. These ornaments, which are made with a metal foundation, stand out about half an inch from the hat

itself, and are beautiful both in design and color. It is easy to imagine the life of inactive, passive luxury that developed such a type of head covering.

Supporting the opinion of many scien-



THE LINES FOR THIS HAT WERE BOR-  
ROWED FROM MANCHURIA

tists that the New World people originally migrated from Asia, we find that the official's hat of China has a poor relation among the American Indians. In the survival of the arts this insignificant example of good taste in millinery has outlasted records apparently more enduring. The Chinese official's hat was originally modeled from the form of a bird, but was subjected to gradual mod-

ifications until only a slight resemblance remained. One of these hats is of black felt with upturning brim, the crown of black quilted silk completely covered with red silk fringe replacing the former feathers. A jade ornament typifying the body of the bird hangs from the point of the crown and holds seven peacock feathers with long black egrets similar to a horse's tail. The ornament or button at the top typified the social status of the wearer. In the similar dead-dress of the American Indian the tube of jade is replaced by a bone, the fringe by moose hair; and the long feather hanging down the back denotes distinction or bravery, as in China.

Military rank is widely denoted by the hat, just as in our army today we can tell to what branch of the service a man belongs by the color used in his hat cord.

The Buddhist priests' hats vary in shape, but they are always made of silk or brocade, and are collapsible. In some instances they are similar to our overseas cap in both shape and color, while in others long pieces of the material hang over the shoulders. A warrior priest of thirteenth-century Japan had a most enchanting head-dress to wear into battle, made of dull blue silk brocade. The tam-o-shanter crown is outlined by a large cord of white and

(Continued on page 1158)





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## ASIATIC HATS

(Continued from page 1156)

orange silk that is knotted in front. A piece of brocade hangs over the shoulders, decorated on each side with a round medallion of white crepe de chine with a design in orange. The front edge of the crown has a narrow band of cloth of gold, outlining the width of the opening for the face. The lining throughout is a reddish orange, matching the figure in the ornament. Less gay, but no less interesting, is the brown leather hat worn by the warrior himself, fashioned like a viking's helmet. The broad wings are decorated in gilt, but the only bright color is the curtain protecting the head and face, which is made of strips of purple cloth.

Fashion is slow to change in quaint Korea, and many hats today are similar in material and shape to their prototypes of the Ming dynasty or the days of Confucius. Old Chinese arts and customs have been preserved here in this long-secluded empire after they were extinct in China itself. It is an ancient Oriental tradition that men of noble rank spend their time in pursuit of peace and in promoting the welfare of their country. The Korean noble's hat is designed with two locust wings in the front, the emblem of peace. "Like the locust singing in the tree, with love and peace toward all men," is the verse of a Chinese poet.

Purely as ceremonial ornament, the hat presents a most interesting problem. Through the Society Islands the superstitious natives believe in migration from the islands after death, and we find the frigate bird used as the head-dress for the chief male dancer in religious ceremonies. The exact bird form is used with the head worn in the front and

a long flowing tail of a delicate white vegetable fiber hanging down behind. The Mandayan hat from the Philippine Islands is probably an outgrowth of this same bird form, though not discernible now.

The Ainu tribe of the Yezo Islands, off the north-eastern coast of Japan, have a more simple ceremonial head-dress. These people worship the spirits of the elements, and one of the symbolic offerings is a stick with shavings hanging from the top. In order to deify the sea, the land, and the air, they tie some of these shavings around the skulls of the tortoise, the bear or the bird. Out of this has grown a simple hat with shavings tied around the rim, to be worn by human beings at their feasts when they wish to represent the Gods.

The Tibetan head-dress of five segments, taking the form of the lotus flower, was originally borrowed from a conception of Buddhistic embellishments. An example of this head-dress, in the American Museum of Natural History, is made of cardboard bound in black, and each section shows a different painting of Buddha. The lotus flower and little animal forms are also worked into the design.

In all the arts of all countries we find intrusion of ornament brought about more or less through the natural contacts of people. In the Bokharan boy's cap the Indian peacock, a sign of good luck, is combined with the tree of life. The influence of Chinese embroidery is shown in the designs of colored birch bark appliqué on a birch bark hat from the Amoor River. But a general note of Oriental beauty, common to all these hats of the East, finds expression in the fabrics, color, and



CEREMONIAL HAT OF JAPAN  
NOH ACTOR'S ORIGIN



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## ASIATIC HATS (Concluded from page 1158)

method of treatment, most markedly, perhaps, in the design itself.

In Russia the oriental influence is very strong. This is decidedly noticeable in the Shornick head-dress of rose silk lavishly embroidered in gold.

Not only the kind of gold thread used and the way it is applied prove the origin, but also the coloring and design of the embroidery. This same gold thread and oriental embroidery is used on the wedding head-dress of the Russian women. The people of the East

borrow and adapt to their particular needs the arts and customs of other countries, just as today we look to the French for inspiration in the costume industry. But as a rule no garment is in good taste until it has been modified to the needs of a characteristic environment.

It is with a pang of regret that anyone who visits the Orient today looks about him and sees the encroaching invasion of Western influence upon the immemorial East. Cheap straw hats, shapeless caps and ugly derbies are more and more coming into vogue among Oriental men, to be forgiven, perhaps, in the name of so-called progress when associated with the business suit, but impeachable by all the canons of taste when combined with hakama, the pleated skirt worn by Japanese men, and the black silk kimono coat, or the long silk or linen skirts of the Chinese, or the draped garment of the Hindoo. In the same way one never quite grows accustomed to the equivalent of a head-dress

borrowed from the West, and now exceedingly popular among Japanese girls, in the form of large hair-ribbon bows of striped, checked, flowered or variously shaded ribbons. By rule of court

etiquette, established at the time of the Restoration in 1868, Japanese ladies are required to wear "foreign" clothes for all occasions of ceremony. There is no one who would not agree that the native costume of Japan is not only infinitely more appropriate, but inherently far more beautiful than this

borrowed plumage of the West. In so far as the Orient is imitating rather than adapting to its particular needs western modes and manners of dress, it is making a great mistake. By the same process of reasoning, we must carefully study what, in Eastern fashion, may safely be modified to suit our present needs.

We often feel the influence of the Orient in our architecture and in other forms of our art expression. Many customs, ceremonies and superstitions throughout the world have a common basis, simply representing divergencies of taste. Why should we not permit the intrusion of rich influences from the East in the practical field of the millinery of today? The costume industry of America in the past has limited itself to one country, depending wholly on the French for new ideas. The time has come for us to show our appreciation of the arts of all the world, and recreate and develop, simplify or amplify, the ideas that are the result of untold centuries of patient development.



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MANDAYAN MAN'S HAT, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS



INDIAN TURBAN OF GHOS, BIKANER



MANDAYAN ORIENTAL'S HAT, OLD CHINA



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## Contributors and Contributions

**MAURICE BROWNE** has made a name in this country in connection with his untiring efforts to promote an intelligent theatre, exemplified in the Chicago Little Theatre and other organizations. He is the author of a number of books of verse and dramatic criticism.

**WILFRED JONES**, whose work as an illustrator has appeared in former issues of *ASIA*, is shortly leaving for Persia, where he will study eastern backgrounds.

**JACKSON FLEMING**, special correspondent for *ASIA* in the Near East, sends a clear-cut analysis of intrigue in Turkey.

**B. B. THRESHER**, who lives in Dayton, Ohio, is a patron and student of art who has become especially interested in the art of the East.

**LOWELL THOMAS**, whose third article on Arabia and Palestine appears in this issue, is now giving a series of lectures on the Near East, at Covent Garden, London.

**R. M. RIEFSTAHL** is lecturer, writer and expert on oriental art.

**SETSUO UENODA** is secretary and business manager of the Japanese Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago.

**T. Y. LEO** is a Chinese, formerly in the diplomatic service, who is a student of his own country's ancient civilization.

**CAPTAIN BOTT** is a British soldier-journalist, who has had unusual adventure in Constantinople and Arabia.

**JOHN DEWEY**, the distinguished American educationalist, is at present lecturing at the University of Peking.

**BAXTER ALDEN** is a poet who finds inspiration in oriental art for much of his work.

**W. B. HARRIS** is the Morocco correspondent for the *London Times*.

**EDITH EMERSON** is a young American artist of versatility. She has just completed a memorial stained glass window dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt for the Temple Keneseth Israel of Philadelphia.

**W. L. SCHWARTZ** was a teacher in the Japanese schools of Satsuma Province, Japan, for three years. He is now connected with the College of the Pacific, San José, California.

**LUTHER ANDERSON**, formerly instructor in the Imperial University in Peking and correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, has had unusual opportunity to study the Mongols.

**TORAO TAKETOMO** is a Japanese who has taken his degree at Columbia University and who is interesting himself in various literary studies.

**JOHN FOORD** is editor of *ASIA*.

**VIRGINIA LEE**, a staff correspondent for *Town and Country*, is making an extensive tour of the Far East and will offer in subsequent issues of *ASIA* information designed to interest persons contemplating travel in the Orient.

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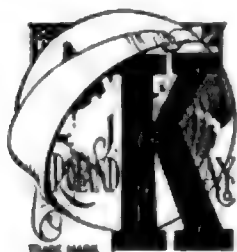
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#### EMIR FEISAL, THIRTY-SEVENTH DESCENDANT OF MAHOMET

Prince Feisal is the son of the Sherif of Mecca, Hussein, new King of the Arabs. The Arab tribes look to Feisal as the logical leader of their nationalistic hopes in Syria and Arabia. It was Feisal, with Colonel Lawrence, the brilliant young British archaeologist, as organizer, who succeeded in uniting the Arabian tribes, despite feuds of hereditary standing, and finally in driving the Turk out of Syria. Britain and France oppose each other over the disposition of the Syrian and Arabian territories, over which Prince Feisal is the nominal head of government. To the British, Syria is an essential connection for their Asia-Africa Empire. To the French, Syria appeals as a colony and a western gateway to Asia. In the Near East itself, from the point of view of the peoples of the disputed territories, America seems to be considered as the favorite nation as mandatory power. The will of Congress, in our own political crisis, has much to do with the possibility of an offer by the European powers of a mandate to America. Feisal is at the point of this high-voltage contact, and he looks to America as the mandatory power.



*Johannes Film Service*

#### ARCHAYNE TORCOM, THE ARMENIAN SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

General Torcom has recently appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee at Washington, as an unofficial delegate from Armenia, where his personal evidence was taken upon the maintenance of peace in Armenia. This was the outcome of a resolution by Senator Williams of Missouri, asking to be shown the expediency of using American forces in Armenia as a temporary measure to maintain peace. General Torcom, technically debarred from testimony as an alien, gave evidence through his interpreter, a citizen of the United States and privileged to testify upon the General's evidence. Torcom is a soldier of fortune, a student in the war schools of Bulgaria, France and Switzerland. He commanded Armenians along the Russian front, where, through an almost feudal organization of his volunteers, he earned the title of General.



*Press Illustrating Service*

#### THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA, SIR BHUPENDRA SINGH

Sir Bhupendra Singh, the descendant of a line of native Indian princes, ranks first in the careful list of precedence in the Punjab. Though not yet thirty, he attended the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet in London as the spokesman for the native princes of India in its deliberations. Seventeen guns flash out his personal salute on occasions of ceremony. Patiala covers more than five thousand square miles of India and has a population of one million seven hundred thousand souls. The Prince commands a force of forty-one hundred infantry, twenty-four hundred cavalry and one hundred and seven guns. He is a sportsman, a brilliant polo player and captain of the All-India Cricket Team. Free primary schools, electric lighting of houses and highways and the water-works of Patiala City are due to his modern initiative and active interest.



Drawing by Wilfred Jones

Illustration for "I Am a Man"

"MAN IS A SHADOW ON A CRUMBLING WALL FROM A DYING FIRE"

# I REMEMBER

By MAURICE BROWNE

Illustrations by Wilfred Jones

**I** HAVE seen men and cities. Like far-wandering Ulysses, I remember and I forget.

I remember a barren and dusty land where no water is, and how, the night I reached Peshawar, a band of Afridis dashed from over the frontier and raided a merchant's house against the city wall; but the merchant had received word of their coming, and in the ensuing fight he shot the ringleader through the head; the firing roused the station and as men clad in pyjamas and a revolver came tumbling from hotel and bungalow and club, the band broke and made for the hills. In the old lawless days such raids were common, but this was the first in three weeks.

I remember a sepulchre built by a great king for his dead queen; with pomp and pageantry he built it; he built it with his tears for the woman he loved; I remember the Taj Mahal, and a little wayside station at night near Sanchi. There was a *babu* there, and his name was Moses.

"What is the good of anything," he asked me, "if I cannot comfort my life?"

And he killed a hen for me, chasing it around and around the station, while it squawked and he shouted; he led me up a steep, narrow, dirty stairway into a tiny room littered with papers and bedding, and he requisitioned a chair from the ticket-office and a table and a tablecloth from God knows where, and he served me with dinner, apologizing all the while; great quantities of food and drink he gave me—curry and rice, and fruits, and sweetmeats and brandy. And when I would have paid, he refused sternly and a trifle drunkenly, saying, "I am sinful man if not kind to newcomer."

I remember the Indian kindness and hospitality of that *babu*, and my stomach-ache afterwards.

I remember the Tope of Sanche, and the caves of Karli and Ajanta, and the burning-*ghats* of Benares. There was a dead dog in the water by the burning bodies, and a leper on the bank, and the rich women of India bathing between them. Yellow and gold and amber the dawn rose over flooded fields and trees reflected in the water, and Benares, asleep on the silent river-bank, faded, a dream of rose and silver, into the dawn-mists of distance.

I remember a woman's laughter through the open window of a hotel at Lucknow, where I sat on the verandah before it; a *gharri* came up from the station with an Englishman in it; he sat in a long chair beside me, and we drank together. His wife had run away with another man, he told me—we did not know each other's names, we had not met

before, we were not likely to meet again—and he was looking for her up and down India. He had sought her in Agra and Delhi and Lahore, in Pindi and Peshawar, in Umballa and Amritsar, but always she had left when he came. A few days before, in Calcutta, he had heard of her in Lucknow, and had taken the next train hither. To distract him I chatted of station gossip, how this one had died and that one been promoted and this other transferred; how So-and-so had a baby and So-and-so a husband and So-and-so had gone home; and how a woman in the hotel had had three attachées in the last two weeks. Her laughter came again through the open window.

"That is she," I said.

"That is my wife's voice," he replied.

We told each other our names, then, and later I went with him to his wife's room, and the attendant subaltern left hurriedly, and on a table there was a revolver, which I put in my pocket; and I remember how, many years afterward, a cousin of mine, home on leave from India, told me that he had met on the boat a man and his wife.

"Charming people," he said, "and devoted to each other. I have been staying with them at their cottage in Cornwall. And at first I thought they must know you, for, when I told them that I was coming to visit you, they seemed so interested, but, when I asked them, they were quite certain that you and they had never met."

The Golden Temple of Amritsar and the Marble Rocks of Jubbulpore I remember, the Palace of the Winds in a far city, and a *fakir* beating on a gong to wake his god; the peacocks calling in the deserted streets of Amber and mother monkeys suckling their young in the courts of kings; and a girl with a lithe body who turned and waved to me on a dusty road.

I remember the never-ceasing fascination of little wayside stations at night, with a flickering lamp throwing shadows on the faces of sleeping travelers wrapped in their quilts upon the ground, and flaring torches in the dusk of a river bank, and the cry of jackals across the silent plains, and the smell of flowers and of hot dust in the darkness—the sudden nightfall, and a velvet sky, and great stars. And I remember dawn upon the plains and dawn upon the Himalayan snows. Thirteen thousand miles I traveled that year, by steamer and *terain*, on horseback and afoot, by *ekka* and *gharri*, by *tonga* and *dunga* and ox-cart, thirteen thousand miles in twelve months.

One evening I told my bearer to call me at four the next morning, for the hotel was a quarter of an hour's drive from the docks, and the boat sailed for Burma at six forty-five. At half-past six my cousin came into my room and woke me; we were on board with all our luggage at six forty-three. And I know that the memory of my arrival on board in pyjamas, pumps and an overcoat, escorted by three *pharris* filled full with socks and sponges and shirts, still lingers in Calcutta. I remember how unnaturally calm the voyage seemed after that, and that the only thing to do was to play bridge; so we played bridge from breakfast to bed and from bed to breakfast for three full days—except my cousin, who played cut-throat poker for matches with a horse dealer; on the third day the retail price for a match on shipboard was one cigar, payable to my cousin.

I remember the strength of the Burmese men and the beauty of the Burmese women; their slipped feet, and their straight skirts folded about their hips, and their little snow-white jackets, and the carriage of their heads and the wisp of silk around their black hair; the gold bracelets on their brown arms; the pink of skirt and headdress against their brown bodies, and the earrings of green jade in the lobes of their little ears, and their brown smiling faces. I remember shades of color like notes of music and a mass of color like song in the dresses of a Burmese crowd in the sunlight; and the *phongyis* in their yellow robes with their disciples and their begging bowls, and the thatched teak bungalows on poles by the roadside, and the roofs rising one above the other, and the pagodas, pagodas everywhere and always. Once I rounded a corner and suddenly found myself face to face with a pagoda of gold. And I remember a greater golden pagoda; I remember the Shwe Dagon—as I remember the Pearl Mosque of Agra and the Taj Mahal



IN THE DRESSER OF THE BURMESE CROWD I REMEMBER SHADES OF COLOR LIKE NOTES OF MUSIC, AND PAGODAS EVERYWHERE AND ALWAYS. ONCE I ROUNDED A CORNER AND SUDDENLY FOUND MYSELF FACE TO FACE WITH A PAGODA OF GOLD

and a Burmese girl on the train between Rangoon and Mandalay. She sat opposite me in the early morning, and she undressed and washed herself, rinsing her mouth, and dressed again, and lit her cheroot, borrowing the match from me. There are no Burmese prostitutes, and I do not remember a scowl on a Burmese face.

I remember that our captain ran his river steamer on a shoal in the Irrawaddy just outside Mandalay, and, half mad with shame, tried to tow her off broadside with hawsers from the lifeboat; from the deck of the steamer we could watch the sailors paying out the rope as they put off from our side, and we could see their boat slowly tipping, tipping toward us, under the hawser's strain and weight; the water reached their gunwale, hung taut above it for an unending moment, and broke. The captain sat in the stern, holding the tiller; he sank sitting. But the mate dived down after him, and fought with him under

water, and wrenched his hand free from the tiller, and brought him up and aboard; and they nursed him back to life while he cursed them. And the Larcaers swam ashore.

There was a Frenchman and a Scotchman and a Chinaman on board. The Frenchman had been sent by his government to study the British *Raj*, and his secretary took notes in shorthand while an Anglo-Burmese policeman, questioned for three days, at last reluctantly confessed that the official method of dealing with *dacoity* was crucifixion. He added by a happy afterthought that a train of gunpowder was sometimes laid into a hole in the side of the crucified *dacoit* and fired from a safe distance. The Frenchman took it in, and his secretary took it down.

The Scotchman had spent his boyhood, long years before, in the western parts of America, and at night, when his sickness came on him, he would

stalk Red Indians among the legs of the chairs in the saloon; he was terrified by the herds of white elephants he saw on the banks of the Irrawaddy and would barricade himself in his cabin, but if I could lay my hand on his arm he became quiet and peaceful. I remember that, in those days, for some I had healing in my hands.

The Chinaman sat silent while we younger men discussed and argued, upholding our opinions with our experience; he sat silent, with his hands in the long sleeves of his coat, watching our faces. I remember his grave courtesy and that he once asked me had I read Voltaire.

I remember the Burmese villages on the river bank at nightfall, with lights glimpsing under the darkness of the forest, and dark paths through the jungle, and a bridge over a stream with stars in the sky above it, and women on the bridge with flowers in their hair. I remember soft voices and the sound of falling water, and a stringed instrument in the distance, torches gleaming on the beach, a crowd gathered, and puppets posturing in the torchlight—exquisite formal little figures with ceremonial gestures and set tragic faces. I remember the defiles of the Irrawaddy, and the precipitous rocks on either hand, and a Burman with his wife and child wrecked on an islet in midstream; their raft had sunk under them with all they owned in the world, but when we picked them up they were laughing. I remember a cargo of strange freight from the hills, and women coming out in boats to the ship with red and black lacquerware, woven of hairs from horses' tails, and a great gong booming from a temple far away. I remember the little store at the last frontier of civilization and the gentle storekeeper of Bhamo with his collection of strange weapons; and the great hats of the hill tribes, stoutly woven of fibre, to serve them as a shield in battle, and their

long knives and ragged clothes and air of princes. And I remember an old wrinkled Nepalese with quiet eyes who stood on the prow of the boat as we turned downstream. He had left Nepal as a young man and had wandered on foot across Tibet and through all the provinces of China, seeking light; now he was going home to die among his Himalayan snows.

I remember the Himalayan snows; I remember Kanchenjunga and Simlaeham and the Silent Watcher, and I remember Kashmir. I remember its waterways and lakes, its lotus flowers and floating gardens, and through their midst a *dunga* drifting all the long hot day and the rich, warm-scented night under the stars and sky; the songs across the water as the boatmen swayed to their oars; the plane-trees and the cedar trees, and a tent on the grass by the winding river, and the smell of wood-smoke in the evening, and birds singing in the Chenar Bagh. I remember the fountains and the

terraced palaces of the Dhal Lake, where Akbar and Aurangzeb laid battles by and revelled through the summer night with dance and with feasting and with song; in the fairy palace on the enchanted lake they watched the swelling loveliness of the *naucha*, and they listened to Kashmiri love tales and the throbbing *tan-toms* of the musicians and the *maghis'* long-drawn chant, while Nur Jehan was poled in her mat-roofed boat over the sunlit water. Light of the World, when you played among the waterways with your royal lover, did you dream of the long days when you would be no more?

There was a woman with sore breasts at Chakoti, and she came to me to be healed; I was a white man, and therefore a *hokim*; and she was very sick. I sent her to a native doctor, for I was ignorant of healing. And the woman died. And an old man with a gangrenous foot came to me in the mountains; his sons car-



I REMEMBER THE BURNING GHATS OF BENARES. THERE WAS A DEAD DUG IN THE WATER BY THE BURNING BODIES, AND A LEVER ON THE BANK, AND THE RICH WOMEN OF INDIA BATHING BETWEEN THEM

ried him; and I took a little knife and opened his leg from the calf to the heel and from the instep to his big toe, and pressed the evil matter out, and washed the wound with warm water, and filled it with cold cream and bandaged it with a handkerchiefs; and he sat and smiled at me. And I gave



A MAN SPOKE INSOLENTLY TO ME IN A BY-WAY OF SRINAGAR, AND I WAS ANGRY AND BEAT HIM, AND HE GATHERED A CROWD TOGETHER AND THEY ATTACKED ME WITH STICKS. MY KASHMIRI SERVANT TOOK THE LIGHTED LANTERN HE CARRIED AND CLEARED A SPACE AROUND ME. I REMEMBER HOW A STRANGER OF ANOTHER RACE SAVED MY LIFE FROM HIS KINSMEN AT THE PERIL OF HIS OWN

him quinine to take, and left him to die, for the swelling had gone up into the groin. And when I came again by that way after three weeks, he walked six miles leaning on his son's arm to show me that his leg was healed.

A wood-carver came for me to the Chenar Bagh in a boat rowed by eight men, and they rowed me down the great river which flows through the City of the Sun to his shop below the mosque with the carved walls; and he showed me Kashmiri mandaks of white wool embroidered in blue with the leaves of the *chenar* and the windings of the *Jhelum*, and shawls that passed through my finger ring, and Persian lacquer, and carpets that boys weave while the oldest sings the pattern, and a screen of wood carved with Tibetan signs for the names of God. And I bought nothing, for I had no money. But he gave me brick tea to drink that the caravans bring from Yarkand through the passes of Leh, brewing it in a samovar and making it thick with sugar and powdered biscuit. Then he set me in the boat with the eight rowers and rowed me

back to my tent, up the highway of Asia past the houses with the wooden balconies and flowers that the wind sows in their grass roofs; and I remember that, three months later, we met in the streets of Peshawar. And he took me to the shop of his friend, and again he gave me tea. And, many years

afterwards, I saw once more the carved screen that he had showed me; I saw it in the San Francisco Fair.

A man spoke insolently to me in a by-way of Srinagar, and I was angry, being young, and beat him. And he gathered a crowd together, and, as I was returning to my boat at nightfall, they attacked me with sticks. I fought them for my life, not knowing then that it was of no value and that it is better to be killed than to kill. And one struck me on the head from behind with a great pole, and I fell to the ground, and they set upon me. Now a servant accompanied me, a Kashmiri. And he took the lighted lantern that he carried to show me the road, and swung it above his head and cleared a space around me so that I

could rise to my feet; and we set our backs against the wall of the bridge and held the crowd till help came. I had engaged the man the day before, and till then he had not known me. When bad weather sets the scar in my skull throbbing, and at other times, I remember that a stranger of another race saved my life from his kinsfolk at the peril of his own.

I remember the sacred fish in the pool among the fruit trees where the rivers meet, and the priest that served them, and the long avenues of poplars, and a shy boy who brought me a basket piled high with apples and pomegranates and gourds and berries, and his little brother who gave me a flower. I remember the Greek faces of the children on the road where Alexander passed, and a Greek coin turned up by a peasant in his field, and, in a distant valley, the calm foreheads of women. For a hundred miles the valley stretches to the sunset, and the *Jhelum* winds among its orchards, and broad lakes lie on the fruitful land, and the snows surround it.



I remember my boatman's little son, and a yellow chicken he carried in his arms and played with in the stern of the boat, and his father's gentle voice and soft smile, and the skill of his hands. I remember a water-picnic in a deserted palace by moonlight, when stars shone through into the roofless chambers, and a storm on the Wular Lake, and a water festival at the end of summer. I remember the long lines of boats across the lake, and the sunlight on the water, and the white turbans of the men, and apples piled upon the grass, and the booths where women bargained and children were buying toys of clay; and the priests preaching at sunset, and the praying crowds, and a boy with a painted face, and torches in the twilight. And I remember a Kashmiri girl in a boat hung with roses.

She smiled at me where I stood upon the bank in the morning by my *dwaps* in the Chenar Bagh, and we tied our boats together and floated side by side through the locks into the Dhal Lake, and our servants and our boatmen sat about us, and we talked and smoked together and made merry. And at noon I sent her English cakes and sandwiches from my boat, and in the afternoon she asked me into her boat and gave me sweetmeats and tea and pan; and I sat on a cushion beside her, and she showed me her embroideries and her jewels, her armlets and her anklets and her earrings, of gold, very heavy. And at sunset we walked together among the crowds under the trees, and bargained at the booths, and bought toys for the children, and laughed because we were happy. And, when dusk fell, we sat again in our boats side by side, and the torches were lit, and the boatmen sang for us the love songs of Kashmir; there were many boatmen singing over the water. And she leaned across from her boat into mine, so that her shoulder touched my shoulder, and she said, "Come and sit in my boat again, and we will let fall the matting's." And I was ashamed because of my servants and the boatmen, and said, "Tomorrow, early, I go into the mountains to hunt bear, and it is time that I slept." And she withdrew from me and we unlashed our boats, and I returned to the city. But I remember, I remember, her carved mouth and the

lines of her body, and her angry and beautiful eyes.

I set my face to the hills and, leaving the valley, climbed for many weeks, past the temples of Nara Nag and the forests on the mountainside and the mountain-meadows where the white women shelter from the heat of the plains, to the pass that leads over the tablelands of Leh beyond the monasteries into Tibet. Leaving servants and tents at Sonamarg, I turned to the left and, with two men and my sleeping-bag, pressed on into the mountains, passing the caravans that come down from Central Asia with rugs and metalware and tea—slow-footed yaks feeling their way among the crevasses with thin legs and broad bodies which the snow supports when their hooves pierce the crust, with women-folk upon their backs and the men of Ladakh beside them. Day after day we marched among the mountains of the Karakoran pass, sleeping on the glaciers in the snow and climbing always higher. I remember the solitary Guja huta, where the gypsies of the uplands shelter their buffaloes at nightfall; they are built out from the hillside, with



I REMEMBER A KASHMIRI GIRL IN A BOAT HUNG WITH ROSES. WHEN DUSK FELL AND THE TORCHES WERE LIT, SHE LEANED ACROSS FROM HER BOAT INTO MINE AND SAID, "COME AND SIT IN MY BOAT, AND WE WILL LET FALL THE MATTING'S"

doorways high enough for a buffalo to enter, but a man must stoop, for his buffalo is more than himself to the Guja; and there is a shelf within where he may sleep while his buffaloes herd below on the floor of beaten earth; but we did not sleep on those shelves. We slept in the clean warm snow, beside a fire of fallen pine trees, sheltering behind a rock from the wind which comes down from the high places. I remember the frozen honey at these heights, and the thin sheets of ice in a hard-boiled

egg, one between the skin and the white and one between the white and the yolk. And once, at dawn, a storm overtook us. For thirty-six hours we fought our way through that howling wind and the white darkness of driven snow over a pass nineteen thousand feet high with our clothes frozen to our bodies, and with a great weariness, longing for sleep. On the evening of the second day we came down into a grassy glade ringed about with pine trees, below the storm; and when I awoke in the late afternoon of the next day there were crows chatting in the grass in the sunlight, and a little stream, and, high above us, serene and still, the snow-peaks from which we had come.

We rested for a week in that glade and watched the life of birds and of flowers, and looked out over the valley of the Jhelum far below, and the rivers that are the roads of Kashmir; and the thousand gorges that empty into the valley. We lay and smoked and rested in the sunlight, taking off our clothes and heating water to wash ourselves. And once, at noon in the forest, I came on a great *barasingh* lying among the bracken; he slowly ate the fern, and I lay to windward and watched him, and he did not know that I was there; and I reached out my hand and touched him on the haunch. And I remember the amazement with which he leaped to his feet and stood gazing at me, and how he went leaping in great bounds down the mountain-side. And once, at twilight in the forest, I shot a brace of bears with a right and left, not knowing then that the beasts are our brothers.

I remember the campfires under the trees, and the smoke in the windless air, and the silence; the moonlight on peak and glacier, and the virgin world, and the song of the little stream, and the



I HAVE ONE MEMORY MORE. AS THE BELLS OF THE CATTLE RETURNING HOME FROM THEIR PASTURE RING GENTLY IN THE SILENCE, A FAMILIAR VOICE CALLS THROUGH THE LONG TWILIGHT, "COME, HUSBAND, FOR SUPPER IS READY, AND WE MUST GIVE THANKS TO GOD"

hush of the stars, and night under the snows. And we lay by the campfire, my *shikari* and his brother and I, and talked in the darkness, talking, as young men will, of many things, but most of God; and I remember how you told me, Usmana, that God was One. I remember you, Usmana, unlettered Mahomedan, my friend. Where are you now, Brother? Have the years devoured you? Or, in a ripe age, do you sit at sunset in your orchard by the winding river with your eyes lifted to the hills we loved, your grandchildren about your knee? *Salaam, salaam alikum, Usmana, Allah il Allah.*

And I have one memory more; it is with me now. I remember a little house built on piles over the water and the tides lapping against the piles on which the house is built; on an arm of the sea the house is built, between the mountains and the forest. And peace dwells there. Among the husbandmen that till the soil and the fisherfolk that let down their long nets into the waters of the northern sea peace dwells in a world at war. A fire of driftwood burns upon an open hearth; a black-and-white kitten plays with a blue glass bead; and, as the bells of cattle returning home from their pasture ring gently in the silence over the shining water, a familiar voice calls through the long twilight, "Come, husband, for supper is ready, and we must give thanks to God."

The day wanes; the night comes; we go from a dream to darkness. And, if there be memories in the darkness, who knows? But if memories there be none, forgetfulness is complete. Man is a shadow on a crumbling wall from a dying fire, and none knows whence the shadow comes; none knows, when the fire is dead and the wall crumbled, who stood, or stands, between the ashes and the dust.

# MANDATES FOR TURKISH TERRITORIES

By JACKSON FLEMING

**A**T present there are at least two Turkish governments, as well as the several Allied military controls. The "Nationalists," or progressive, have been holding congresses at Erzerum, Sivas and Ali-Shehr, and exercise the dominant influence over the greater part of Anatolia, declaring that the reactionary pan-Islamic government in Constantinople would not remain in power an hour if not bolstered up by the Allied occupation. So unhappy have been the circumstances that were the Turk the ruthless, fanatical fellow he has long been painted, there is much blood-letting overdue. The land is sorely overburdened with conquerors. With the French troops in occupation of Cilicia, the Italians in Adalia and Konia, the Greeks in Smyrna, the British everywhere, and everybody's troops in Constantinople, it seems that the Turks are being conqueror-ridden to the last point of endurance. One feels inclined to dig up real history and to uncover diplomacy just to make reasonably sure how much guilt can in justice be laid to the Turk for the plague which has come through him upon the world.

It is a picturesque and healthful country, is Turkey. But its misfortune lies not in that. Turkey is not so much coveted for its wealth or for its beauty as for its geographical position. The recent misfortunes of the Turk, are due in a considerable measure to the fact that his land lies at the cross-roads of the world where the juggernauts of diplomacy and commerce have long been plunging recklessly this way and that, with terrible collisions forever threatening. We have heard a great deal in the past about this stretching out of Europe's sinuous arms of diplomacy and capital towards Asia and Africa, bent upon the conquest and exploitation of the great backward continents. We shall probably hear a great deal more about this tendency in the near future. The lessons of the war, though they may discourage the one arm, may encourage the other enormously. Huge national debts will not on the whole deter, but will rather increase national activities in foreign fields. Aerial navigation may alter the programs of diplomacy, but it is sure to intensify competition. And the growing strength of the League of Nations itself must also contribute this tendency by increasing the safety of investments in foreign fields.

Before the war each step taken by one of the powers towards Asia or Africa was countered jealously by the other powers.

For a century before the war the European powers had been hovering around the "sick man of

Europe," smiling and snarling at each other; doctoring, doping and poisoning the patient; waiting for the carcass, though realizing that in the rending of it one or more of themselves would probably be trampled in the dust. It is not my purpose to champion the recent political system or the civilization of the once-magnificent Turks. We cannot overlook the fact, however, that there would have been no carcass for the hungry powers had the sick man got strong. And this fact denied him a real chance for a rebirth. So he resorted to playing the doctors against each other in order that he might get from them more food and less poison. Usually he had a favorite among his doctors, one among them whom he hated least—at one time England, then France, then Germany, but never Austria or Russia. For ages he had periodic wars with Russia and Austria—a war about every fifteen to twenty years.

Russia was the demon of his dreams, as relentless as fate. He holds the old government of Russia largely responsible for the Armenian troubles, declaring that Turks and Armenians got on well enough together until Russia began plotting to win the sympathy of the Christian world in behalf of her political program. She was pressing across Turkey toward the Mediterranean, ostensibly rescuing Christian Armenia from the "fanatical" Turks, when actually she was sending Russian Armenians into Turkey to sow dissension and treachery and to commit outrages in order that in the inevitable outbursts of race passion the Turks would get a blacker name, and that Russia in due season might pose as the champion of downtrodden Christians. Turkey knew that when Russia entered this war her primary object was to secure Constantinople. And the Turks wonder how we could possibly criticize their course in entering the war on the other side from Russia. There was no love for Germany, only dread of Russia.

The Ottoman Empire now lies definitely dismembered and the Turk seems to be in complete disgrace. The blight of the Turk has become the plight of the Turk. The victors among his former doctors have pronounced the sick man dead. After amputating for themselves the principal limbs from the body, they began carving the body itself for themselves and their satellites. But the Turk is not dead. In fact, he thinks he may live to prescribe pills to some of his old doctors. Though sullenly enduring the disgraceful autopsy, he shows symptoms of having about reached the limit of



David Thompson

#### THE GRAND VIZIER DESCENDS THE CARPETED STEPS OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE

*The Personages Attending Reviews of Turkish Troops Whirl Up in Victorias to Their Posts of Honor with All the Eclat of Power and Wealth and Glitter of Ribboned Decorations*

restraint. Likely his exasperation would before this have burst all bounds were it not that he has been clinging desperately to one last thread of faith in the Peace Conference.

It is not primarily for the sake of serving the Turk that a major operation is necessary in this part of our sick world. It is for the general health of the world. On the other hand, it is not necessary to eliminate the Turk in order to remove the blight. To attempt to eliminate the Turk politically by carving up Anatolia among the rival nations would only aggravate the disease. To call the disease "Turkey" is a misnomer. For want of a better name we may call the disease Asia Minor. It has been the worst breeding-ground for the ills of destructive competition.

The question is, shall the operation be trusted to surgeons whose greed or fear in this particular region quite eclipses their humanity? In ASIA for July, 1917, I advocated that America should dominate the settlement in the Near East. This need is now infinitely more acute. The other powers are hopelessly at odds, and the Near East was never more menacing as a war breeder. Nor can we feel assured that the other powers are unanimous in wishing to see America take charge. It is not easy for them to surrender the hope of achieving their own selfish claims. So that with the insistence of the Turks in asking for American help, propaganda against us springs up in all quarters, perhaps most among those whom we may desire least to suspect. The Allied censorship here classes American news with Bolshevik Russian news. Reports from neither source are permitted to the Turkish newspapers for publication. Reasons are not difficult to find. First of all, America is the favorite with the

peoples of the former Ottoman Empire, so it is perhaps only natural that the top dog should be attacked, even though he is not even making a show of defending himself.

There is, moreover, a great principle coming acutely before the councils of the world, a principle which is the very core and essence of American foreign policy. It is the much-maligned and misinterpreted principle of self-determination, the giving to backward peoples of consideration approaching a square deal. We may depend upon it that the great powers will never be ready to give each other a fair measure of consideration.

America feels that this sort of thing has gone about as far as it is safe for civilization to let it go. Our comparatively independent position and our democratic institutions impel us to lead in the fight for higher standards of competition—constructive humanitarian standards to replace the old standards of might is right. Certain reactionary elements in the world are unmistakably alarmed. On the one hand they seem to feel that under such a new order America would enjoy a relatively strong position. On the other hand, they apparently regard the new order as directly inimical to their peculiar prerogatives. They are too much bound up in the old game to risk a readjustment. They persuade themselves that they cannot afford to help backward peoples. It seems to pay better to exploit them. In justification they exclaim, "Who is it that keeps order in the world and saves backward peoples from self-extermination? Who is it fights the necessary great wars of the world, pouring out immeasurable blood and treasure? Are not the great nations who carry such responsibility and incur such costs justified in making the irrespon-



HIGH HONORS RENDERED TO ABDUL HAMID II A FEW SHORT DAYS BEFORE HIS FALL.  
 Ever Closely Protecting the Passage of Rulers Ride the Heavy-Handed and Keen-Eyed Personal Body-  
 guards, All Suspicious and Ready to Ride into the Crowd at the Lifting of a Hand

sible and inferior peoples pay their share of the expense of keeping the world safe for autocracy?"

Not a bad argument. However, it doesn't get us anywhere. It doesn't advance the cause of democracy. It throws us back on the old order of the right of might in dealings between peoples. Weaker nations can have no higher inspiration than to grow war-strong as the final guarantee of rights. It keeps civilization on a "blood-and-iron" basis.

The issue is bound to stand out more and more clearly before the American people. When we joined in the great war we were resolved to clear away certain colossal obstructions which stood in the way of the progress of democracy. Are we

going to allow those same obstructions to be rolled back into the road again? Perhaps the best way to prevent it would be to stand here at this most important crossroads in the world until decency and law and freedom are firmly established here.

Our coming here would only mean a big step ahead in a far-reaching program which we are bound to carry out whether we came here or not. Security for us—political, economic, moral—is wrapped up with the advancement of democratic principles throughout the world. Otherwise, less democratic and less scrupulous nations are capable of placing us at a disadvantage. By our very democratic, idealistic nature we are compelled to be comparatively frank and square in our foreign



A SQUADRON OF TURKISH LANCERS PASSING IN REVIEW BEFORE THE SULTAN  
 The Tappings of Pride Still Cling to the Remaining Regiments, Though There Are Two Turkish Gov-  
 ernments and Several Allied Controls Dividing Turkish Territories Amongst Them

policy. So that our security against more autocratic and secretive governments is in bringing the society of nations to an acceptance of a code of fair play. Here in Constantinople at this time there is being carried on diplomatic intrigue of such color that American officials would be incapable of participating in it, for the simple reason that American public opinion demands the truth about such things, and in this case our public opinion would tear its hair in rage and shame. Our aptitude for plain speaking gets a measure of recognition from the Allied censor here when he forbids the Turkish papers to publish news from American sources. Where imperial intrigue breeds best, daylight is as dangerous as Bolshevism.

He would be a harsh judge indeed who did not allow the Turk to enter a plea of "extenuating circumstances."

How much, then, of the former Ottoman territory would we be likely to undertake? There are four main divisions which no doubt should be organized separately, possibly five. This excludes the vast desert region of Arabia, which should at least have a small measure of supervision, however unwelcome it might be to the Bedouin, in connection with one of the other mandates, or perhaps shared between two or more. The four main divisions are Anatolia, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Syria, with perhaps Palestine separated from Syria as the fifth division. The corresponding peoples are the Turks; the Armenians and others in Armenia; the Arabs of Mesopotamia; the Arabs of Syria; the Arabs and Jews of Palestine. In every one of these divisions America is overwhelmingly the choice as the mandatory power. The Paris Conference would certainly be warranted in urging upon us the mandates for the entire Ottoman territories. But I am not aware that the Conference has made any such proposal or is likely to. The vague reports which reach Constantinople indicate that we are invited to take over Armenia, and possibly Constantinople. The just and proper course probably lies somewhere between these two extremes—between the expressed wishes of the peoples and the tentative proposals of the Paris Conference.

Can there be any doubt as to who will have Mesopotamia? I believe the British would let go of Mesopotamia about as soon as they would let go of India—and that is the last word in suppositions. They are already working feverishly in Mesopotamia and spending vast sums of money there, expecting to get it back a hundredfold. The wealth of oil in North Mesopotamia is said by enthusiasts to be sufficient to pay off Great Britain's war debt within a short time. Actual survey may of course reduce this appraisal very considerably. And agriculturally, this vast delta is perhaps the most fertile in the world, though it will take much labor

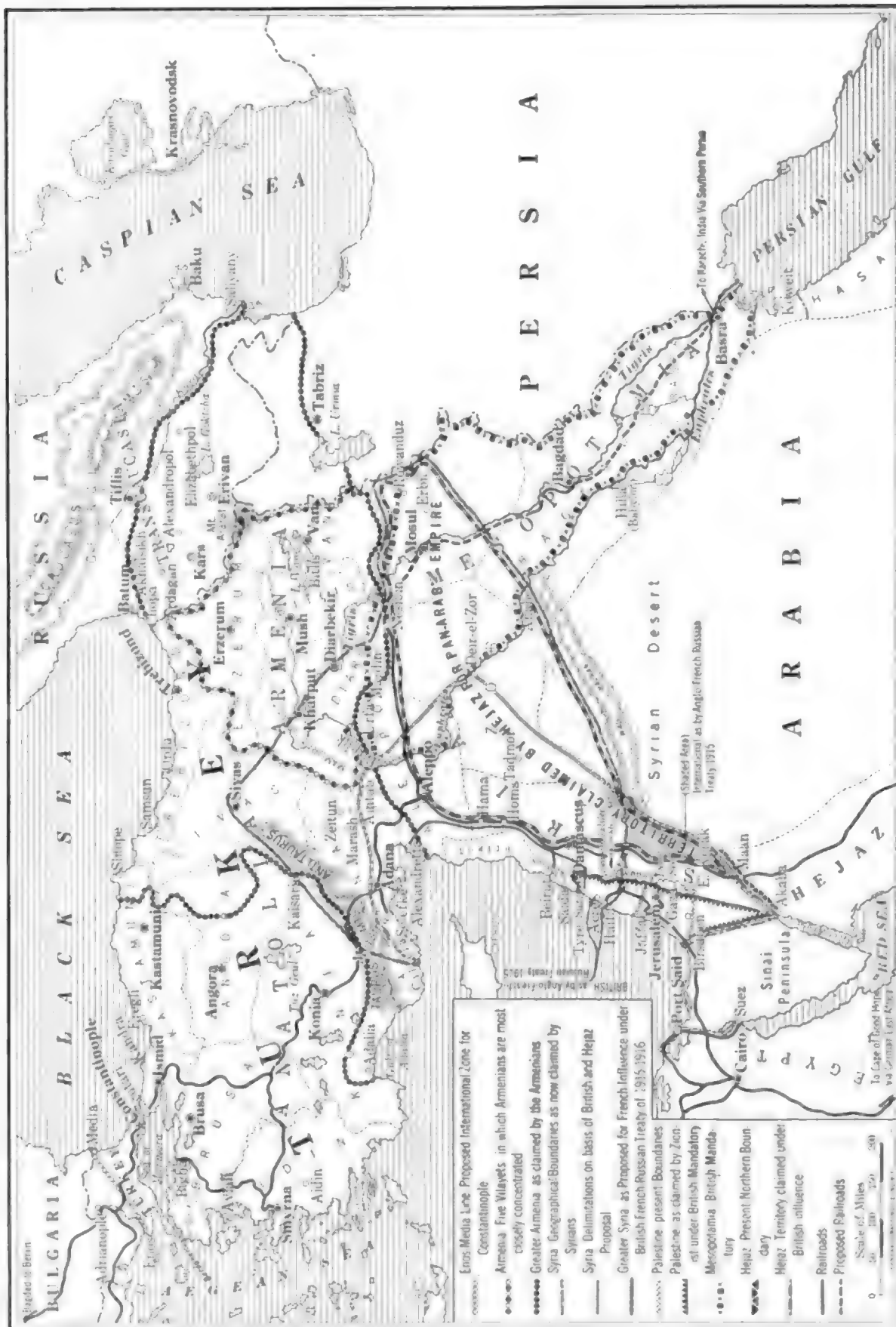
and money to return it to that former state when it was the basis of a great ancient empire.

There remains the northern part of the Ottoman territories lying between Europe and the Caucasus, embracing Turkey proper and Armenia. Probably this region is by far the most important for American activities in the interest of world peace. Diplomacy has been inclined to discuss this territory in three sections—Constantinople, Anatolia and Armenia. "Constantinople" means more than the city. As a problem for the peace settlement it includes the entire waterway connecting the Black Sea and the Mediterranean—the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles—a total distance of something like 150 miles. It is the most important waterway in the world.

Anatolia is the home of the Turks, of whom there are probably twelve millions. As a problem it involves Turkish nationality in conflict with the territorial claims of Greece, Italy, France and Armenia. These territorial claims of European powers regarding Anatolia should be definitely denied by the Paris Conference. This danger spot must be made a bulwark of strength instead of a corrupting cancer. The Paris Conference has already compromised League principles by recognizing certain diplomatic arrangements made early in the war, but this tendency to compromise must not be carried to Asia Minor. The line must be drawn around this territory which is sacred not only to the principle of justice to the peoples most intimately concerned, but which is also so unmistakably wrapped up with the prevention of future world war. Why should the world groan in travail to give birth to an ideal which is needlessly diseased from infancy?

It is true there is a large population of Greek extraction in the province of Aidin, which includes the city of Smyrna—1,500,000 perhaps of the so-called "Greeks" are living there. But this affords no justification for allowing Greece to carve this province out of the Turkish nation. With a strong mandatory power for all Anatolia, those "Greeks" would have full justice and probably far greater opportunities for large prosperity than if Greece should extend her administration over the province. For this latter course there might be some slight measure of justification if Greece herself were contiguous to Asia Minor and were merely extending her frontiers, but not in view of existing geographical facts.

The claim of Italy is even more easily cancelled. Italy has practically no population in any part of Asia Minor. The region coveted by her—Adana and Konia—is populated almost exclusively by Turks. There is said to be a good deal of coal there and other undeveloped resources. Let Italy have the opportunity of developing those resources if



MAP SHOWING HOW THE CONFLICTING CLAIMS OF THE ALLIES, AND OF THE PEOPLES THEY RELEASED FROM THE BONDAGE OF THE TURK, ARE DEADLOCKED ALL ALONG THE FRONTIERS OF TRADITIONAL STATES THROUGHOUT THE NEAR EAST

Turkey in Liquidation, with French Troops in Cilicia, Italians in Adalia and Konia, Greeks in Smyrna, the British in Other Strategic Points, and All of Them in Constantinople, Has Brought about an International Problem to Be Solved with the Utmost Delicacy and Justice



she is capable of doing so in the interest of Turkey as well as of herself. That is a very different matter from carving whole provinces out of Turkey. The case of France in Cilicia is a similar one. France may be accorded a mandate for Syria with its Arab population, but this would certainly not justify her slicing out a part of Turkey, or of Armenia, to incorporate with Syria.

The home of the Turk should be left intact, from Constantinople on the west to Armenia on the east, and from the Black Sea on the north to the Mediterranean on the south. Further dismemberment would embitter the race, poison any hope of progress and make the Turk a poisonous element in the body of the world.

Anatolia should be left intact and placed under a separate mandate from Constantinople on the one side and Armenia on the other. All three mandates, however, should be entrusted to the same mandatory power. This is strongly advisable because the races and problems are so intimately interrelated. To draw a boundary between Armenia and Turkey with these races so intricately dovetailed and intermixed would be a hazardous proceeding if a single power were not dominating the whole situation. This operation must be performed and a wholesome tolerance and spirit of coöperation fostered between these races which at present are so bitterly hostile to each other. Likewise in the case of Constantinople, which has been the capital of the Turkish Empire. If this head is to be severed from the Turkish body because it has become such an important member in the world organism, then surely the operation should be performed by one master surgeon, not by two or more working at cross-purposes. And if the operation is carried through with wisdom and sympathy, even the Turk should benefit by it, since many of his best friends believe that for the period of regeneration at least his capital should be moved into Anatolia away from the demoralizing influences of the vast metropolis on the Bosphorus.

Meanwhile, the international status of Constantinople should be organized and administered by a single power, not by an international commission. Of all places in the world we must beware of cross-currents in the Bosphorus. A single power should have the executive and administrative control. And yet the higher sovereignty of legislative power should be retained by the League of Nations. This counsel applies with unquestionable force to the problem of Constantinople.

The mandate for Anatolia, as stated above, should be given to the same power, although this mandate may run for only a comparatively short period. The Turk will likely not require a great deal of tutoring in order to establish democratic institutions and get under way on the highroad of

progress. It may seem advisable to reorganize Turkey on a distinctly federal basis in order to give a large measure of local self-government to the provinces for the sake of the foreign elements, such as the Greeks in Aidin, and also for the sake of developing political responsibility in the people generally.

As to the mandate for Armenia, there is need for great wisdom and sympathy, both as to the treatment of the ragged remnants of the people themselves and as to the bearing of this problem upon international relations. There is not much human material in sight in Armenia out of which to mold a nation; a meager seeding to promise any worthwhile harvest.

These three inseparable mandates are, by force of circumstances, pressing closer and closer upon the attention of America. The peoples themselves are urging this solution; world peace seems to demand it; the European powers are otherwise in hopeless disagreement.

Of course, it was impossible for each to have his full desires with their claims so much in conflict. Had it not been so there might have been none of the stuff left out of which a peace league might be started. Happily or not, it is upon this substance of conflict that the League of Nations for the moment rests.

Apparently, Great Britain and France are steadfastly opposed to letting each other have Constantinople. France will not be allowed to have Constantinople, because an alliance between France and a strong eastern European power would dominate the British Empire. On the other hand, the British in control of Constantinople would mean that France would be denied an effective alliance in eastern Europe. She would, in a large sense, be relegated to western Europe, with only her foothold in Syria, which would be effectively pocketed by British occupation in the north (Turkey), in the east (Mesopotamia), and in the South (Palestine).

Then what do France and Britain think of an American mandate for Constantinople and Turkey? To judge by outward manifestations here on the scene, it appears that both are strongly opposed to our taking charge. But outward appearances are sometimes misleading, especially in diplomacy. The British are making the greater show of opposition to American prestige here and in the Near East generally, and yet there are reasons for thinking that in actual policy France will hold out more resolutely against our coming here than would Great Britain. It has been apparent that France feels a certain dread of Anglo-American friendship. She has felt that the English-speaking peoples were about strong enough to remold the world, and that we might undertake to do so to the extent





LOOKING DOWN FROM A RAILWAY EMBANKMENT INTO THE STREETS OF CONSTANTINOPLE  
 Conspiracy Ripens on the Street Corners of Constantinople. Turkey Disembowered, with Allied Troops in Occupation, Requires Strong Safeguards to Hold the Balance of Law and Order Among Her People

of not consulting France. This attitude of hers applies especially to the situation in the Near East. If America comes here it means that America and Great Britain are to stand together in control of this region in the face of Russia and the rest of Europe, which would be a more effective barrier to French diplomacy than if Britain stood here alone. At the same time, it would be likely to cement the mistrusted Anglo-American friendship. So that if America is to take over these mandates, I cannot feel that it will be at the invitation of France.

British diplomacy here is less tangible, though of greater concern to us. Many of us hope that the British people and ourselves are getting together to make the ways of the world more sportsmanlike and more justice-loving. But the game of diplomacy as the British are now playing it in the Near East, and the things which people are saying about British activities here, make it hard at times for even a chronic optimist to keep on smiling. I am told that the British have organized among the Turks a "Lovers of England" society, which has for its watchword "American materialism would be the death of Islam" (Mohammedanism). I am also told that "whereas formerly there were only from four to five Turkish dailies in Constantinople, there are now nineteen, many of them subsidized by the British for propaganda." I am told that the censorship is practically controlled by

the British, and that news from American sources is classed with Bolshevik propaganda—neither allowed publication; also that newspapers are suppressed for advocating an American mandate. I am told that the British believe in keeping the "backward peoples" backward, and that she is afraid she might have to mend her ways if we come here and make an example of Turkey. I may say, in addition, that British diplomacy in the Near East would give Machiavelli a good deal to puzzle over.

After all, the British are perhaps more interested in Constantinople than any other great power except Russia. We have been invited and urged by the British to take charge of Armenia. If we would accept Armenia and incidentally take care of Russia's southward ambitions by land, Britain would probably be only too ready to face the rest of Europe if she were astride the Dardanelles. But I for one would not be satisfied with any such arrangement. There are perhaps three paramount opportunities which we will face if we are to plunge into the international maelstrom of the Near East. The first and foremost is the opportunity to make our great strength really count towards organized peace. This overlaps and even embraces the other two opportunities. The second is that we are to have a real full-sized opportunity to put to the test our belief in helping backward people, such an opportunity as Turkey and Ar-



Douglas Thompson

THE GREEK BISHOP COUNSELS RESTRAINT WHILE THE ALLIES ALLOT THE SPOILS  
The Political Factions Mass Their Silken Banners at Every Public Opportunity. The Firm Hand of  
Authority Is Ever Ready to Disperse Crowds Where Words of Inevitable Become Deeds of Violence

menia would afford. The third is that we must have the largest possible opportunity for winning and holding the friendship of Russia, notwithstanding the fact that we would be standing squarely across the path to her old ambitions.

Russia's drive towards the Mediterranean has been gaining momentum for centuries. If a new Russia is to become reconciled to boundaries set up by America and Great Britain, shutting her off entirely from Constantinople, the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, it can only be because Russia will have thrown herself heart and soul into the League of Nations. Only then would she feel reasonably secure and free with her present frontiers. Russia, with her great potential strength, would not so much require the guarantee of the League of Nations to the effect that other powers will refrain from making war upon her as she would need a guarantee that other powers will not treat her in such fashion as to require her to make war against them. Not security against war, but security to make war is what Russia wanted in the past—freedom to use her great natural strength when war arose. Were she in possession of Constantinople, this great natural bulwark for defense and gateway for offense, as well as her main artery of life, she would feel immeasurably more able to make war, and hence secure in the transactions of peace.

The peace negotiations have developed the paradox that the powers most in need of the security of

the League of Nations are apt to be most grudging in their support of it. It is the nations who are perhaps most independent of the League who believe in it most. It is difficult to say what a normal Russia's attitude would be, but at least it is certain that Russia would not feel independent of the League unless she herself were in possession of Constantinople. For this reason if the League is to hold sovereignty over Constantinople and grant a mandate to America, Russia will perhaps find it a great strain for her to repose so much trust in the League and in America. On the other hand, the League would find it very hard indeed at this time to reverse the transaction, reposing the trust in Russia.

Obviously, if America is to take over these mandates as proposed, we shall be strongly inclined to foster the loyalty of Russia to the League of Nations and to win Russia's friendship for ourselves. She will be in sore need of our friendship and of our economic helpfulness for a good while to come. And there is much reason for believing that meanwhile she will develop into one of the strongest pillars of organized peace. Whereas the present founding of the League depends upon the cooperation of America and Great Britain, the future peace will require harmony between America, Great Britain and Russia. An opportunity now comes to America to bring much nearer to realization this great triune of good-will.

# CHARLES LANG FREER AND HIS ART COLLECTION

By BRAINERD BLISS THRESHER

CHARLES LANG FREER, by whose death the nation gains one of the world's greatest collections of art, failed by only a few months of having his dream fulfilled of seeing it housed in Washington. Group collections, loaned to other museums, have given hints of the treasure-house from which they came. Those who were privileged to visit his Detroit home could see a whole gallery hung with Whistler's work. They could visit the Peacock Room, brought as a whole from the Leland House, London, and in a few moments return to find the gallery rehung with old Chinese or Japanese masters. Aladdin could do no more. Those who repeatedly visited his home found that the chance word, the questioning phrase, served to summon from seemingly inexhaustible vaults examples from the world's store of beauty that gave point to each remark, and that although one sometimes longed to see again some well-loved masterpiece, a turn in the talk would levy on an entirely different store of treasures from another hemisphere. Absorbed in this one great life interest, he was most generous and hospitable, not only to friends and fellow connoisseurs, but to anyone sincerely interested to learn. When showing anything from his collection, he seldom failed to display all the real, unspoiled enthusiasm of his first impression. His own definition of a work of art was "a thing of use made beautiful." He poured a wealth of ripe criticism and appreciation upon each object, and it is to be hoped that there will be found some literary executor who is able to pass on to the world this matured fund of knowledge.

Mr. Freer, in his earlier days in Detroit, amassed an ample fortune, and, being a bachelor and an unassuming altruist, dedicated himself, through the years that followed, to giving his wealth concrete expression in terms of beauty. Permanently to house these treasures, which amount to more than four thousand objects, he erected in Washington, near the Smithsonian Institution, a noble building at a cost of over a million dollars. It is in the style of the Italian Renaissance and reminds us of other Lorenzos and Florentine patrons who had the touch of Mæcenas. While it is large for the housing of a single collection, it cannot at one time show it all, and a constant shifting of exhibitions is planned. This, too, is in the spirit of the Orient, where a confusing display of objects is unknown.

In his proposition to the Smithsonian regents we get a glimpse of the spirit in which the collection was conceived: "These several collections include specimens of widely-separated periods, begin-

ning before the birth of Christ and ending today. No attempt has been made to secure specimens from unsympathetic sources. My collecting has been confined to American and Asiatic channels. My great desire has been to unite modern work with masterpieces of certain periods of high civilization, harmonious in spiritual and physical suggestion, having power to broaden aesthetic culture and grace to elevate the human mind."

To his own ripe connoisseurship Mr. Freer added the best advice from specialists in every line, constantly replacing objects by those that were better, so that in his collection eclecticism has been carried to the farthest point.

For centuries wealthy Japanese have collected early Chinese masters, and the market was thought exhausted. Mr. Freer's efforts uncovered in the interior of China great originals taken there for safety from coastal raids and the peril and danger of troublous times. In Chinese and Japanese masters from the great creative periods the assemblage is unique. Pottery from the kilns of China, Japan, Korea, Babylonia and Mesopotamia show this craft at its best. Egypt is represented by glass and sculpture. A nation's art, in any epoch, may not be properly studied by an examination of its expression in separate media, such as painting, pottery, lacquer, textiles, or any isolated fine or applied art; but there is in each period some fundamental governing art principle that makes itself manifest in every form of expression. It is, doubtless, a recognition of this point of view and the elucidation of this epochal expression that has included so wide a variety in the rich material of this collection. Mr. Freer avoided duplicating objects to be studied elsewhere. Chinese porcelains, already lavishly exploited, he scarcely touched.

Not satisfied with bringing to light these long-forgotten treasures of Nippon and Cathay, he has added a notable group of American painters and sculptors—Winslow Homer, Abbot Thayer, Thomas W. Dewing, St. Gaudens, Metcalf, Twachtman, Murphy, Melchers and D. W. Tryon. Of Tryon's work he collected nearly a hundred paintings; of Whistler's, preëminently represented, he had some fifty oil paintings, over a hundred sketches, and scores of etchings, lithographs and etched plates. The whimsical Whistler, who in his nocturnes admirably followed Hiroshige as a painter of night, more closely than anyone else rises as a vantage point from which to look and behold the art of the East and the West coming to a common focus. It is this attempt to reconcile the art of the Orient

and the Occident and thus present their similarities rather than their differences, their points of contact rather than their lines of cleavage, that furnishes the key to this gift to the nation.

The art of Japan inevitably leads us to China, where it was cradled, and then westward to other Asiatic sources. Thus we see a warp of unities binding together the web of nationalities.

To two influences in particular we may trace the trend of these collections—Whistler and Fenollosa. When Fenollosa went to Japan in the early seventies, as professor in the Imperial University, he brought the Japanese one great truth—that they possessed in their art a priceless heritage that should not be cheaply bartered for one of foreign origin nor for the symbols of materialism. Through his influence the Weld-Fenollosa collection was formed, and the rich treasures of oriental art centered in the Boston Museum. In forming the Freer collection his advice was constantly sought, and after his death Mr. Freer made possible the publication of his monumental work on Chinese and Japanese painting.

Whistler's Peacock Room, which will be specially housed in the new museum, with its gold leaf and peacocks with their flying feathers, is redolent of the glories of China's Tang masters and the wonders in mural decoration with which Kano Yeitoku and fellow-artists used to embellish the palaces of Hideyoshi. Whistler's landscapes, too striking in their art of omission, form a nexus by which we pass with ease from the art of East to West.

Every great collection reminds us anew of man's universal continuous outpouring of created beauty in all ages and in every clime; but in art, as in religion and politics, it is not easy for the Occidental to lay aside his point of view for that of another. He is prone to despise what he cannot understand at first glance. The Oriental uses other conventions and a different technique; but when we are patient enough to find the key, to learn his idiom, the reward is never wanting. In the old masters here assembled we shall learn to appreciate the work of great minds who were searching not for mere prettiness, but to present ideas through significant forms, in terms of large spacing and by means of noble rhythms. The Freer collection will prove an aid in clarifying our understanding of the symbols of beauty as they come to us through the mind of the Asian artist, for we shall here see Asia's history of herself in terms of beauty. We shall see not so much the object as the manner in which the Occidental paints it; but rather through the Oriental's vision, its beauty expressed in terms of decoration, for which the object is but a symbol. At first this may not be easy, for

prejudice is more facile than self-reliant vision. A Chinese master many centuries ago complained that "people look at pictures with their ears, not with their eyes." The first need in looking at any work of art is to try to see it through the eyes of him who made it. This collection can render a signal service in breaking down the bars of prejudice and revealing those old-new ideals of beauty that will effect a better understanding between the aesthetic standards of East and West. We shall see how the artists of Asia worked out and formulated the principles that underlie all art, though by the use of different conventions, before our forebears knew the refinements of civilization.

Centuries before Italy had a Raphael or Flanders a Rubens, China and Japan had great schools of art with matured traditions, the funded aesthetic experiences of great races. Centuries before Barbi-zon bloomed forth in Europe and awakened a new love of nature, these Asian artists had reveled in landscape, inspired by the Zen philosophy of nature contemplation, and had solved its presentation in terms of art.

Until our day these stores of artistic material have been unknown to the West and have remained the only body of the world's art that was not explored and exploited. The appreciation of any new field of art helps us stretch the little inch rule of our personal likes and dislikes and become cosmopolitan in judging world art.

The lure of the inaccessible and seemingly unobtainable spurred Mr. Freer to surmount every obstacle in wresting from obscurity these Asiatic treasures. The unselfishness of his purpose, in that they were to belong to our government, no doubt made his work somewhat easier.

It may be asked why this particular group of American painters should be introduced into an atmosphere so oriental. Whistler, we know, needs no explanation. Mr. Freer, with delicate intuition, sensed a certain kinship of the spirit in the works of these men, possibly not at first evident to the casual eye. After a perspective of years, when we come more intimately to know the art of the East and to sense with greater clearness the illumination that inspired these men, the principles that decided his choice will become more evident.

Now that he has been laid to rest in the Catskills, where he passed his boyhood days, time will increasingly impress upon the nation an appreciation of the work he set himself to do. There will come a larger assessment of the value that this assemblage brings to the world's store of beauty. Gathered as it is from two hemispheres, it possesses the power to show that beauty is man's common heritage, fit food for his spirit.

# THE MATINÉE IDOL OF ARABIA

By LOWELL THOMAS

*Photographs by the Author and Staff*

**W**EST and East fraternize politely, if rather inharmoniously, in the more accessible towns of Arabia and Syria, for the West has money to spend and the East is avaricious. But away in the desert and wild places it is otherwise. The nomads whose ancestors have roamed the country for four thousand years resist the inquisitive eyes and hungry notebooks of foreigners who are not proved friends. They still regard stray Europeans with hostile suspicion, and sometimes as subjects for loot.

In habit, instinct and mental outlook Europe is utterly at variance with Asia, but very rarely, perhaps not even once in a century, there comes forward some brilliant Anglo-Saxon or Latin who, possessing an understanding that transcends race, religion and tradition, can adopt the eastern temperament at will. Such men were Marco Polo, the Venetian; Lord Clive, Sir Richard Burton and General Gordon. Such a man is Thomas Lawrence—Lawrence the Kingmaker; for it is certain that but for him Hussein ibn Ali, the aged Shereef of Mecca, would not be King of the Hejaz today, nor would Emir Feisal be Prince of Damascus and Syria. Much credit is due both to King Hussein and Prince Feisal as leaders of the Arabian national movement and the Arabian Revolution. Yet they could not have succeeded without Lawrence.

It was the young Englishman who destroyed the thousand-year-old network of blood feuds, the thousand miles of semi-lawless country between Mecca and Damascus. He it was who built up the Arabian army. He it was who planned all the strategy of the Arabian campaign and actually led the Arabs into battle. He it was who captured Damascus, rode in triumph through the ancient capital of Omar and Saladin and established a government for Prince Feisal. Lawrence, in fact, was the soul and the brains of the Arabian revival and the epic Arabian campaign.

For thirteen hundred years, since the days of Mahommed, fewer Europeans have explored Holy Arabia than have penetrated into the jungled mysteries of darkest Africa. The fanatical Mahomedans who inhabit the district around the holy cities of Mecca and Medina prevent Christians, Jews and other non-Mahomedans from profaning its sacred soil with their presence. The Westerner who tries to do so is very lucky if he returns alive.

How Thomas Lawrence was able to gain the confidence not only of the direct descendants of the Prophet who rule over the Arabian cities and

towns, but also of the Bedouin tribes of the desert, will be recognized by history as one of the most spectacular stories of all time. His achievements were made more extraordinary by the fact that he admitted openly that he was a Christian. Although he wore the robes of a Prince of Mecca, he never actually posed as an Arab except when, disguised in the veil and the dress of an Arab woman, he sometimes slipped through the Turkish lines to spy on the Sultan's armies.

The secret of Lawrence's success? Probably this, that he not only lived as an Arab, but thought as one. At the same time his brilliant mental gifts enabled him to achieve far greater results than any Arab leader could have attained. Knowing from past experience and continual observation the thoughts, customs and instincts of the Arab, he temporarily converted English mental and psychological background into that of Arabia, and, by using methods which they understood and respected, gained the confidence of the Arabs.

Colonel Lawrence played the part of a great man of mystery endowed with the ability to do everything superlatively well. He never entered into competition with the Bedouins unless he was quite certain of excelling them. He never spoke unless he had something important to say and well knew what he was talking about. He never made a mistake—or, if he did, he took care that the Arabs should regard it as a success. It was a point of policy with Lawrence that his dress should be impressive and imposing. Nearly always he wore beautiful robes of pure white. To insure that what he wore should be clean, he carried three or four changes of clothing on a spare camel. How he managed to keep immaculate in the desert, where the water was not sufficient even for drinking purposes, is still a mystery to me. Two or three personal servants accompanied him at all times. They were slaves loaned by King Hussein, for no Christian is permitted to possess slaves in Holy Arabia.

I was puzzled to discover how, under conditions of ever-insistent hospitality, Lawrence was able to plan out his far-reaching policies of diplomacy and strategy. I could only surmise that he worked at nights, when his Arab colleagues were asleep. During the day he gained the respect and admiration of the Arabs by outvying them at everything, from statecraft to camel riding and using the fine shades of their own language. I asked old Auda Abu Tyi, the leading sheik of the Howeitat, what he thought of Lawrence, and his reply was sweep-



LAWRENCE, THE KING-MAKER OF ARABIA, THROUGHLY AT HOME IN BEDOUIN ROBES, IN HIS DESERT TENT

He Owed His Popularity and Influence with the Arabs to His Perfect Understanding of the Languages, Psychology and Customs of the Country and Also to His Genuine Love of the People

ing enough: "By the Beard of the Prophet, he can do everything we do better than we ourselves."

Auda Abu Tyi, who paid this tribute, is the most famous fighting man of the desert. Although over fifty years old, he is more active than most young men. He has been wounded thirteen and married twenty-eight times. Since 1900 his private kill in single combat is seventy-five—all Arabs, for he does not include Turks in his gamebooks. Old Auda prides himself on being the quintessence of Arabian tradition. A hundred successful raids have taken him from his home near the Dead Sea to all parts of the Arabian world, northward to Aleppo, eastward to Basra, southward to Mecca. His loot he dispenses in staggering hospitality. He talks long, loud and abundantly. Advice and abuse he meets with a charming smile and complete disregard. His hobby is to concoct fantastic tales about himself and to relate fictitious but humorously horrible stories concerning the private life of his host or guests.

In his dealings with Auda and other Arab notables Colonel Lawrence found their rich sense of humor a first-class asset. Make an Arab laugh and

you can persuade him to do most things. Arabic is a solemn language, full of ceremony and stateliness; and the young British archeologist, who has perfect command of the various dialects spoken in the interior of Arabia, made the discovery that the direct translation into Arabic of ordinary colloquial English, spiced with wit, delighted his hearers. Another highly useful weapon in Lawrence's mental armory was the faculty of mastering the unexpected with some inspired improvisation. Time and again he happened upon a desperate situation from which there was no obvious means of escape. In the space of a second his alert brain would originate a fantastic but really brilliant method of dealing with it.

Such an instance was one of his many adventures in the Syrian desert. He was at the town of Azrak among the shifting sand-dunes southeast of Damascus, when a courier brought news that some Turkish spies were in a caravan of Syrian merchants which was on its way to the Arabian base of Akaba,

300 miles to the south. He immediately decided that he must reach Akaba either in company with the caravan or soon after its arrival, in order to draw the teeth of the spies. Normally the journey from Azrak to Akaba is twelve days by camel, and already the Syrian caravan had a start of nine days.

Realizing that his followers could not stand the forced pace at which he meant to travel, Lawrence took with him but one man—a half-breed Haurani, who was famous in the North Arabian desert for his endurance. The pair were racing over the ridges between Azrak and Bair, eighty miles south of the camp from which they started, when suddenly a dozen Arabs appeared over the edge of a sand-dune and galloped their camels down the slope to cut off the strangers. As they approached, the Arabs shouted a request that Lawrence and his companion should dismount, and at the same time announced themselves as friends and as members of the Jazi-Howeitat tribe. When only thirty yards away, they themselves dismounted by way of encouraging the lone couple to do likewise. But Lawrence had recognized the Arabs as of the Beni-

Sakr, allies of the Turks and blood enemies of most of the Bedouin tribes that were fighting for King Hussein and Emir Feisal. It was known to the Beni-Sakr that gold passed up and down the caravan route, and they were out looking for loot.

This particular sector was the only war-time trade route between Syria and Arabia, along which the merchants of Syria had for many months journeyed to Akaba for the purchase of Manchester cotton. Lawrence used cotton both as an aid to propaganda and as a means of getting as much gold as possible from Syria and Turkey. The Ottoman Empire needed cotton urgently, and for this reason the Turkish military authorities allowed traders to pass back and forth through the lines. When they reached Akaba, Lawrence and the Arab leaders would make converts among them by preaching Arabian nationalistic doctrines. At the same time they would collect much valuable information regarding conditions in Turkey. The merchants were also useful in smuggling down to Akaba German field glasses, which Lawrence needed for the equipment of his desert troops.

Meantime, the dismounted marauders of the Beni-Sakr stood on the sand and fingered their rifles expectantly, while still passing friendly greetings. Of a sudden Lawrence grinned so genially that they became mystified.

"Come near, I want to whisper something to you," he said to their leader. Then, bending down from the saddle of his camel he asked: "Do you know what your name is?"

The Sheikh looked speechless and rather amazed. Lawrence continued: "I think it must be 'Terrace'!" (Procureur).

This is the most terrible insult that one can offer a Bedouin. The Beni-Sakr leader was dumbfounded and rather nervous. He could not understand how an ordinary traveler would dare to say such a thing to him in the open desert, when numbers and arms were on his side. Before the Sheikh had time to recover himself, Lawrence remarked pleasantly:

"May Allah give you peace!"

Next, telling the Haurani to come along, he

swung off across the sand. The men of the Beni-Sakr remained half bewildered until the pair had ridden about a hundred yards. Then they recovered their senses and started shooting; but the English Prince of Mecca galloped over the nearest ridge and escaped.

Both Lawrence and his Haurani nearly killed their camels during that journey. They rode on

an average twenty-two hours a day, exchanging their mounts for fresh beasts when they reached Auda Abu Tyi's country, east of the southern end of the Dead Sea. They covered the whole distance of 300 miles in just three days—a record for fast camel trekking that should stand for many years.

This weird adventure was but one of a hundred that have befallen Lawrence. I heard of another when I asked him why he always carried a Colt automatic of an early type. The tale he told in reply was



A FAITHFUL ALLY IN THE ARABIAN CAMPAIGN  
Camel Lore Is a Fine Art Among the Bedouins, Who  
Admire Lawrence As the Only European Camel Expert

about the best reason that a man could have given:

"Some years ago, when I was wandering about Asia Minor, near Marash, a fever came upon me, and I made for Birgik, the nearest village. I happened to meet a Turkoman—they're a semi-nomadic crowd, of Mongol descent, men with crooked eyes and faces that look as though they'd been modeled in butter and then left out in the sun. I wasn't quite sure of my direction, and I asked him to point out the way. He replied, 'Right across these low hills to the left.' As I turned away from him he sprang on my back, and we had a sort of a dog fight on the ground for a few minutes. But I'd walked over a thousand miles and, apart from the fever, was nearly done up. Soon I found myself underneath.

"He sat on my stomach, pulled out my Colt, pressed it to my temple and pulled the trigger many times. But the safety catch was on, and it only clicked. The Turkoman was a primitive fellow and knew very little about automatic mechanism. He threw the weapon away in disgust, and proceeded to pound my head with a rock until I was no longer interested. After taking everything I had, he made off. Not long afterwards I recovered consciousness. I went to the village and got help to chase the brute. We caught him and made him

disgorge the things he'd taken from me. Since then I've always had a profound respect for a Colt automatic, and have never been without one."

No knowledge that could increase his influence was neglected by Colonel Lawrence. He made, for example, a careful study of that beast of mystery, the camel, with the character and qualities of which few Arabs are altogether familiar, although it plays such an important part in their lives. Lawrence is the only European I have met who possesses "camel instinct," a quality that implies intimate acquaintance with the beast's habits, powers, tendencies and comparative worth.

The finest breeds of camel come from Central Arabia, where there are six different species. They all have but one hump, for most of the Arabs of Arabia have never heard of the two-humped camel, which in Asia is found only in the regions to the northwest of Persia. The two-humped breed is very slow, and of little use except as a beast of burden. The one-humped camel is the dromedary, which word, by the way, is a Greek term meaning "a camel that runs."

In judging a camel some of the many things to be considered are the length of the inside of the belly, the way the beast lifts its feet, the way it carries its head, the depth of the neck, the length of the front leg, the length of the front and back

shoulders, the girth and the shape of the hump. A very long leg is particularly desirable, as is a small circumference around the waist. A camel should be neither too fat nor too thin. The hump, which should be of hard, fatless muscle, is of paramount importance. The dromedary seems actually to live on its hump, and if it be worked too hard the hump gradually disappears. If it has no hump, or a low one, or a thin one, or a fat one, the animal is of little value, and it will break down in a short time. Age is judged by the teeth, as in the case of a horse. Camels usually live for about twenty-five years, being in their prime between the ages of four and fourteen. Over good ground first-class Arabian dromedaries can trot up to twenty-two miles an hour, canter up to twenty-eight miles an hour and gallop up to thirty-two. For a whole day's travel, however, the most desirable pace is a jogtrot of seven miles an hour. The ordinary speed for a long journey of many days across the desert is only about four and a half miles an hour; and if the journey extends over hundreds of miles, it is advisable always to keep the camel at a walk. Lawrence's feat in making a forced trek of three hundred miles in three days was therefore looked upon by his followers as almost a miracle. A good camel makes absolutely no sound when it walks—a trait which is of great assistance both to the Bedouins

during their night raids and to desert traders who fear assault. The Arabs teach their mounts not to whine, and a whole caravan may pass within twenty yards of a tent without being heard from inside it.

The foregoing is but a small fraction of the camel lore familiar to the Bedouin experts. After years of careful study in the Arabian and Syrian deserts Lawrence confessed to me that often he could not size up his dromedary correctly. Auda Abu Tyi, the Bedouin Robin Hood, is a famous connoisseur of camels. Another is Abdullah, the pockmarked, undersized, fiery little Bedouin who commanded Lawrence's personal bodyguard.

Abdullah, although in appearance a dried-up stick of a man, is one of the most daring and chivalrous sons of Ishmael that ever rode a camel. He would take keen



SHEIKH AUDA ABU TYI (CENTER) AND HIS TWO BROTHERS  
The Most Famous Fighting Man of the Desert Said of Lawrence: "By the  
Beard of the Prophet, He Can Do All We Do Better Than We Ourselves"



delight in tackling ten men by himself. Apart from his fearlessness, he was a valuable lieutenant, because he knew how to deal with unruly members of the bodyguard. Lawrence would urge on his followers with the promise of extravagant rewards—gold, jewels and beautiful clothes—if they succeeded. Abdullah would promise them a sound beating if they failed; and the certainty that he would fulfil his threat carried at least as much weight with the bodyguard as did Lawrence's milder method. As for Abdullah himself, his most frequent boast was that he had served under all the princes of the desert, and been imprisoned by every one of them!

The English Sherreef's personal bodyguard, consisting of eighty carefully picked men, was the *corps d'élite* of the desert. All its members were famous fighters who possessed such powers of endurance that they could ride hard for a day and a night, if necessary. They were required to be ready for a raid on the Turks at any moment, and always to keep up with their leader on the trek. No man was accepted who could not with one hand leap into the camel saddle at the trot and carry a rifle in the other. Taking all in all, the bodyguard was an extraordinary collection of mettlesome, gay-spirited, good-natured reprobates.

Its members were devoted to the Anglo-Bedouin Sherreef; but to guard against the possibility of a concerted outbreak, never more than two men were selected from each tribe, so that inter-tribal jealousy might prevent any group from banding together against their leader. Nearly every man in the Hejaz forces wanted to join the bodyguard, because Lawrence took it with him on raiding, bridge-blowing and train-wrecking expeditions, all of which provided much loot and many thrills—gifts very dear to the heart of the Bedouin. The men's pay was greater than that of other volunteers of the Arabian army, and they received besides a liberal allowance for fine garments. They spent all their money on such gorgeous robes that, when gathered in a body, they displayed the variegated colors of an oriental garden.

A familiar saying among them was that they might as well exchange their gold for clothes and a good time, since they well knew that at any moment it might be Allah's will that they should die. Among Colonel Lawrence's personal retinue the percentage of casualties was far greater than among other regulars and irregulars of Feisal's army, for they were constantly sent across the



LAWRENCE (LEFT) ON A RARE VISIT TO OFFICIALDOM. He Was in the Habit of Ignoring Insignia, Belts and All the Military Precisions Dear to the British Hearts. He Seldom Saluted, and Wished to Be Plain "Lawrence" to Everybody, from General to Private.

desert on dangerous missions. Frequently they were despatched through the Turkish lines to act as spies, a service for which the bodyguard was especially suitable, since it contained at least one man from each district between Mecca and Aleppo. Lawrence always arrogated to himself more than his full share of these hazardous missions.

To accompany Lawrence and his bodyguard on an expedition was a fantastic experience. First rode the young Sherreef, incongruously picturesque with his English face, gorgeous head-dress and beautiful robes. Likely enough, if the party were moving at walking pace, he would be reading *Aristophanes* in the original, or the "Oxford Handbook of Classics," two of the three or four books he sometimes carried on his raids. Then in a long, irregular column his Bedouin "sons" followed, their rainbow-colored garments swaying to the rhythm of the camel gait. And, passing over the sands east of Akaba or the stony hill country of Edom and Moab, they sang and jested.

At either end of the uneven line was a warrior-poet. One of them would chant a verse, and each man, all along the column, would take his turn to cap the poet's words with lines in the same metre. There were war songs and songs that caused the camels to lower their heads and move at a faster pace. Often the men commented in the verses on each other's love affairs or on the Emir Feisal or *Sidi* (Lord) Lawrence.

"I wish he would pay us another pound a month." This, decorated with rhetorical flourishes in Arabic, was the theme of the bodyguard's song one day.

Another time it was: "I wonder if Allah has seen the headcloth which has the good fortune to cover our Lord Lawrence's head. It is not a good headcloth. The Lord Lawrence should give it to me." As a matter of fact, the headcloths that Shereef Lawrence wore were more resplendent than any they had ever seen. His playful "sons" coveted them.

The harmonic scale of Arabian music is different from ours, so that to western ears unused to it Arabian singing sounds like a jumble of discords. Yet the Bedouins delighted in western music churned out by a phonograph that Lawrence brought from Cairo. Its success encouraged a Scotch sergeant in Akaba to provide some instruments and organize a band. He helped the Arab bandmen to create an Arabian national anthem, and taught them to play "Annie Laurie" and "Auld Lang Syne" after a fashion. The Scotch tunes we could stand for a time, even though every instrument was out of tune and every man chose his own key; but whenever the Arabs practised their own national anthem around the camp, we preferred swimming, and left at once for the seacoast.

The Bedouin bodyguard's humor sometimes took the form of practical jokes. If one of their number fell asleep in the saddle, a companion would charge his camel straight at the slumberer and knock him off. Whenever their "Lord" left them for a visit to Cairo or to Allenby's headquarters, most of his bodyguard managed to get themselves imprisoned by the Emir Feisal as a result of their wild humor and general unruliness. Nobody but Lawrence could handle his "devils," as they were called.

Once, having just returned to Akaba from Egypt, he wanted to set out on a secret expedition without delay. As usual, he found the majority of his personal followers in the lock-up. Among the prisoners were two specially daring men named Farraj and Daoud. Lawrence immediately sent for Sheik Yussef, the civil governor of Akaba, and asked what had happened. Yussef laughed and cursed, then laughed again.

"I had a beautiful white camel," he said, "and one night she strayed away. Next morning I heard

a great commotion in the street. I went out and found everyone in the bazaar laughing uproariously at an animal with blue legs and red head. Not without difficulty I recognized it as my camel. Ferraj and Daoud were found at the water-front washing red henna and blue indigo dye off their arms. They denied all knowledge of my beautiful white camel. Allah will pardon me for doubting them."

Ferraj and Daoud were well known as inseparable in a land where lonely desert and the need for mutual protection called for close friendships. David and Jonathan were not more intimate than Ferraj and Daoud until, as an eastern story-teller might say, there came to them the Destroyer of Delights and the Garnerer of Graveyards. Daoud died of fever at Akaba. Thereupon Ferraj became intensely miserable, and soon afterwards committed suicide by galloping his camel headlong into the Turks.

Occasionally members of Lawrence's bodyguard accompanied him to Cairo. Those thus honored would don their most vivid robes, rouge their lips, darken the hollows under their eyes with kohl and saturate themselves with bottles of scent. Then, bristling with weapons, they swaggered contemptuously past the town Arabs of Cairo, ogling the veiled ladies buying richly brocaded garments, and causing much excitement, in which they reveled.

Abdullah, lieutenant of the bodyguard, once traveled with his leader to General Allenby's headquarters at Ramleh. While Lawrence was in consultation with the Commander-in-chief, the Arab lieutenant roamed off alone. Six hours passed and he did not return. Then Lawrence was informed by telephone that the Assistant Provost-Marshal had arrested the fiery little Arab because he looked like a hired assassin who might be prowling around in the expectation of shooting General Allenby. Abdullah, said the Assistant Provost-Marshal, had explained through an interpreter that he was one of Sidi Lawrence's "sons," and demanded a ceremonious apology for having been arrested. Meantime, he was eating up all the oranges in the quarters of the Head of the Military Police.

Punishment for the misdeeds of various members of the bodyguard was difficult, for a nomad Arab can scarcely be imprisoned on his camel, and he cares naught for words of reproof. A conscientious beating from Abdullah was perhaps the most effective solution. A common form of punishment among the Bedouins is to throw at a man's head a short dagger, so that it shall chop through the hair and cause a superficial but very painful scalp wound. Bedouins who are conscious of transgression sometimes wound themselves in this manner, and then, with blood streaming over their faces, crave pardon of the persons they have wronged.



A CONFERENCE IN THE DESERT TO PLAN AN ATTACK ON A HOSTILE CLAN

The Bedouin Passion for Raiding and Looting Was a Valuable Asset in the Guerrilla Warfare Against the Turks. Bedouin Tribes Were the Mainstay of the Arabian Revolution

In Arabia the Old Testament law of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life, still holds good. Involved feuds drag on for centuries. A murderer can rarely escape the death penalty. It is all but impossible for him to avoid being found by the murdered man's relatives in the desert sooner or later. His only chance is to relinquish tent dwelling and become a townsman; and since the Bedouin regards people who live in villages and cities as being greatly inferior to him, he can seldom bring himself to such an indignity.

A peculiar feature of Arabian unwritten law is that for purposes of retribution no distinction is drawn between accidental and intentional manslaughter. If one Bedouin kills another, whether by chance or design, it is customary for him to flee and then send explanations by courier. Lawrence's bodyguard was involved in an affair of this sort. During a raid an Arab climbed through the window of a railway station and attempted to open the door from inside. Meanwhile, some of his companions were trying to batter it open from without. One of them fired his gun through the panels. When the door was finally forced the man who had entered through the window was lying dead. The man who had fired the shot immediately dashed through the crowd, jumped on his horse and galloped off. Now, it is a custom that the slayer may avoid the penalty of death by paying damages if the lost man's relatives are willing to accept money

in lieu of life. In this case the bodyguard collected among themselves a sum of \$500, which they sent to the relatives, and all was well. The rate of exchange on an ordinary life varies from \$500 to \$1250. This particular fellow was rather a bad lot, so that the bodyguard thought \$500 was ample. Shereefs (members of the Prophet's family) have a far higher blood value than other Arabs. Having killed one of them, a slayer must forfeit no less than \$5000 unless he has arranged a bargain price before committing the deed.

Lawrence never met a case of treachery against himself among the tribes with whom he established friendly relations, and even among unfriendly tribes he met only one treacherous violation of the laws of hospitality. Alone he had passed through the Turkish lines for a tour of inspection among the enemy's camps. He called on a chieftain of the Beni-Sakr, a tribe which had been cooperating with the Turks and Germans. This sheik broke the unwritten law of the desert and attempted to double-cross his guest. He sent a courier to some Turkish forces that were ten miles distant, and in the meantime attempted to persuade Lawrence to remain in his tent. His intention was to betray his valuable visitor and claim the \$500,000 reward offered for the capture of the uncrowned King of Arabia. But Lawrence's uncanny insight into the minds of Orientals warned him that something was wrong, and he insisted on leaving the Beni-Sakr



ARAB SENTINEL WAITING PATIENTLY FOR A STRAY TURK TO APPEAR ON THE HORIZON  
Through This Wild Country Lawrence Led His Nomads on Train-Dynamiting Parties and Night Raids.  
No Commissariat Department Was Needed to Provide Their Army Diet of Unleavened Bread and Coffee

camp forthwith. What happened to the sheik of the Beni-Sakir is instructive. Although he was one of the leaders of a tribe considered hostile to the Arabs cooperating with Lawrence, his own people gave him a cup of poisoned coffee because he had been treacherous to a guest. The people of the Beni-Sakir felt themselves disgraced by the act of their sheik.

The strict observance of desert hospitality is almost a religion. If in his own district an Arab has a man at his mercy and is about to kill him, the victim can usually save himself by saying *dakhilak*—an Arabic word implying, "I have taken refuge with you" or "I am in your tent and at your coffee-hearth as your guest." Among the Bedouins the protection of a guest is a sacred obligation. The meaning of this magic word *dakhilak* is one of the points of difference between the nomads of Arabia and the town Arabs of Syria. The Syrian uses it as a variation of "please," which to a Bedouin is a ghastly breach of etiquette.

In the gigantic task that he set himself, Lawrence had to win the adherence not only of the wandering tribesmen, but of the less reliable Arabs of the towns and villages. He accomplished this by taking into account the many differences between the two types, and using correspondingly different methods. The Bedouin is of a pure breed, and today lives in much the same manner as he did three thousand years ago, when Abraham was a

wandering patriarch. The townsman, a mixture of all the races in the East, has many a bar sinister in his racial ancestry. The nomad is a sportsman, a lover of personal liberty and a natural poet. The villager is often indolent, dirty, untrustworthy and entirely mercenary. There are even differences in the everyday observances of life in the form of salutation, for instance. The townsman shows his respect for shereefs and other notables by kissing the hand, but the Bedouin considers such action undignified, and only performs it when he wishes to convey the very deepest reverence.

Although Lawrence received support from many town Arabs, it was primarily the Bedouin who, under the guidance of Lawrence and Feisal, carried the Arabian Revolution from small localized beginnings to glorious success. The Bedouin passion for raiding and looting was a valuable asset in the guerilla campaign against the Turks. Yet the Bedouin is nearly always content with booty and abhors the sight of blood. He will rob, but not otherwise abuse a stranger.

The pure Arabs of the desert belong to a race that has one of the oldest forms of civilization. They had a philosophy and a literature when the inhabitants of the British Isles were undeveloped savages. They are one of the few peoples of the world whom the Romans failed to conquer. Their primitiveness is due to the necessity of leading a nomadic life, as they follow their herds from place

to place in search of grass and water. They are wanderers on the face of the earth, creatures who continually take their camels across the sand-dunes, sleep under the skies and live as their forefathers lived thousands of years before Christ.

These, then, were the men Lawrence had to mold from an inchoate, inter-tribal conglomeration into a large army capable of defeating highly-trained and well-officered forces. All the organization had to be improvised on original lines. There was no commissariat department. When the Bedouin irregulars started off on an expedition, each man carried a small bag of flour and some coffee. Every meal was the same. The entire army lived on unleavened bread baked in ashes. The Arabs could eat a pound or two at a time, but Lawrence usually carried a chunk in the folds of his gown and nibbled at it as he rode at the head of a column.

Tinned food the Bedouins looked upon as a dubious institution. One day, when a British major and I were journeying over the desert northeast of Akaba, we handed a tin of bully beef to each of the men with us. They took the meat reluctantly, and seemed to regard it as unholy. I then discovered that Bedouins were generally suspicious of tinned food, from religious and not from hygienic motives. It is customary for an Arab, when he cuts the throat of a sheep or of any other animal, to say, just before he inserts the knife, "In the name of Allah the Merciful and the Compassion-

ate!" And when they began to open the tins they repeated these words, for fear the packers in Chicago had not performed the ceremony according to the law of the Prophet.

Apart from a few such formal observances, the average Bedouin is by no means a religious fanatic. He refuses to take notice of the three cardinal principles of Mahommedanism. He never prays, for he maintains: "We have nothing to pray for." He never feasts, for he observes: "We never have enough to eat now." He rarely bathes, for he says: "We have not enough water to drink."

But with all his looting and his irreligion, the Bedouin is a man of honor and humor. I have already said that a complete understanding of Arabic mentality and instinct was an appreciable factor in Lawrence's astonishing success. This understanding would have been impossible had he not learned to love the peoples of Arabia. And such love and understanding from such a man, translated into great and glorious policies and deeds, could not fail to bring forth the adoration of the race to whom they were applied.

"By the Beard of the Prophet," said old Auda Abu Tyi, when I asked him what the Arabs proposed to do for the English Shereef, "he can have all that Arabia has to offer. But he gives everything and wants nothing. Truly, he is more than a man."

## COMBAT AT THE SOUTH OF THE WALL

*After the French Translation by Edouard Chavannes, from the Original of Li Po*

DONE INTO ENGLISH BY R. M. RIEFSTAHL

*Last year we fought at the source of the river Sang Kan;  
This year we shall fight in the land of the mountains Tson Ling and the  
river;  
We have washed our arms in the water, on the shores of the Persian Gulf;  
We have loosed our horses in the grass which grows amidst the snows of  
the Tien Chan;  
At ten thousand leagues distance we have held combat in far-off expedi-  
tions,  
And the three armies are all exhausted.  
Slaughter is the only seed of the Hiong Nou;  
Since olden times one sees nothing but bones bleaching in the fields of yel-  
low sand.  
The dynasty of Han made the signals with the smoke of piled logs.  
The smoke signals of the log fires never cease,  
The expeditions and the combats never end.  
In the battle in open country they die, fighting man against man.  
The horse of the vanquished lets forth a woeful neigh toward the sky;  
The ravens and the kites dig their beaks into human entrails;  
They fly off and carry them away and hang them upon the branches of dead  
trees.  
The soldiers have drenched with their blood the herbs and the bushes;  
The general has not gained the vantage . . .  
Men will discover that the arms of war are fatal instruments  
And that the Wise never has recourse to them except when there is no other  
way.*

# WHEN EAST MEETS EAST

## I. Japan's Right to Empire

By SETSUO UENODA

*"Japan's Right to Empire," by Mr. Uenoda, and "China's Philosophy of War and Peace," by Mr. Leo, give a sharp contrast of Chinese and Japanese national points of view and character. It would be presumption to say that either speaks the mind of Japan or China. But it would be difficult to give a better expression of the differences of spirit between the two races than in the contrast of these two contributions, sent to Asia by each writer voluntarily, a contrast of the aggressive spirit of the present order in Japan with the supreme feeling of pride of race of the Chinese and confidence in their philosophy of peace. Mr. Uenoda is Secretary of the Japanese Y. M. C. A., Chicago. Mr. Leo, formerly in the Chinese Legation at Washington, is by temperament and choice a scholar of ancient Chinese literature.*

**M**OST problems of important and far-reaching consequence in the Far East are directly or indirectly connected with the problem of race. The land area of the earth is approximately 57,255,000 square miles. The population of the world is some 1,692,604,366. Of this population only 796,000,000 of the white race, by virtue of priority and conquest, occupy or control more than 34,967,065 square miles, embracing Europe, Africa, North America, South America and Australia. They occupy or control a great part of Asia, which is 17,206,000 square miles, leaving to 872,522,000 of native Asiatics less than 8,000,000 square miles of their territories.

The tendency is for the white races to exclude Asiatics from these continents. At the same time, the Asiatic nations that were conquered by the European nations have lost the opportunities to develop the vast resources of their own lands. Independent Asiatic nations are also excluded from those countries that are occupied or controlled by the white races. The combined population of Japan and China alone is some 450,000,000, but as it is Asiatic it is carefully and strictly excluded from five continents and a great part of the sixth.

Asiatic exclusion is not a mere matter of economic difference; that may be one reason, but the essential cause of exclusion is the assumption of superiority by the white races over the Asiatic races. However plausibly the various governments of the western nations try to explain away the motive behind the various Asiatic exclusion acts, the fact remains that they are enacted in the spirit of superiority and of selfish motive. Western nations do not hesitate to practice any workable method so long as the doors are shut tight and securely bolted against the Asiatics. This is demonstrated in Canada, Australia and the United States—in fact, wherever Asiatic immigration may possibly thrive.

Take, for instance, Australia. The area of Aus-

tralia is slightly larger than that of the United States. This vast expanse of land is sparsely fringed by a population of less than five millions. The American can appreciate this ridiculous proportion of population of the island continent in comparison with the United States with her population of one hundred million. The hinterland and northern part of Australia are practically a primeval wilderness. European immigration was tried, but has proved unsuccessful. As the white races are unable to penetrate into this wilderness, the resources of the land are left undeveloped.

Up in the north of the Japanese Empire sixty-five million Japanese are swarming in a resourceless land smaller than the state of California. They are increasing at the rate of eight hundred thousand yearly. Japan must find some outlet for her people. But Australia comes under the scepter of England, and her national policy and passion are for a "White Australia."

The white races are not only contented with the control and occupation of the incredibly greater part of the earth's surface, and exclude the Asiatics therefrom, but they are bent on ruthless aggression upon what is left of Asia in a way that is neither Christian nor statesmanlike. As a living example, is not China one huge victim of European cupidity?

A glance at the map of China will show a tragic demarcation of divisions set off by the European nations as "spheres of influence." The "spheres of influence" in China appropriated by the European nations before the war, together with what they have acquired since the conclusion of peace, are approximately as follows:

England (excluding Tibet) . .	750,000 square miles
Russia . . . . .	2,283,000 square miles
France . . . . .	223,934 square miles

Compare these figures with Japan's "spheres of influence" in China of some 350,000 square miles, including Manchuria, Fukien, and the much-advertised Shantung.



The extent of foreign conquest in China with railway development as weapon needs special attention.

	Capital invested.	Miles actually constructed.	Miles in building or now contracted.
England .....	\$140,000,000	845	3,000
*Germany .....	80,000,000	732	900
Belgium .....	115,000,000	291	2,500
Russia .....	200,000,000	1,100	.....
Japan .....	125,000,000	780	1,200
France .....	62,000,000	290	1,300
United States.....	7,500,000	.....	300
China .....	128,000,000	1,895	361

\*To be transferred to Japan.

According to these figures, China is to control only 2000 miles out of 15,494 miles of railway, built, building or contracted. About 14,000 miles of railway are to be constructed in China by foreign capital, and wherever the railway extends there will follow the governments of foreign powers, creating spheres of influence. It certainly looks sinister and monstrous that this network of railways, instead of consolidating the industrial and commercial life of China, merely proceeds to or from the centers of the "spheres of influence" through the very heart of China, for the military and political consolidation of the nations concerned.

It must be remembered here that Japan's material well-being is dependent upon the resources of China. Japan has no resources essential for modern industry, and China has everything that Japan needs. Japan can be a great commercial nation only by coöperation with China. Japan's commercial expansion in China, therefore, is of vital necessity for her national existence. Should China prove incapable of maintaining her independence, should China be partitioned among the nations, the situation would seriously menace the position of Japan, subjecting her to constant and dangerous conflicts with the national interests of those foreign powers whose policy of Asiatic exclusion is now positively established and peremptory in character.

Far-sighted men in China were well aware of this precarious situation in the Far East, and, in spite of the long-standing discord between Japan and China, were favorably inclined toward some intelligent understanding with the government of Japan. Prince Sue of China, in conference with his intimate followers at the time of the first revolution in 1911, was so unreserved as to give frank utterance to his conviction that "if it was for the supreme purpose of preserving the yellow race, quarrel between Japan and China is out of the question. Japan and China must, if necessary, even be willing to dissolve their national boundaries in order to coöperate for the security of the yellow race and to prevent its descendants from being reduced to slavery and destruction by the white race."

In the following year Yuan Shih-kai sent Hsü Shih-Chang, then the governor of Mukden, to Dalny to meet Prince Katsura, who was traveling through Manchuria on the way to Russia. On this occasion Hsü Shih-Chang, it is said, discussed with Katsura Far Eastern problems and the urgent necessity of Chino-Japanese coöperation. Fortunately, however, or unfortunately, Prince Katsura, one of the wisest statesmen of Japan, deliberately threw away what seemed to be the golden opportunity for Japan to come to a mutual understanding with China, by saying, "Japan is no longer Japan of the Far East, but Japan of the world."

Many years have elapsed since these events and affairs in China have grown from bad to worse. China has thus far only proved that she is corrupt and effete, wholly lacking in men and machinery to set her house in order. Much has been said in the United States of "Free China" and "Sister Republic," but words avail nothing to resist actual European pressure upon her. The partition of China was positively denied by foreign powers in words, but their activities represented in the figures and legends upon the map of China eloquently attest that China is steadily in the process of dissolution. It is said that China has concluded no less than seventeen agreements and concessions since 1912, most of which alienated certain Chinese administrative rights to the concessionaires or to the loaning powers.

Chinese diplomats did much fiddling, tall talking and sympathy begetting at the Paris Peace Conference, but England and France left the Peace Conference just the same with their "spheres of influence" aggregating 973,934 square miles of China. This was recognized politically without a word of remonstrance, while Japan's proposed "sphere of influence" of 55,970 square miles in Shantung raised a storm of protest. Opposition was strong for no particular reason. The only construction conceivable is that it was because the Japanese people are Asiatics.

If the Asiatic races, such as the Japanese, are hateful to the white races, and should therefore be crushed into perpetual slavery, the most efficacious method is to disrupt China, exclude and blockade Japanese investment and enterprise therefrom, and the last of the independent sovereignties in Asia will be strangled.

Here in a nutshell is the whole Asiatic situation—the mainspring that controls Japan's actions in the Far East. The white races have gradually conquered five continents and excluded Asiatic immigration from those parts of the world. Moreover, the white races have now their hands upon China, apparently for the benefit of that country, but in reality for the military and political purpose

of ultimate national gain, glory and wealth. The resources of China, however, are essential to Japan's industrial life. But so far China is not only incapable of resisting foreign aggression, but is devitalizing herself and tottering disastrously.

A nation like America, not involved in European affairs, and therefore "too proud to fight," had to fight when necessity demanded. She had to sign, as necessity demanded, the document which denied Japan's just claim to an "equality of race" in the name of justice and humanity. As she had to recognize the necessity of other national desires, so she should dispose of Shantung in Japan's favor. High moral sentiment is beautiful in itself, but the nations of the white races are always expanding in the expectation of future needs. It is simply futile and hypocritical to censure Japan's program in Shantung on the ground of high moral principles. Americans may reject the Japanese claim to an "equality of race" as inevitable in the world of things as they are, or they may reject Japan's program of Shantung absolutely and utterly from the point of high moral principle, but they cannot reject both without exposing themselves to inconsistency.

China as a nation has no inherent strength to resist foreign oppression. Western nations have not as yet manifested signs of a moral sensibility that forces them to cease their encroachment upon China simply for the love of justice and humanity. Japan knows that China owes her existence to the jealousy of the opposing nations in that country, and these nations will jump at China's throat at the first opportunity offered. It is therefore only wasting words to denounce Japan for taking Shantung. Her taking of it is actuated by the law of self-preservation, which is far older than moral sentiment. It is almost childish for Americans to think that Japan may be intimidated by American oratory and tamely accept a situation as represented in the yarns of their newspapers. It is insulting to Japan's understanding to plead with her not to take Shantung in order to preserve the principles of justice and humanity, when America or any other western nation does not mean to extend in practice the same standard of that principle to Asia. America, in order to stay Japan's hands from taking Shantung, will have to give real and convincing proof in addition to mere words strongly delivered, that the world is weary of the scheme of things heretofore advocated, that the international relation is fundamentally and radically changed, that there is no more cause for Japan to fear the "white peril." It must be a substantial and an inspiring proof that will evoke Japan's faith in the comity of nations, and remove Japan's burden of necessity for pursuing her present policy.

American idealism as uttered by President Wil-

son appeared to be the only light and hope to all humanity during the five long years of the dreadful tragedy enacted in the European theater of war. Wilson's political figure loomed large from the beginning of the war, and loomed larger still when American idealism seemed to dominate international morality. But the climax of this tragedy was failure when compromise after compromise retracted the Wilsonian monologues, and when finally Mr. Wilson came to earth in the disastrous failure of realization. The immense tragedy was played well—talk of principles of humanity had its run, also principles of nationalities, ideas of non-annexation and non-indemnity, and the statements on the freedom of the sea. All of it was nothing but colossal illusion. The old creed of diplomatic usage survived with but little change in its application. The old grudge of the old world was settled in the old way with its fundamental conflict. Marquis Okuma's utterance that "the thought and feeling of mankind are still such that it would be reckless to discard the traditional diplomacy of the past as antiquated" is measurably correct, and will continue to be so as long as there is no fundamental change in the attitude of opposing nations.

It is significant that the principles of justice and humanity so nobly advocated by President Wilson not only collapsed at the Peace Conference, but that they have driven the United States into a position both awkward and untenable. The popular problems of the "equality of races" and of "Shantung" show that America as a part and parcel of the world system has to be cautious and practical in the world of things as they are.

The question is often raised in this country whether Japan is capable of helping China to establish a strong government. Japan no doubt has made many blunders and mistakes in dealing with China. Had Japan's policy toward China been based upon the principle that the Chinese are, like themselves, oriental, then Chino-Japanese relation would have been radically different from what they are today. Had Japanese policy considered that the Chinese would become, when reorganized and revitalized, the most feared and hated of the nations and a thousand times more dangerous a yellow peril than Japan has ever been to the western nations, then the relations with China would have been on another basis. Japan's policy toward China up to the present has been one of opportunism, of meddling with this and that in the affairs of China, unnecessarily inviting suspicion and hatred until the two countries have come to a deadlock.

But Japan's failure and shortsightedness in these affairs is not sufficient to discredit her real ability to help China or to restrain herself in China in the future. A vigorous and growing nation like Japan,



in the habit of being successful in other things, will not remain in docile resignation because she was unsuccessful in this one particular. Japan's policy in China must succeed, or she will have to cease existing. Japan must sink or swim in her attempt, and she will swim as best she knows.

Japan's policy in China may be one of force or of right, or of both, but it is not in the least convincing to denounce only Japan's policy in China, when the clutching hands of the western nations are extended further upon China and strengthened with tighter grip. Such denunciation inspires, if anything, a suspicion of conspiracy by the white races. Japan cannot be disarmed except by liberating China from the clutch of Europe. Japan will endure the burden of armament as long as there is fear of western aggression upon China.

Japan emerged out of the war practically unharmed and relatively stronger. She is now the only nation in the East, Far or Near, that enjoys a complete independence. She is the indisputable leader nation of the Orient. The world war offered her the opportunity of "ten thousand years" and Japan will see to it that she will have her place

in the sun. Japan will see to it that the western nations shall not meddle in the affairs of the Far East without Japan's consent. Japan considers it her obligation to redeem the unnumbered millions of Asiatics from what might be the world's greatest tragedy—of being reduced to a perpetual servitude to the white races. Japan will see to it that the regenerated East may work out her human destiny in harmony instead of in antagonism to the civilization of the West. Meanwhile, Japan will see to it that her "sphere of influence" in China, be it ever so humble in comparison with what the European nations have already secured in that country, will yield sufficient economic advantage to provide her for future contingencies. And finally, if China does not awake from the danger of everlasting confusion, constantly offering fresh opportunities to the western nations for more aggression upon herself, bringing new frontiers and new problems to her neighbor, Japan will see to it that she will act again and again and take many more provinces just as she took Shantung. Let there be no mistake about this.



## II. China's Philosophy of War and Peace

By T. Y. LEO

**S**HANTUNG! Shantung! From a geographical nomenclature of comparative obscurity, the name of this old and sacred province of China suddenly finds itself in the mouths of the western world. Publicist, business man and man in the street—each suddenly finds that he himself has much to say about Shantung. Periodicals teem with discussions, surmises, suggestions and lamentations concerning Shantung. Because of what? Just because the western nations, after having laboriously squeezed out of the Prussians of the West their abominable militarism and aggressive ambitions, have been at the same time, to express it mildly, hoodwinked into helping to develop precisely the same things with the Prussians of the East in this Chinese province "East of (the T'ai-) Shan."

But, so far as I am aware, no one seems to have remarked on the fact that were Shantung under China with a conscientious, capable and strong administration of government, this province, instead of being itself made a victim of another race's imperialistic policy, should and could, by its own traditions, by the teachings of its own worthies and

by the spirit and brawn of its own denizens, contribute much to the raising of China to the hegemony of the whole oriental world. For Shantung, unbelievable though it may seem, is the very home of the greatest Chinese commanders and strategists. Their principles of the Art of War, or Maxims of War, are among the immutable and inestimable bequests to us by our forefathers of two or three thousand years ago. Not only have the Chinese—naturally the Japanese, too—studied them and been guided by them, but to them the great European commanders also have owed many of their victorious battles.

Of the greatest Chinese strategists there are at least four or five whose writings on the Art of War have been handed down to us, as well as to the Europeans, and all of them happen to have a close connection with Shantung.

Three of these, Sun Wu, Wu Ch'i and Sun Pin, deserve special attention for their fundamentals of military training, discipline and deception of the enemy—all principles underlying and applied to the tactics of today.

Sun Wu, commonly known as Sun-tze, a native

of Ch'i, wrote a systematic treatise on the Art of War in thirteen chapters. As his ability was not recognized in his own state, he took himself away to the state of Wu (modern Kiangsu), where he introduced himself to Lord Ho-lu by submitting his war treatise for his lordship's examination. A little later Lord Ho-lu said to Sun:

"I have read all your thirteen chapters. Can you make a demonstration of your practical knowledge by performing a maneuver on a small scale?"

Sun answered that he could.

"And can you make the experiment with women?"

As Sun replied that it was quite practicable, a selection of 180 girls from among the court ladies and palace maids was soon made. These Sun divided into two companies. Two of Ho-lu's favorite girls were appointed as corporals. Then he gave explicit and minute directions as to the ways of marches and counter-marches, and most urgently enjoined the girls to obey his commands. However, at his first command, "Right, Turn!" the girls giggled and laughed in chorus. Sun said it was the fault of the commander if good discipline were not maintained in the army; and then, having again explained things all over, and enjoined obedience, he issued an order that they should turn to the left. Unhappily, again the girls roared with laughter. Whereupon Sun said the fault this time lay with the corporals, whom he forthwith ordered away to be executed.

All this time Ho-lu had been sitting at a higher spot, watching the maneuver. Seeing now what Sun was going to do, he hastily sent to say that his lordship was already fully aware of the general's ability in conducting an army; but he desired that the two corporals be pardoned. In reply, Sun declared that a commanding general, while in his army, would not receive any command even from his lord. And the corporals accordingly were executed. As soon as two new corporals were chosen he again ordered the drum to beat—right, left, forward, backward, up and down. This time the girl companies marched and turned at his commands as regularly as clockwork, and all as silent as the grave. Sun sent to Ho-lu to report that the companies were all in order, would go through fire and water at his lordship's wish; and to request the presence of his lordship at the maneuver-ground. Ho-lu said that he desired the general to return to his residence for a rest, as he was not in the humor to review the maneuver.

Subsequently Sun was made the commander-in-chief of the Wu army. When Wu went into war with the state of Ch'u, Sun defeated and annihilated the Ch'u army of 200,000 strong with only 30,000 men.

About half a century later there flourished the great strategist, Wu Ch'i. Though a native of the Wei state, he came to the state of Lu to study the art of war. After he had mastered the art he sought to become a general in the Lu army; but as his wife was the daughter of a Ch'i subject, the Lu government refused to grant his request, fearing that if he were given the command of the army to fight the Ch'is, he or his family might turn traitor and betray the state secrets. Being determined to secure such a position for himself, Wu Ch'i inhumanly killed his wife! But he became a general in the Lu army.

It happened that an attacking force of Ch'i had for some time been harassing the state, and Wu Ch'i, commanding the Lu force on the defensive, distinguished himself by gaining a decisive victory over the invaders and succeeded in driving them out of the state. In the year 405 B. C. he had to flee from Lu, whence he proceeded to the state of Wei, asking for a position in the state service. The Marquis of Wei inquired of his councillor about the man, and was answered that "As a man, he has too great a thirst for fame and glory; but in conducting a war, even the great Ssu-ma Jang-tsu had nothing over him." Consequently, he was given the state army to command. For some time he held a commanding position, with the neighboring states standing in awe of him, until a court intrigue drove him away to the state of Ch'u, where he was appointed to the premiership by its king Tao. As a premier, his policy was to put the right man in the right place, and to economize the state expenditure so that as much revenue as was available could be devoted to the maintenance of fighting men and to the strengthening of the state army. Ch'u naturally derived much benefit from this policy; indeed, in a short time it became so strong and powerful that it made conquests right and left. But Wu Ch'i himself died a martyr to his own policy; for the members of the king's household and a number of high court officials who had been jealous of his power conspired, and, on the king's demise, assassinated him. A thin volume, entitled *Wu-Tze*, embodying Wu Ch'i's Maxims of War, is still extant.

Sun Pin, a lineal descendant of the great Sun Wu, was also famous for his strategy and tactics. When young he studied the art of war, with P'ang Ch'uan as his classmate. As soon as both had finished their studies P'ang became the chief commander of the Wei state, while Sun cast about for a position. Knowing that in military knowledge and strategy Sun was his superior by far, P'ang secretly invited Sun to join him; but when he had come P'ang pondered that if anyone should know about Sun, he himself would fall low in public estimation. To prevent Sun from having any chance

at all of showing himself in public, P'ang, under some pretext or other, had both Sun's feet cut off. Some time later it chanced that an envoy came from the Ch'i state on a mission. Sun managed to have a private interview with the envoy, who was so surprised at finding such superior knowledge in this footless man that on his return to Ch'i he contrived to take Sun with him.

While in Ch'i, Sun was received in a most friendly manner by the commanding general, T'ien Chi. It appeared that T'ien and the sons of the Ch'i aristocracy were in the habit of holding horse races among themselves, with big stakes, and T'ien was often the loser. Sun attended one of these races, and then said to T'ien:

"If you stake a larger sum of money, I can make you win the next series of racing."

When the time arrived for the race to begin, Sun directed that T'ien's inferior horse be set against their superior ones, his superior horse against their mediocre ones and his mediocre horse against their inferior ones. The result was that T'ien lost the first race, but won easily the second and third. Feeling indebted to Sun, T'ien took him to see King Wei, who, after having questioned Sun about the art of war, appointed him the chief of staff.

The state of Chao was attacked by the forces of Wei. When it could no longer stand against them it sent to Ch'i for relief. General T'ien was sent, with Sun as his military adviser, to Chao's rescue. T'ien was for taking his relief force directly to Chao, but Sun said:

"No! Wei has been concentrating its best troops on Chao; therefore, they cannot possibly have reserved save the old or weak for the defence of their capital. The best way to relieve Chao now is to march right on toward Wei's capital."

To be sure, the invaders turned hastily back to protect their own capital, but the relief force met and engaged them in a battle, with heavy losses to the former.

Another time an allied force of Wei and Chao attacked the state of Han. Han appealed to Ch'i for military aid. General T'ien was again chosen to command the relief force. Guided by his former experience, T'ien moved his force toward the capital of Wei. The Wei commander, P'ang Ch'uan, withdrew his attacking force from Han and headed back; but he found that the Ch'i relief force was already ahead of him on its way to the capital. However, he followed cautiously with his troops. In the meantime Sun said to T'ien:

"Now, the Weis have ever been very brave in fighting, while the comparative cowardice of our men is well-known. An able commander, however, can turn even this circumstance to account. Thus, as our force marches on day by day, let us, at our

first halt for the day, make 100,000 fireplaces for our men to cook their meal; next day, at our next halt, let only 50,000 be made; and the day after, reduce the number to 30,000."

As P'ang was coming up he took care to count the number of cooking-places left behind by the Ch'i force at each halt. Then he was overjoyed, saying:

"The Ch'is marched into our territory not, at first, without a little boldness; but behold! after having been on our land only three days, a greater half of their men has deserted!"

Whereupon he led his best mounted troops in hot pursuit. Sun had figured that by sunset the pursuers should reach a certain narrow defile through which they had to march, so he detached 10,000 archers to lie in ambush in a position commanding the defile. Then, on a large tree close by the defile, he had these words chalked: "Here under this tree P'ang Ch'uan shall die!" As it turned out, just about dusk P'ang and his troops arrived at the precise spot, and when a torch was lit for P'ang to read more clearly what was written on the tree, the Ch'i archers sent down upon them such a violent shower of darts and arrows that the pursuers were thrown into the greatest confusion. General T'ien, then, under Sun's direction, ordered an attack to be made on the chaotic crowd, which was killed almost to a man. For all this Sun's fame began to spread far and wide.

It was between 1766 and 1769 of our modern times that Amiot, a French Jesuit missionary in China, first made a study of all the ancient Chinese writings on the art of war and translated many of them into the French language. His editor, De Guignes, tells us that, while Amiot had produced finished translations of some complete texts, he left mere sundry notes on others, and one or two writers he gave only in extracts. But, in any case, it was Amiot who brought "the military art of the Chinese" to the notice of his countrymen; he it was that sent translations of all those maxims already mentioned to the French minister and secretary of state, M. Bertin, who carelessly kept the manuscripts in his bureau drawers until about 1772, when they were published in fourteen books. Maxime Chastenot de Puy-segur, son of the famous French Marshal Puy-segur, published in 1773 some of the translations—Sun-tse, it seems—with comments. This, according to one authority, "created a profound sensation" among the European military circles.

But, you may say, all this does not necessarily indicate that Europeans have been benefited by these maxims. Then listen to what a German of Berlin, Oskar Fritz, says in his article (written 1914), "The Oldest Maxims of War":

"It becomes apparent that, centuries before the time of Homer, war was already waged according to fixed rules, and that even in ancient times strategy was an art and the art of war was taught.

"Since these Chinese Maxims seem to be unknown, even in military circles, although Napoleon recommended their study, and since many of that great general's maxims may be traced to them, I have translated (from the French) extracts from the regulations laid down by the earliest of Chinese generals of whom we have any knowledge. . . . It is remarkable that the maxims of Frederick the Great should have been enunciated 3000 years before his time, and that the principles of Hindenburg's strategy and tactics should have been likewise laid down at that early period."

And, again, read what the *New York Times* says when it quotes the article of Oskar Fritz, under the headline, "Taught Hindenburg Strategy":

"The strategy and tactics that have made Field Marshal von Hindenburg one of the commanding figures of the world war did not originate in the brain of the great German commander, a fact that von Hindenburg frankly admits. To a great extent his maxims of war are those of Frederick the Great, and the maxims of the great Frederick were not of his own making.

"Furthermore, these maxims, the carrying into effect of which has twice overwhelmed the Russians and has undoubtedly played a prominent part in the wonderful resistance of the German armies in France and Belgium, have not been the secret possession of the Prussians. They were brought to light by a Frenchman, and from France found their way to the war councils of Frederick the Great and his successors. . . .

"The maxims followed by Frederick the Great and by von Hindenburg are those of the great Chinese warriors."

Perhaps you will sneer or shrug your shoulders. Yes, as who should say, it is all very well that your Shantung produced so many great strategists and commanders; but have they benefited your country, or Shantung itself, to the smallest degree? Why have your people not tried to hold up your military glory of the past?

This, I suppose, will be about all that nine Westerners out of ten can say regarding China and her people. It seems that in judging us they are wholly unable to see any point farther than their immediate neighborhood, or to think about any time earlier than the day before yesterday. They do not realize that the present spirit and condition of the Chinese people are the inevitable outcome of some political institutions of past ages; they have no idea of the important role which the family, instead of the nation, has played all along in our civilization in all its ramifications; they are totally ignorant of the fact that it has ever been the dream and hope of the Chinese to live and let live in a world of perfect harmony, friendship and peace with every

nation on this planet, more like the Country of Gentlemen in our legend than anything else; and, last but not least, it has never occurred to them to take into consideration the close relationship of our philosophies and religions with our social and political life, which, unlike their theoretical Christianity in its relation to their society and politics, always go hand in hand, and never in open contradiction. Men of catholic and fair mind! Would you call this sort of judgment of us sane?

China, as an old and highly civilized nation, lives, speaks, acts, sleeps, and wakes up in periods of long centuries. She is reluctant to waste her energy on any accomplishment, however brilliant and clever, that can add nothing to the moral or spiritual greatness of her people. Indeed, her civilization has reached such a stage that she has no use for any transient glory and success to be won only by means of either antiquated and ill-principled diplomacy or primitive and ungodly brute force. Yet China does not exactly shrink shudderingly from fight if necessity demands it, for fighting has been as much innate in the nature of her people as it has been in yours. What has apparently made a world of difference between the Chinese and the rest of the world is, that while you admire the fighting spirit, worship it and do everything to promote it, we, on the contrary, have ever been condemning it, curbing it and forcing it to lie dormant until it almost ceases to respond spontaneously to any call short of life and death. Nevertheless, this spirit in the Chinese is not dead; it is there, quite alive and serenely waiting. Like a calm but powerful sea, it is waiting till rashness comes to make an opening about its embankment; like the apparently harmless dynamite, it is waiting till innocence strikes a carelessly heavy blow. Wiseacres invariably would say that fighting needs an army and a navy, and that an army and a navy depend on organization and discipline. But this is only superficially true; for China is a grand old witch. She learns by her experience of forty or fifty centuries; she learns from the history of the whole world; and she knows that ancient Greece never gained her victory over Persia wholly through her better discipline and organization of her fighting people, and that Prussian Germany in our day was never defeated by the Allies because of the inefficiency of her army or the inferiority of her guns and gas.

Be that as it may, with the present European settlement regarding Shantung as a hard blow at her, China will conquer the world in due time. She can conquer the world, and she can conquer the conqueror of the world. In all probability she will never need to follow the teachings of her great ancient Shantung strategists. Virtue triumphs. Honesty wins. Chinese philosophy leads.



# STOWAWAYS, INC.

By CAPTAIN ALAN BOTT

MICHAEL IVANOVITCH TITOFF, one-time chief engineer of the Russian tramp steamer *Batoum*, proved to the dissatisfaction of Captain White and myself that he was a thief, a mean blackguard, a cunning liar, a cringing coward, a rat, and an altogether despicable cheat. Otherwise he was not a bad sort of fellow.

Titoff was head of a syndicate of ship's officers which might have been registered as "Stowaways, Incorporated." White and I met him in war-time Constantinople soon after our escape from the Turkish prison at Psamatia in August of last year. A mutual acquaintance, who had acted as intermediary when we cashed large cheques on a certain pro-British organization, introduced us to him, and after haggling in a café for a period of three glasses of beer, he contracted to ship us from Constantinople to Odessa. The price was six hundred dollars apiece, payable when the *Batoum* came to rest in the Russian harbor. The money was to be divided between the six members of the syndicate—three mates and three engineers. Titoff was the schemer-in-chief, and the others, while they disliked and feared him, relied on his highly developed cunning and agreed to all his plans.

The *Batoum* lay at anchor in mid-Bosphorus, between Seraglio Point and the Sultan's palace of Dolma Bagtché. We chartered a *kaik* and, in the half-light of an August evening, rowed to the foot of her rope ladder. A welcoming whistle from Michael Ivanovitch Titoff having assured us that all was well, we paid off the Greek *kaiktche* and climbed the ladder.

Michael Ivanovitch led the way to his cabin, where tea had been brewed and four members of the syndicate awaited introduction. Then, after discussing ways and means with the laborious help of a handbook of Russian and French phrases, he took us behind the tiny bridge to the tiny, disused wireless cabin, where we were to remain in boredom and anxious apprehension until the *Batoum* should be ready to steam up the Bosphorus. She would be the first Russian vessel to leave Constantinople after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The ten days that followed we mostly spent in learning Russian from a dictionary and the afore-said book of phrases, and in getting to know the ship's officers and some of the crew. They were rogues, almost to a man. Except Titoff and one or two of the stokers, they were likeable rogues, however, and applied an instinctive sense of decency to their unlawful dealings.

For example, Andreas Kulman, the Lettish third mate, would cheerfully cheat the Turkish merchant who had chartered the vessel, and cheerfully smuggle drugs from anywhere to anywhere; but I never knew him to cheat a friend or a poor man, or to take advantage of a stranger in difficulties. To us, as escaping prisoners, he showed many kindnesses. Had we been penniless, I believe he would have been willing to take us across the Black Sea without payment. The other mates were of the same type, if a trifle less obliging.

The second and third engineers—Feodor Mozny and Josef Koratkov—were among the very few of our shipmates who could not be classified as rogues. They transgressed only to the innocuous extent of smuggling moneyed stowaways and contraband goods. They also showed White and myself many kindnesses, as did the second engineer's wife, who voyaged with her husband. Several evenings she spent in the heat of the frowy little engine-room, washing our only underclothes, while we sat in Josef's cabin, clad in nothing but the tunic and trousers of our Russian-sailor disguises.

We wore these disguises for the benefit of visitors to the *Batoum*, and not to throw dust in the eyes of the crew. That was needless, for except the captain, every man belonging to the ship soon knew of us. The marvel was that with so many people privy to the secret it never leaked to the Turkish police. In pro-Entente circles ashore our presence on the *Batoum* was widely known and widely discussed, and I count it a debt to Providence that the news was not carried to the Ministry of War by one of the city's many police spies. The crew were unlikely to betray us knowingly, for every man of them must have planted something that might wither in the strong light of police investigation. Besides, they were tolerant of the British, while disliking the Turks even more than they disliked the Germans.

The captain, a white-bearded, bent-backed Greek of about eighty, seemed incompetent and well on the way to senile decay, but withal harmless. This voyage was to be his last before enforced retirement. He was as wax in the cunning hands of Titoff, who kept him from the knowledge that two escaped Britishers were aboard. Had he known, he would have either insisted on our removal or—more probably—demanded a large share of the passage money. It was easy to keep the ancient in ignorance, for apparently he knew less than anybody else of what happened on his vessel. Titoff



British Official Photo

**SURVIVORS OF KUT-EL-AMARA WITH THREE YEARS' CAPTIVITY IN TURKEY BACK OF THEM**  
 The British Surrender at Kut-el-Amara in April, 1916, After a Siege of 143 Days, Was One of the Dramatic Episodes of the War

assured us that should the captain see us in our disguises, he would remain unsuspicious so long as we took care not to speak. His declining mind had become too feeble to remember off-hand even the number of the crew, and much less could he remember their faces. Once I brushed by him closely, outside Kulman's cabin. He passed without a glance at me, looking on the ground and muttering into his beard.

The crew were a dubious mixture. Many, in particular the firemen, had been active Bolsheviks until Austro-German forces landed at Odessa and Sevastopol and temporarily crushed Bolshevism in South Russia. Others, ex-members of the bourgeoisie, who were unable to make a living on land under present conditions, had become temporary seamen by the grace of friends connected with the shipping company that owned the *Batoum*. There was also a bright youth named Viktor, who until the revolution had been a student. His father, a lawyer, was killed in the rioting at Kieff that accompanied the Soviet rise to power, and the son, to keep himself alive, now swabbed the decks of a tramp steamer and submitted to being kicked by sailors and corrupted by Michael Ivanovitch Titoff. Viktor spoke French and German, and was therefore much in request as interpreter when the ship's

officers bargained with their stowaways, invested in contraband consignments, or brought on board some cosmopolitan wench from Pera or Galata.

Our most interesting shipmate on the *Batoum* was perhaps Bolshevik Bill the Greaser. One afternoon when White, dressed in sailor's clothes, was helping to paint the ship's side, a hard-faced giant in overalls approached him, produced a Russian-French grammar and asked for a lesson. So far as his knowledge of French and Russian allowed, White did his best to comply. Thereafter the Greaser became a close friend, following us around the deck in the evening, visiting us at odd hours during the daytime and bringing us figs. Like most of the greasers and firemen, he was a Bolshevik. He was not a bloodthirsty Bolshevik, however, but one who, according to his own limited and crude conceptions of universal equality, wanted plenty of wealth, plenty of happiness, plenty of vodka for all. He was especially eloquent and brotherly when drunk.

Others of the Bolsheviks were idealists of a more exterminative type. We were playing cards in the engine-room one evening with Bolshevik Bill and some firemen. Between deals the talk swung to the Russian revolution. A lean man, who until then had been too busy drinking to speak, began to

describe the mutiny in the Baltic fleet. In his intensity he seemed to live again through the horrors of the rising, as, with gloating gesture, he described how he and other sailors had thrown unpopular officers into the sea with weights tied to their feet.

"That was bad, very bad," protested White in his halting Russian. "If you are in power and somebody has done wrong, he should be given a fair trial. If he is convicted, put him in prison. But to kill men merely because you dislike them is very wrong."

"Well said," commented Bolshevik Bill the Greaser.

"No, well meant if you like," amended the lean fireman as he patted White on the back; "but the Meester does not understand us. We would never do such a thing to English officers. We had them as instructors and found them true friends of their men. Our officers were very different. They hit us and ignored us and treated us like animals. We shall never be permanently free until they are all dead. We must destroy their class. Russia . . ."

His voice had been growing louder and more raucous. Suddenly it softened as he turned to White and said: "Meester, you know your business and we know ours. Have a fig." And the game of cards continued.

Yet among the whole shipload of rogues the only man who victimized us was Titoff. When we first came aboard he demanded twelve dollars a day for food, which, being stolen from the ship's supplies, cost him nothing. At the instigation of the second and third engineers we reduced the payment to six dollars a day. He blustered, but gave way and tried to make up the difference by cheating us over tobacco, cigarettes, newspapers and other articles bought on shore. He paid twenty-five dollars for a revolver, and tried to persuade us that thirty-five was the cost price.

We had left at Psamatia a store of clothes and tinned food, which was to have been smuggled on board by our intermediary. As the days passed and nothing arrived we suspected the intermediary of having either failed or fooled us. Then at a party in Titoff's cabin one evening I saw inside a cupboard some tins of biscuits and cocoa, of the kind that had been sent to us in prisoners' parcels by the British Flying Services Fund. Titoff could not—and in any case certainly would not—have bought them in Constantinople, for English cocoa and biscuits, if obtainable at all in the shops of Péra, fetched impossible prices.

Although the mere sight of the tins offered insufficient proof, the inference was that the intermediary had sent our belongings and that Titoff had stolen them. We delayed investigation and accusation until we should be safely out of Turkey and in

the possession of revolvers. Some time or other we meant to make Titoff suffer. Meanwhile we were forced to wait until our moment came.

Delay followed upon heartbreaking delay until we began to lose hope that the *Batoum* would ever weigh anchor. In four days' time, it was promised, the cargo would arrive. Two days later the four days had stretched, elastic-wise, to ten, because a consignment of raisins had not arrived from the interior. Then, a week afterwards, a further extension of five days was reported, the Turkish merchant who had chartered the ship having failed to make terms with the Ministry of Commerce.

The heat-heavy days were dull and intensely uncomfortable. Besides ourselves, the little cabin contained but two mattresses, a bed and an incomplete set of wireless instruments. The transmitter and receiver were still there, but had been out of action long since, for the Germans forbade the use of wireless by merchant craft in the Black Sea.

The tedium of inactive waiting, of day-to-day hopes and disappointments, was as unpleasant and irritating as a blanket of damp horsehair. Our only diversion was the kaleidoscopic view from the window as the ship swung with the tides. Not fifty yards away the Sultan's summer palace stood in white-stoned prominence amid the dull, squat buildings of Galata. Looking across the Bosphorus, with its heavy *dhows*, its ferryboats, its dancing *kaiks*, and its sun-glittering wavelets, we could see Seraglio Point, and in the distance the domed roofs and minaret spires of St. Sophia and the other great mosques of Stamboul.

The monotony was varied, also, by British air raids, with the accompanying machine-gun fire from the nearby roofs; and by our evening expeditions into the open when sunset and twilight were past and we could take exercise in tramping backwards and forwards, forwards and backwards, along the shadowed after-deck. For the rest, we continued to study Russian and received friendly calls from Kulman, the second and third engineers, Viktor the Student and Bolshevik Bill the Greaser.

Titoff visited us in the wireless cabin once only, when he searched for the platinum points on the transmitter. But already every morsel of platinum had been removed, and Michael Ivanovitch was indignant that his latest idea for profitable villainy should have been anticipated by some other rogue.

At about this period the Stamboul police raided the house of a Greek waiter and captured three British officers who had used it as a hiding place. The waiter, so the Turkish press announced, was to be hanged. Thereupon Titoff, mortally afraid for his own neck, wanted to be rid of ourselves and danger, and ordered us ashore. But we claimed to have grown too fond of him to part company, and said that if we did leave the ship it would be to

give ourselves up with the request that our friend and colleague Michael Ivanovitch Titoff should join us in prison. Michael Ivanovitch then protested that, out of the kindness of his heart, he would take us to Russia, whatever the risks might be.

Besides ourselves, the syndicate undertook to carry across the Black Sea a Greek, a Jewess (both of them wanted by the Turkish police), and four passportless prostitutes, all of them, to the extent of some hundred dollars apiece, wished to leave Turkey. Most of the crew, also, were smuggling men, women or material. Itself included four Russian soldiers, escaped from prison camps in Turkey, who were passing themselves off as seamen. The bo'sun's particular line of business was a woman thief, who had with her a heavy purse and a trunkful of property, stolen from a merchant who had been her dear friend. Rosa, the kitchen girl who brought us our food, invested in a well-to-do Turkish deserter.

As for the non-human contraband, it was stowed in every corner of the vessel—cocaine, opium, raw leather, tobacco, cognac, and quinine. Prices were extravagant enough in Constantinople, but in Russia they were colossal. The difference in the price of drugs, for example, often amounted to hundreds of per cent. The demand for cocaine as contraband was so great during the week before we actually sailed that by the end of it the chemists would sell none under five hundred dollars a kilo. In Odessa we heard one might dispose of it without difficulty for a thousand dollars a kilo. Even White and I became infected by the contraband craze, and, in partnership with Kulman, gambled on a consignment of leather, and thus covered most of our escape expenses.

At dusk, when we left the wireless cabin and paced the shadowed portion of the deck, we saw many a rowboat creeping towards whichever side of the *Batoum* happened not to face the shore. Somebody in it would exchange whistlings with somebody on deck, the deck somebody often being Titoff. When the boat had been made fast to the bottom of the gangway, a figure, or two figures, would climb up and disappear. Sometimes a package was brought and left behind; sometimes it was a visitor who did not depart with the rowboat.

Besides the mystery traffic from shore to ship there was also a certain amount from ship to shore. For this the steward, a Russian Jew, was responsible. Since our later delays in sailing were the result of the Turkish merchant's bargaining with government officials over the amount of *baksheesh* to be paid for permission to export, he undertook to feed the *Batoum's* crew for as long as they remained at Constantinople. Incidentally, he unknowingly fed White and myself, besides the other stowaways. The steward ordered more provisions

than were needed; and a few hours after the delivery of each consignment a boatload would be sent back to the quay and carted to the bazaars. Titoff, who organized the sale, shared the proceeds with the steward.

Titoff's methods of graft took him into many dubious by-paths, notably those around the offices of a Greek coal dealer. After preliminary plottings, with Viktor as interpreter, he ordered a hundred tons. The coal dealer delivered ninety, the bill for a hundred was presented to the Turkish merchant, and Titoff and the Greek split the value of the missing ten tons. It was easy enough for the chief engineer to make good the deficit by burning ten tons more on paper than in the furnaces.

With all this illicit traffic in men and goods there were some restless half hours during the last few days of our stay in the Bosphorus. Trouble was caused by the bo'sun's woman-thief, whose presence among us the Péra police suspected. Five times they searched for her. The bo'sun detailed a man to watch the shore, and whenever a police launch appeared the lookout would blow a whistle. All the stowaways then scurried to their various hiding places. White and I, being the most dangerous cargo, were given the safest—and certainly the dirtiest—hiding place of all. This was in the ballast tanks, at the very bottom of the ship, underneath the propeller-shaft. The entrance to them was through a narrow manhole, covered by a cast-iron lid, about twenty yards down a dark passage leading from the engine-room to the propeller. The alarm having been given, Feodor, the second engineer, led us along the passage by the light of a taper, removed some boards, raised the lid, and helped us to wriggle into the black cavity below. Our feet would be covered by six inches of bilge-water while we crouched down so as to leave him room enough to replace the iron cover and relay the wooden boards that hid it. Then, one at a time, and with our knees squelching in the water, we crawled from tank to tank, towards the Kingston valve.

Half-way along the line of tanks were two that contained small mattresses, which Feodor had placed in position for us. After the first day they were sodden with the bilge-water; but, at any rate, it was better to sit on them than in the water itself. The limited space made it impossible for us to be seated in any but a very cramped position, with hunched-up shoulders rubbing against the slime that coated the sides of each tank. Standing was impossible, and lying down meant leaning one's head on the wet mattress and soaking one's feet in the drain of bilge that swished backwards and forwards with every motion of the ship. Complete blackness surrounded us. The air was dank and musty, so that matches spluttered only feebly when





CONSTANTINOPLE, WITH SAINT SOPHIA AND THE GOLDEN HORN, IS THE APPLE OF THE TURKISH EYE.

It Has Been Suggested by Mr. Morgenthau That After a Few Years Under an American Mandatory and a Competent Administration, Constantinople Would Become the New York of the East

struck, and the light from a taper was hardly strong enough to chase the darkness from the half of each small tank.

When, after each search, the police returned to their launch, we would hear the heavy boots of Feodor tramping along the passage overhead. As we listened to the nerve-edging noise that accompanied the removal of the boards and the iron lid we crouched into the best-hidden corners of our respective tanks, never sure whether a friend or a policeman was at the entrance. We scarcely breathed until there came, booming and echoing through the hollow compartments, the word "*Signor!*" Feodor's password denoting that all was clear and that we might return to the engine-room.

The twenty-second of September was the final date fixed for the departure. By late afternoon of the twenty-first all the Turkish merchant's cargo, legitimate and otherwise, had been brought from the quay by lighters, and thence transferred by winches to the *Batoum's* hatches. The export officials had been squared, the ship's papers were passed and stamped, the bunkers were fully loaded with inferior coal. All on board, from the captain to the least-considered stowaway, were content, although nervous of what might happen during the next twenty-four hours.

That evening there were more than the usual number of mysterious visits from small boats. The

full complement of stowaways was taken aboard, the last case of contraband shipped. Until a late hour the engine-room resounded to the hammerings of Feodor and Josef, who were hiding a last-minute consignment of cocaine. Our own investment in raw leather was in Kulman's cabin.

The firemen and groasers celebrated their farewell in the usual manner. By nine o'clock several were roaring drunk. One of them—the Bolshevik who had told of the drowning of Baltic fleet officers—staggered across the aft deck with a drawn knife in his hand, shouting that he wanted to finish off Josef, the third engineer, who had insulted him. He found Josef in the engine-room, but he was cowed and disarmed when the engineer threatened him with a revolver. He let himself be led away, while verbally murdering all officers in general, and Josef in particular.

At six-thirty in the morning Josef roused us from our sleep on the floor of his cabin and invited us to the ballast-tanks; for, as the police and customs officers would be on board most of the time until we weighed anchor, we must remain hidden until the *Batoum* left Turkish waters. Since we expected to be hidden for about twelve hours, we took with us a loaf of bread, some dried sausage, and a bottle of water. After a last look through the port-hole at Seraglio Point and the cupolas of Stamboul, I passed below, hoping and expecting

that when I next looked to the open air we should be clear of Turkey.

For a long while nothing happened to take our thoughts from the cramped space and the foul air of the tanks. We breakfasted sparingly and allowed ourselves one cigarette apiece. More we dared not smoke, because of the effect on the oppressive atmosphere. Then at about ten o'clock we heard from above a succession of three thuds—the signal to all stowaways in the region of the engine-room that the police were on board. We made ourselves as comfortable as possible, and took minute care to make no sound. We waited in frantic impatience for noises from the engine-room that would denote a getting-up of steam. At half-past eleven there began a continuous rhythmic spurring, which we took to be the sound of the engines in action. Soon afterwards a grinding and scraping from the deck convinced us that the anchor was being raised.

"Put it there, old man," said White, thrusting his hand through the hole that linked our respective tanks. "We're leaving Turkey at last!"

But not yet were we leaving Turkey. The noise from the engine-room was merely that of a pump

preparing the pressure. After three-quarters of an hour it quieted as suddenly as it had begun, and we realized that the *Batoum* was still moored in the Bosphorus, between Seraglio Point and the Sultan's Palace of Dolma Bagiché.

And then, soon after noon, came the real music for which we had waited so anxiously. The telegraph from the bridge tinkled, a fuller and more throaty rhythm came from the engine-room, loud grinding and rattling from the deck testified that the anchor had parted company with the bottom of the Bosphorus. A few minutes later we felt the ship swinging around, and a swishing and rushing of water told us that this time we really were away. In silence we shook hands again.

For long hours we remained in the slimy tanks, crouched on the sodden mattresses. But it was no longer purgatory. The swish-swish of the screw chased away all sensation of discomfort, and there remained only the realization that we had left Constantinople, and soon would have left Turkey. My old habit of subconsciously fitting metre and rhyme to mechanical rhythm, to which I had succumbed many times when seated behind aeroplane motors, began to assert itself as we sat in the darkness and listened to the penetrating throbs from the engine-room above us. Incongruously enough, the unbidden lines that continued to pass maddeningly through my mind, in time with the steady rise and fall of the piston, were those of a G. K. Chesterton ballad:

*"If I had been a heathen,  
I'd have kissed Naera's curls,  
And filled my life with love affairs,  
My house with dancing girls.  
But Higgins is a heathen,  
And to meetings he is forced,  
Where his cousin, who are not married,  
Demand to be divorced."*

By early evening, we had calculated, the *Batoum* should be leaving Turkish territorial waters and entering the Black Sea. Just before six the captain's telegraph clanged, the engines subdued to dead slow, the vessel swung around into the tide and seemed to remain almost stationary for a quarter of an hour. We had expected a last search by the Turkish customs authorities at the outlet of the Bosphorus, and surmised that this was the reason for the slackened speed. But a repetition of the whirring and clanking on deck, followed by a loud splash, showed that the anchor was in action again, and that something more important than a mere search was on hand. For two hours longer we remained in the blackness, unlightened and very anxious. Then, after the usual removal of the boards and the lid, there floated through the tanks a low-voiced "*Signor!*"

Fedor, candle in hand, was waiting for us. He whispered a warning to make as little noise as possible, because two Turkish officials were on board.



Fig. 1. Aerial Photo of Istanbul

#### THE GOLDEN HORN FROM A BRITISH AEROPLANE

The Aerial Photography Developed During the War  
Will Revolutionize the Science of Topography

Having reconnoitered to make sure that the way to Josef's cabin was clear, he led us there. The delay, it appeared, was because a Turkish merchant had left some clearance papers at Constantinople. He had gone to the capital by automobile, and meanwhile two of the Customs Police remained on the *Batoum*. The merchant was expected to return with the missing documents next morning.

We slept in the cabin, and at dawn descended once more to the ship's bowels. We spent five more hours of purgatory in the ballast-tanks. The *Batoum* remained motionless during three of them, but the last two were enlivened by the swish-swish of displaced water past the flanks of the vessel. Finally we heard, for the last time, the blessed signal "*Signor!*"

"*Fineesh Turkey,*" said Feodor as he smiled and helped us through the manhole.

Gone was the Bosphorus, and in its place we saw the leaden waters of the Black Sea. From the porthole of Josef's cabin we could distinguish many miles west of us the coastline of the country in which White had spent three years. Feodor soon left us, for he had to bring other stowaways to the light of day. From every concealed cranny of the vessel men and women, almost as light-hearted as ourselves at deliverance from the Turks, were coming into the open.

One of the stowaways, a passportless woman whom the aged captain was taking with him to Odessa, did not rejoice for some time. As hiding place for her the old man had chosen a deep locker in his chartroom on the bridge. There she had remained for the past two days. Now, Rosa, the kitchen wench, knew nothing of the captain's lady. That morning, not wishing to send her own particular stowaway—a Turkish deserter with coal-blackened face, untrimmed beard and decidedly odorous clothes—back to the bunkers, where he had spent the previous day, she thought of the locker as a temporary home. Dumping him inside the locker, she fastened the lid and ran back to the kitchen. The Turkish deserter landed with some violence on the captain's lady, and both received a bad fright as they clutched at each other in the darkness. Yet the lid could not be removed from



#### HALF OCCIDENTAL, HALF BYZANTINE, ODESSA

Although Under the Austrian Thumb, Odessa Was the Gate to Freedom for Allied Prisoners Escaping from Turkey

the inside, and the woman's screams were unheard outside the little room. The air in the unventilated locker grew more and more stuffy. Finally the woman fainted. The Turk, tired after a long spell of cramped wakefulness in the bunkers and the kitchen, composed himself philosophically and went to sleep.

When the *Batoum* was beyond the Bosphorus and all danger of a search, the captain opened the locker to release his friend. He inserted an arm, and jumped with fright when, instead of a female, he produced a coal-blackened man. The woman revived after being taken into the fresh air, but I imagine that never again will she become a stowaway.

By now the stowaways were mingling with the legitimate passengers, whose bedding was spread over the hatches. I remember in particular a vivid-looking, much-jewelled Jewess. I found her exchanging violent words with two firemen, who were levying blackmail, using the Austrian port authorities at Odessa as bogey-men. When, with tears and protests, she had fulfilled their demands, two other ruffians from among the crew took their place

and demanded money or, in default, jewels. The woman-thief was victimized less universally than the others, because she was known to be the bo'sun's especial graft. As for us, we were under the protection of the ship's officers.

On the second evening at sea the firemen stole a case of *arak* from the cargo, drank themselves amuck, and told Josef they were far too busy over private concerns to trouble about stoking the furnaces. The private concerns were mostly women from among the stowaways and poorer passengers. The fires sank lower and lower, the engine power dwindled, the propeller revolved with slowly-expiring energy. Throughout that night we crawled forward through the middle of the Black Sea with a minimum number of revolutions, and even this small progress was only because the ship's officers took turns in the furnace-room acting as stokers. Next morning the sobered firemen graciously agreed to let bygones be bygones, and resumed work.

We sighted Odessa, our last gate to freedom, at noon of the fourth day. The city has pleasant terraces around the hills that slope to the foot of the wide-curved bay. White and I carried secret letters of introduction to Ukrainian officials, and we knew definitely that they would find means to ship us to the Bulgarian port of Varna, which the British had just occupied.

Meantime, we were aware that Odessa, though nominally controlled by the Ukrainians, was really under the thumb of Austria. Our immediate concern was to get ashore without meeting Austrian soldiers at the docks. Kulman and Josef promised to escort us and thus lend the protection of their uniforms. We ourselves discarded seamen's clothes for the mufti worn when we escaped from the Turkish guards. White had no lounge coat, and although the day was very hot he had to wear a faded old overcoat. Our luggage—each of us possessed a toothbrush, a revolver, some cartridges, a comb, a razor, a spare shirt, a spare collar and a pair of handkerchiefs—we wrapped in two sheets of newspaper.

Before we left there was a dramatic ceremony when we paid for our unauthorized passage and incidentally got even with Michael Ivanovitch Titoff. He had reckoned on taking the money himself and dividing it as he pleased. We knew that he could best be punished by hitting at his avarice. We therefore explained to Kulman, Josef and Feodor that as they had done more for us than the chief engineer, we wanted them to receive a share corresponding to their risks and services, and proposed to hand all the money to them for distribution. From Titoff's share we would deduct the value of what he had stolen from us, and also whatever we thought excessive in his charges for food.

Each of the trio had his own grievances against Titoff, and all were delighted with the opportunity of making money at his expense. We prepared a balance-sheet, and invited Titoff into Josef's cabin. Josef, as Titoff's subordinate, had been scared of offending him. Four glasses of neat vodka, however, gave him courage, and when the chief engineer entered, he was the most aggressive of us all.

"Michael Ivanovitch," he said, glaring at Titoff with bloodshot eyes, "we are no longer at Constantinople, and our friends here insist on a just distribution of their money. This," handing him the balance-sheet and a list of his own, "is how it will be divided."

The chief rogue glared his indignation as White handed a handful of banknotes to Josef, and voiced it when he received the balance-sheet. He stood up and declaimed against the deductions, but soon subsided in face of the row of unfriendly faces, the grins, and the revolvers which White and I kept well in evidence.

"There is nothing more to be settled," said White. "Here we are among friends. Now leave us."

And Titoff went. At the door he turned and said to Josef with evil meaning in his voice: "I shall have business with you later." Josef laughed and poured out another glass of vodka.

The last we saw of Michael Ivanovitch Titoff was his yellow face leaning over the side of the ship when, with Kulman and Josef, we rowed towards the docks. They were taking us on shore before the customs officers boarded the *Batoum*. The other stowaways, who were mingling with the legitimate passengers on the deck, were to come later. Bolshevik Bill waved good-bye with a piece of oily rag.

The harbor was chock-full of forlorn-looking craft which had evidently lain idle for a long while. We dodged around and about several of them, so as not to give the appearance of coming from the *Batoum*, and then made for the nearest quay. On it was an Austrian officer. When we were some fifty yards distant he looked at us through field glasses, and proceeded to detail a group of soldiers to various points on the quay, evidently with the object of stopping and questioning us.

Kulman, who was at the tiller, gave an order to the sailor at the oars. We swung around a bend of the shore and lost sight of the Austrians. Close ahead was another landing-stage. We moored beside it. Without wasting a second, but also without showing haste, we stepped from the boat and climbed the steps, Kulman and I first, and then Josef and White. Two Austrian sentries and some Russian officials stood at the top of the steps. They looked hard at us, but, satisfied by the uniforms of Kulman and Josef, merely nodded a greeting as we passed toward the dock gates and freedom.

## INHERITORS OF CANAAN



*The ancient plains of Palestine have once more groaned under the travail of war. Hosts, more terrible than armies with banners, came with pillars of fire and winged chariots that soared high above the hills of Judaea. The voice of the hurricane is stilled at last, but the envoys of victory are met in the seats of the mighty to portion out Esdraslon and the wheat lands of Hauran. Who shall go down in the sea in skins? Where is Arabia to begin and Syria to end? The humble Arab peasant women, who plow the fields as Ruth did after the reapers of Boaz, are not thinking in terms of boundaries and world tragics. They saw the Turks and Germans sweep with ruthless steel through their gardens and orchards. They watched the long British lines file down their roads. They carried their fruit and their vegetables into the marketplaces to sell to the soldiers, and now, perhaps, with something of apathy they follow with their last greetings division after division as it embarks for home. Pasture, dumb, long suffering, the heaver of wood and drawer of water has endured through four years of helpless misery. But a dawn of promise streaks the East; once more the vineyards will be rich with the purple fruit; rippling waves of wheat and barley will cover the plains. Peace must bring the fruits of toil to the men and women of Palestine who work with their hands.*



*In some countries rubies and sapphires, pearls and sapphires, are the proper expression of feminine vanity. A woman of Palestine is not displaying her charms to the best advantage unless she is heavily adorned with silver bracelets, chains, coins and ornaments. No wardrobe would be complete without amulets—all sorts of amulets to act as a protection against the goblins and evil spirits that inhabit the unseen world of Palestine. The devil doctor or witch woman is frequently summoned to the bedside of a patient to work her magic. The most dangerous spirits are the Jan, who live in cisterns, ruined buildings, in cracks in the wall and under doorsteps. When the Moslems take any of their provision of grain, they are careful to invoke the name of Allah the Merciful that the Jan should not rob them. Fearful tales are told to the unbelieving of scoffers who were carried off to the underworld because they did not show proper respect for the Jan. But the most universal superstition of the peasants is a dread of the evil eye, which has power to wither corn, burn houses and cause death. The folk background of Palestine is sad-colored and stern—undisturbed by the friendly elves and fairies of western lore.*



One of the most difficult achievements of Colonel Lawrence and Emir Feisal in their spectacular Arabian campaign was the union of the various sheiks, many of whom had been involved in perpetual blood feuds with one another. There are all degrees of sheiks, from the great sheik of an influential Bedouin tribe to the humbler sheik of an Arab village. The sheik is the hereditary leader or father of his people, but since he has no real legislative or executive authority, much of his power depends on his personal popularity with his followers. If the sheik is a man of property, he lives and dresses as simply as the rest of his people. His one form of extravagance is a lavish and prodigal generosity. Even the village sheik of a few poor huddled cabins is frequently waiting in the arched opening of his threshold to welcome the passing stranger. If the Arabs are in encampment, the sheik's tent is always on the west, because it is from the west that guests as well as enemies are expected. The sheik is expected to provide for the poor, distribute liberal gifts to his friends and uphold his patriarchal position with glory. Collecting no tax from his followers, he often depends on marauding expeditions to replenish his fortune.



Bedouin girls enjoy more freedom in courtship than their sisters of the East. The Bedouin father feels a warm affection for his daughter, and rarely accepts a price for her hand. When a young man of the tribe thinks he has found his mate, he pays repeated visits to her father's tent and is often permitted to see the girl. On the day agreed upon for the wedding, a festive procession threads its way from the home of the bridegroom to the tent of the bride—men carrying swords and spears and mounted on spirited horses, and girls, in all their finery and silver ornaments, on camels richly adorned with colored silk trappings. The men hold a mock tournament before the tent of the bride, and the girls enter the woman's apartment to dress her in her new silk and wool robes. Then the procession returns to the bridegroom's home, where there is elaborate feasting and wild dancing all night around a great bonfire. The bride is welcomed to her new hearth with song:

"Walk proudly, O daughter of the Emir;  
Thy affianced is the first of harem-men.  
Walk proudly, O daughter of the Bedouins;  
Thy spouse is the slayer of his enemies."





There are hunters among the Bedouins, stalwart men with keen eyes and trained falcons, but hunting is not the favorite sport of the people of the tent. When a Bedouin sheik observes that the humdrum pastoral occupations are becoming irksome to his people, he suggests a marauding expedition. Travelers are robbed and caravans laden with goods are so often plundered that strangers entering Bedouin territory try to place themselves under the protection of the strongest sheik, for there is honor among thieves—especially among Arabian thieves. Intertribal warfare is usually carried on for the purpose of cattle-lifting. A night raid is a thrilling adventure. The leaders of the clan meet in the sheik's tent to plan the attack. When everything is arranged, from the fittest horses to the most trustworthy camels to carry the food and water, the band sallies forth, barking in ambush until the herdsmen of the enemy tribe take the cattle to pasture. That is the signal to collect the cattle and drive them before the horses. If the herdsmen have time to warn their people, a skirmish ensues, and the marauders are not always victorious. Some are killed or wounded and others are captured. Out of the flashing steel and hairbreadth escapes of such Arabian nights entertainments were created the warriors that carried the Arabian army to victory.



Primitive methods of spinning wool and cotton still prevail in Palestine. Not only the industries, but the dress, customs and salutations of the fellahin preserve vividly the times of the Bible. On the plains the villages, averaging four hundred inhabitants, cluster in an untidy little group of huts, built of sun-dried bricks and roofed with mud. In summer the villagers sleep in booths on their roofs or in little shelters covered with thatched leaves, erected on the outskirts of the town or in the cool fragrance of the orchards. The boys tend their flocks on the hills; the women carry water and gossip by the wells with their large earthen jars beside them, and then stroll home to prepare the simple food; the men are occupied with agriculture. Among the Bedouins and the more sedentary Arabs that dwell in towns or work in the fields, the sheep is the most valuable domestic animal. Mutton is almost the only meat eaten in Syria, and wool is one of the chief exports. Wool is woven on hand looms into the long gown worn by men and women, but up to the present time there has been no concentration of industries into factories. Life continues in the artisan stage very much as it existed in Europe before the invention of machinery.



One of the most welcome vendors in Jerusalem is the water carrier, who goes about from house to house with his precious vintage in a position, for pigskin is sacred both to Jew and Moslem. Perhaps in the gray mists of the morning he fills his unique water vessel from a well at the Mosque of Omar or from one of the new water faucets bringing pure water from the springs near Bethlehem. Among the many constructive things that the British have accomplished in their occupation of Palestine, none has been more permanent in value than the installation of an efficient water system for Jerusalem. The city was formerly dependent on rainfall, and the water was stored in pools and cisterns of dubious cleanliness. Only the wealthy could afford to have cisterns in their homes; others resorted to the water vendors or else carried their own jars to the public wells. The British engineers cleaned out and repaired the ancient cisterns that were breeding places for germs and built an aqueduct to bring the water into Jerusalem from the springs of Hebron. A good water supply, municipal sanitation and better roads are only a few of the modern improvements introduced by the British to make Palestine a cleaner and happier place.



*The Yemenite Jew follows literally the bidding of the Book: "Keep My commandments and live; and My law as the apple of thine eye. Bind them upon thy fingers and write them upon the table of thine heart." With the "tallit," or fringed prayer shawl, draped over his shoulders, and the "tefillin" bound to his brow, he presents a venerable appearance—a silent rebuke to the persecution of the ages. In southern Arabia the Yemenite Jews have suffered more inequities from Arabs and Turks than did their ancestors under the lash of Egyptian tyrants. Tradition says that the Jews came to Yemen before the destruction of the first temple. Ezra sent them a message to return to Palestine, and because of their refusal he pronounced upon them an everlasting curse. In accordance with that tradition, no child of Yemenite Jews bears the name of Ezra to this day. The first Yemenite Jews came to Palestine in 1882, working first as porters and masons. Later many of them became laborers in the Jewish colonies and even took up small tracts of land for themselves. The Yemenites are skilled artisans and smiths. Most of the beautiful silver filigree jewelry of Palestine is the work of their hands. They are rapidly orthodox, and follow with unflinching zeal all the ancient tenets of their religion. So poor are they that one often finds six or eight studying from one book—and for them there is only one book—the Torah, or scroll of the Law.*

# CHINESE NATIONAL SENTIMENT

By JOHN DEWEY

**I**S it possible for a Westerner to understand Chinese political psychology? Certainly not without a prior knowledge of the historic customs and institutions of China, for the institutions have shaped the mental habits, not the mind the social habits. The West approaches all political questions with ideas composed on the pattern of a national state, with its sovereignty and definite organs, political, judicial, executive and administrative, to perform specific functions. We have even made history over to fit into this pattern. We have taken European political development as a necessary standard of normal political evolution. We have made ourselves believe that all development from savagery to civilization must follow a like course and pass through similar stages. When we find societies that do not agree with this standard we blandly dismiss them as abnormalities, as survivals of backward states, or as manifestations of lack of political capacity. Approached with such preconceptions, Chinese institutions and ideas are often given up as a bad job and as a case of arrested development. In actual fact, they mark an extraordinary development in a particular direction, only one so unfamiliar to us that we dispose of them as a mass of hopeless political confusion and corruption, or a striking object of what happens when there happens to be even a high code of ethics without the blessings of a divine revelation.

The attempt to read Chinese institutions in terms of western ideas has resulted in failures of understanding and of action from the very beginnings of our contact. For example, in the early days of intercourse there was ground of complaint of the treatment received by western shipwrecked sailors on Korean coasts. The Foreign Offices knew that there existed some tributary relation between Korea and China. They interpreted this relation of dependence, as Mr. Holcombe has pointed out, in the way familiar to them. They thought of the connection as that of feudal suzerain and vassal. Hence they demanded that China make its dependent behave. When China disclaimed authority, they thought that this was either equivalent to a renunciation of all relationship, or else a wilful piece of deceit in a characteristic endeavor to evade just responsibility. They had no precedent for a relationship which, while one of genuine dependence, was moral and advisory in nature. The whole early history of the dealings of western nations with the Court at Peking is full of similar misconceptions. There was an undoubted mon-

arch. The monarchy was even of the despotic kind; there were none of the checks of constitutional and representative institutions familiar to the western mind. Hence all the attributes of political sovereignty, external and internal, were attributed to the Court. Here again there was no precedent for conceiving of a dynastic rule which was a combination of a primitive tribute-levying empire and an authority of a moralistic, homiletic, hortatory kind. And as we go from such external aspects to deeper conditions we find that China can be understood only in terms of the institutions and ideas which have been worked out in its own historical evolution.

The central factor in the Chinese historic political psychology is its profound indifference to everything that we associate with the state, with government. One inclines to wonder sometimes why the anarchists of the pacifist and philosophic type have not seized upon China as a working exemplification of their theories. Probably the reason is that being preoccupied with the problem of active abolition of government, they have not been able to conceive of an anarchy which should be only a profound apathy towards government. Or else they, too, have been misled by the popular association of anarchy with extreme freedom and nobility, and could not imagine it in connection with the stagnation attributed to China.

According to literary records, the following verse is the oldest poem in the language—a song put into the mouth of a farmer:

*"Dig your well and drink its water;  
Plow your fields and eat the harvest;  
What has the Emperor's might to do with me?"*

China is still agricultural, as it was in the bygone centuries. Its farmers still go about their own business of tilling and eating, marrying and giving in marriage, begetting and dying. As of old, they attend to their own affairs, and the power of Emperor or President concerns them not. Governors come and go, and fuss about their petty intrigues of glory and greed. But they do not govern the farmers, who are the mass of the population. The only governance known to them is that of nature, the rules of the immemorial change of seasons, the fateful laws of birth and death, of seed-corn and harvest, of flood and pestilence. In the words of perhaps their oftenest quoted proverb, "Heaven is high and the Emperor far away." The implication is that earth is close and intimate, the family and village nearby.

M. Huc tells an incident that dates from 1851; it might, however, have happened at any period in the long history of China. After the recent death of the emperor, he endeavored without success to engage his fellow guests at a roadside tavern in a discussion of political prospects and possibilities. There was no response, though he exhausted his ingenuity. Finally one of the Chinese replied: "Listen to me, my friend. Why should you trouble your heart and fatigue your head with all these vain surmises? The mandarins have to attend to affairs of state; they are paid for it. Let them then earn their money. But we should be great fools to torment ourselves about what does not concern us. We should be great fools to want to do political business for nothing." And the anecdote continues: "'That is very conformable to reason,' cried the rest of the company. Whereupon they pointed out to us that our tea was getting cold and our pipes were out." The state, the government, was a special business or trade, less interesting and less important for the mass of the people than ordinary affairs. It was, however, lucrative to those who specialized in it; let them carry its burdens. Meanwhile not merely the wedding and funeral, the sowing and reaping, concerned intimately the life of the people, but even the social consolations of the teacup and the tobacco-pipe were of more importance than affairs of state.

If the people were indifferent to government, the government, which in our western terminology we have to call the state, reciprocated. In theory it was the representative of Heaven, and consequently owned the earth, namely, the soil, and was the symbolic cause of its fertility, exercising a beneficial paternal influence upon the prosperity of the country. In fact, like Heaven itself, the government was high above. In earlier days Heaven may have directly intervened in the affairs of earth, but for outnumbered centuries in later days it had remained discreetly aloof, satisfied with relations long ago established and interrupting the affairs of earth only at great crises. Except for a few purposes well understood by custom, the central government was irrelevant to the life of the people. It was a Court, and its dignity, prestige, ceremony and pleasures had to be maintained. The material side of this life required material supplies and money. The ideal life, the glory and supremacy of the reigning dynasty, could be satisfied symbolically and ceremonially, as the spirits had learned to be satisfied with symbolic money and imitations of servants, animals and food. The primary material function of government was then to receive a tribute from the products of the earth, partly in kind, partly in money. The amount was not onerous, and long custom had converted the tax into part of the regular order of nature, though,

like the crops and other phenomena of nature, it was subject to unexpected ups and downs. The moral and ceremonial sovereignty was incarnated in the officialdom of viceroys, governors, heralds and other functionaries, who represented the Imperial Court, and who communicated to the people its mandates and exhortations, composed in the best literary style and manifesting the continuous benevolent solicitude of the representative of Heaven for their morals. These morals were, in turn, the source of the prosperity of the country and of the stability of the Empire. These officials also had to lead a life of a certain symbolic grandeur and glory which cost money, but taxation was kept within limits prescribed by custom, and as a rule the burden was not heavy. Pains were taken that it should fall upon the well-to-do as far as possible, thus serving the double end of keeping down the power of possible rivals and of not arousing the disfavor of the masses. It is possible to trace in the old Chinese theory of politics the survivals of an original theocracy. But in China, even more than in Europe in its most deistic days, God, or Heaven, was remote, contenting itself with a general benevolent oversight. Its lordship was of an absentee nature. And the Court which represented Heaven was contented to imitate the latter's non-interference with the details and customs of life.

The result was that for all practical purposes each province was an independent state, composed, in turn, of a large number of petty republics called villages. In 1900 an English writer, made competent by long residence and intimate experience, wrote: "Each of China's eighteen provinces is a complete state in itself. Each province has its own army, navy, system of taxation and its own social customs. In connection only with the salt trade and the navy certain concessions have to be made to one another under a certain modicum of imperial control." These independent units are traditionally called provinces. But, as the quotation shows, they might have been called principalities, save that they had no orderly lineage of princes. China was not even a confederation, much less a national state or an imperial state, in the sense which history has given those terms in the West.

Again we have no precedents by which to interpret and understand such a situation. We are acquainted with empires that left local customs undisturbed and that contented themselves with levying tribute and exacting booty. But they were military powers, and always existed in unstable equilibrium. They never became so interwoven with local custom as to be a part of the established order of nature and able to dispense with military support. But China has worked out a scheme of remarkable static equilibrium—the most stable

known to history. The political life of China went on essentially undisturbed, even though rebellions overthrew dynasties. Such rebellions were themselves as much a part of the established order of Heaven or Nature as was an occasional flood or plague. All such crises had their natural causes and were proper and normal, however uncomfortable or destructive they might be. The texture of life was unchanged; it continued to exhibit the same patterns. The equilibrium was a human and internal one, a moral one, not one maintained by external pressure or military force. The actual government of China was a system of nicely calculated personal and group pressures and pulls, exactions and "squeezes," neatly balanced against one another, of assertions and yieldings, of experiments to see how far a certain demand could be forced, and of yielding when the exorbitance of the demand called out an equal counter-pressure. Long before the time of Sir Isaac Newton, China worked out a demonstration in the field of politics, of the law that action and reaction are equal and in opposite directions. It exemplified the working of the principle in every aspect of human association. Such a social system implies a high state of civilization. It produces civilized persons almost automatically. For the essence of civility, or of civilization, is the ability to live consciously along with others, aware of their expectations, demands and rights, of the pressure they can put upon one, while also conscious of just how far one can go in response in exerting pressure upon others. The Chinese, as long as they were left undisturbed by other peoples, had all the complex elements of the social equation figured out with unparalleled exactness. Their social calculus, integral and differential, exceeded anything elsewhere in existence. This fact, and this fact only, accounts for the endurance of China for almost four thousand years of recorded history.

Then there came the eruption of forces from the outside which were radically new, which were unprecedented, for which the social calculus provided no rules. They were not, strictly speaking, human; they were physical forces of a strange and incalculable kind—battleships, artillery, railways, strange machines and chemicals. At first China was complacent. It remembered the numerous eruptions and invasions which had broken into its system in the past, and recalled how they had been subdued by absorption, how they had been gradually worked into the patterns of adjustments, demands, concessions, compromises and intercourses which constitute China. But gradually it became evident that old formulae would not apply, that a radically new force had been introduced. And it gradually became apparent that the new physical agencies and forces which were so irresistible were themselves

the tools and designs of an unaccustomed social and political order. China, a civilization, was confronted by a civilization which was organized as China was not, into national states. The consequences of this contact are written in every problem, internal as well as external, that occupies China today.

There is a story of an intelligent Chinese who asked a foreigner to explain to him the nature and amount of the indemnity exacted from China by Japan after the successful war waged by the latter about the Korean question. After hearing the explanation he reflected a while to take in the full force of the matter, and then remarked in a contented way, "Well, that is the Manchus' affair; it doesn't concern us. They will have to pay, not we." The remark appears to indicate not merely the extraordinary indifference to politics already spoken of, but an equally extraordinary political stupidity. But it is stupidity only to the mind built after the pattern of western political institutions. From the standpoint of Chinese customs the remark was intelligent. Relations with foreign states were the business of the Imperial Court. And any expenses consequent upon such relations had to be met out of the purse of that Court. In the established system of taxation and revenues, the funds accruing from the tariff on imports from foreign countries belonged to the Imperial Treasury. It was nobody's business what the Court did with them. It was a logical conclusion that any debit item was also the exclusive affair of the ruling dynasty. The logic was good. But it was based upon the past, upon premises that no longer hold good. The Japanese Indemnity was followed by the Boxer Indemnity. The whole revenue system was thrown out of balance. The long-established Imperial balance of expenditures and receipts was destroyed. Yet any radical change in the established system of taxation was practically out of the question, entirely out of the question in any immediate or abrupt way such as the situation required. It would have wrenched the whole social system out of order.

Even such changes as had to be introduced had a large part to play in the dissatisfaction with the Manchu dynasty, which led to its overthrow. There was not merely the ordinary opposition felt anywhere to a marked increase in taxation. There was not merely the interference with custom which for immemorial ages had set limits in the game of exactions and resistance. There was an indissoluble association of taxation with the peculiar prerogatives of the Imperial Court, none too popular at best. There was an equally fixed association of increased taxes with "squeezes" on the part of officialdom, with corruption which was not exactly corruption if kept within certain limits of percentages, but which was intolerable when it surpassed



them. The internal system of taxation, adequate to all internal emergencies, was not elastic in the face of the externally induced crisis. Foreign loans had to be resorted to. The remedy increased the disease. It gave the opportunity for more and more intervention from without; it invited a multiplication of precisely those dependencies upon foreign power which were the original root of the difficulty. And gradually the entire internal equilibrium has been upset in consequence of the contact with foreign powers. It cannot be regained without a radical transformation of China's historic political system. It has to nationalize itself in some fashion in order to meet the conditions imposed by its intercourse with other peoples who are organized into national states. What is true of the matter of taxation and revenues is true of almost every phase of Chinese life. Public finance but gives a typical example.

There has been discussion of whether the Chinese have national loyalty, whether they have patriotism. Here also our words in their accustomed meanings betray us. In its literal sense the word "nation" is connected in derivation with the word for birth. In the sense of community thus implied, the Chinese are certainly a nation. But in its acquired historical meaning, nation means a people with a certain political organization, a people claiming or possessing sovereignty of a centralized sort over a certain territory. And this is what the Chinese have not, but have to acquire in the face of sharp demands from foreign nations. It is contrary to their own social inertia and momentum, which has been acquired in minute and complicated ways through centuries of adjustments. Patriotism means love of country. In the sense of love of their earth, their native soil, the Chinese are perhaps the most patriotic of all existing peoples. The love may not be acute as with the Japanese, as ardent as with the Poles, but it is interwoven with every detail of life. It is not so much a sentiment, a fact of consciousness, as an unbreakable habit of life. Attachment to soil and birthplace is quite a different thing from an effectively organized allegiance to the state, that political entity which is constituted by political means rather than by matter-of-course habits of daily life and intercourse. It is customary to try to escape from the dilemma of a spontaneous, pervasive and unquestioned love of country that exists without the familiar manifestations of public spirit and political nationalism, by saying that the Chinese have a strong sense and pride of race which does for them what patriotism does for western peoples. Literally, this will hardly work. The Chinese regard themselves as five races, not one, as their flag testifies. In a certain genuine sense the Chinese are profoundly indifferent to race and racial dis-

tinctions. They have not been infected as have the Europeans and Japanese with the ethnological virus. While the Revolution was expedited by the fact that the Manchu dynasty was foreign, yet this ground of objection had had no effect for over two hundred years. It became significant only after western contact had aroused nationalistic feeling. What the Chinese abundantly possess is community of life, a sense of unity of civilization, of immemorial continuity of customs and ideals. The consciousness of a unity of pattern woven through the whole fabric of their existence never leaves them. To be a Chinese is not to be of a certain race nor to yield allegiance to a certain national state. It is to share with countless millions of others in certain ways of feeling and thinking, fraught with innumerable memories and expectations because of long-established modes of adjustment and intercourse.

This consciousness becomes loyalty, patriotism, in our sense in just the degree in which it gets transferred to the idea of a national state made after the model familiar to us, a state with an army and navy, a system of regular taxation and public revenue, an organized system of legislation, judiciary and administration, a subordination of all local powers to a central power, and all the other paraphernalia of sovereignty which we take for granted. It is not easy to transform a traditional feeling into nationalism, and then attach it to an object which is largely non-existent, an object of faith rather than of sight.

For this reason nationalistic sentiment has tended to take an anti-foreign color among the Chinese. In spite of the Boxer outbreak and other violent demonstrations against aliens, it may be doubted whether there has been a strong hostility against the foreigner as such. The Chinese, one surmises, are rather unusually tolerant. Their amiable live-and-let-live policy is applied all around. Their normal attitude is that of indifference to strangers rather than of aggressive antagonism. But conditions were such that about the only way in which they could show their devotion to their own civilization was negative. It was the outsider who was disturbing it. The Chinese lacked the positive organs of national life through which to resist foreign encroachments. Their loyalty to their own customs was therefore bound, one might say, to take the irregular and disorderly form of attack upon foreign residents. There are few who think that the Boxer days are likely to recur. The Chinese are intelligent, and they learned the hopelessness of holding their own by such methods. But it is still true that their national feeling can be aroused and concentrated more readily for purposes of resistance and opposition to foreign nations than for constructive purposes.



There are fine illustrations of this fact in recent Chinese international relations. There can be little doubt that the Government had officially instructed its delegates to the Peace Conference in Versailles to sign the treaty, recognizing though it did the Japanese appropriation of German rights in Shantung. National sentiment was, however, tremendously aroused. If Japan had set out to instigate a new national spirit which should overwhelm the old local provincialisms, she could not have proceeded in a more effectual way to accomplish the purpose. The people took the matter out of the hands of the Government. By cablegrams to Paris, by telegraph to Peking, by mass-meetings and agitations, finally by a strike of students and then of the mercantile guilds in the larger cities, they made it clear that national sentiment would regard as traitors all those who should take part in signing the treaty. It was an extraordinarily impressive exhibition of the existence and the power of national feeling in China. It was all the more impressive because it had to work without organized governmental agencies, and, indeed, against the resistance of deeply-intrenched pro-Japanese officialdom. If there still remained anywhere those who doubted the strength and pervasiveness of Chinese patriotism, the demonstration was a final and convincing lesson. But it took a great crisis of foreign menace to focus the feeling; Japan in the last two years has done for China what otherwise might have taken a generation more. But when the immediate task of preventing the signing of the treaty that gave away Chinese rights was performed, the feeling lapsed. Perhaps it remains equally intense, but it has lost in sureness of direction. The outward means and the established habits of thought required for positive determination of constructive national policies are still inchoate.

Everyone knows that the chief instrumentality of foreign encroachment in China has been finance. Russia first conceived the policy of conquest by bank and railway, and other nations joined in. Japan, with her usual alertness, saw the point, and with her usual energy acted upon her perception. The question of finance remains pivotal in any positive national policy for China. Even if China had the capital to take care of her own developments, and she certainly has more than she has used, the denationalized customs work against loaning it to the Government. And lack of trust in the competency and honesty of the officials reinforces the other influences that tell against extending domestic credit for public needs. Clearly, an international financial consortium which should loan money to China in bulk without assigning in return special concessions and spheres of influence to any particular nation is the obvious solution. But it is extremely difficult to arouse any popular interest

in this matter. It is, so to speak, too positive and too specialized. On the contrary, it is comparatively easy for interested parties to stir up opposition. They have only to keep saying that this is a move on the part of foreign powers to get complete subjugation of China, and national feeling is excited in the negative direction. The alternative, namely, foreign loans from separate powers, in fact, Japan claiming specific rights and privileges in return, is not faced except by the more enlightened. The masses trust to a *laissez-faire*, happy-go-lucky policy of meeting each stringency as it arises, rather than of committing the country to some comprehensive scheme which, because of the organization involved in it, makes the fact of foreign influence obvious. Habituated to dealing with obstacles and dangers in a piecemeal way, playing off one force against another with great skill, the natural dread that all feel towards the unknown is felt towards organization on a large scale. And the fact that the organization is one on the part of foreign nationalism makes it appear particularly dreadful. And who can blame China in view of its past experiences with foreign influence? There is even now a small section which quite sincerely argues that it would be better to let Japan have Tsing-tao than to make it an international settlement.

The situation is critical. The fear of coming against an organization of foreign nations was sufficient recently to defeat, at least for the time being, the proposition to unify the railways of China. Ultimately it would mean the development of a large national system under exclusive Chinese control. But for the time being it involved a certain amount of international control. Foreign nations interested in maintaining separate spheres were naturally hostile. But their easiest way of working was not to offer public opposition, but to play secretly, through domestic agencies profiting by the existing state of affairs, upon the national fears of China. The same forces are already at work attacking the proposed international consortium and may wreck it. In fact, they will almost certainly succeed in delaying it until it becomes a matter of dire necessity. Yet it seems almost axiomatic that as long as China is dependent upon foreign loans it is much better for her to be dependent upon a combination of powers that have agreed to forgo special privileges, and who will have to use their funds to build up China as a whole, than upon single separate powers that loan money only in response for special concessions and command of strategic points. These points are strategic not only economically, but in a political and military way. It seems at first sight very unreasonable that China should prefer to continue a system, or lack of system, which has brought her to the present

pass. And it is unreasonable. But we need to understand that China has now reached a point of intense national feeling and a position where she can act with assurance as a nation. Feeling is feeling. It is comparatively easy to arouse national aspiration and national fears. It is not so easy to secure a national understanding of and agreement of any comprehensive or constructive plan of operations. And the reason is obvious, for there are no national institutions, no national organs, to supply the material of understanding and afford the basis of enduring faith and confidence. This union of intense national sentiment, with absence or lack of channels and organs of national action, describes the dilemma in which China finds itself today, both internally and externally.

It is especially important that the United States should sympathetically comprehend the situation. Just now there is a warm wave of pro-American feelings, especially outside of the governmental circles, which have become involved in Japanese intrigues. It is genuine. Yet it is largely a rebound from the prevalent anti-Japanese feelings. It is in any case a national feeling, not a national idea. It will be subjected in the future to the forces which always operate to make feeling, as distinct from thought, a fluctuating affair. Because of past history and because of economic interests, the United States stands against the policy of partitioning China, whether overtly or by means of spheres of influence and special interests. That is all to the good with respect to China's feeling towards us. She also stands, as in the case of unifying railways and combined financial aid, for organized interna-

tional assistance. With an ordinary amount of decency and good will, this policy should build up China rapidly and get her to the point where she can dispense with foreign control. But for reasons just explained, China will hesitate and object and postpone. She may conceivably completely balk, and prefer to continue the policy of playing one nation off against another, in spite of the fact that that will mean for the time being an increase of Japanese control. It is most important that America should understand the causes of this attitude and should be patient and persistent in its policy, instead of being swayed by an emotional gust of revulsion at "ingratitude." Revulsion and withdrawal of active interest on our part, because our advances and plans do not meet with an immediate and hearty approval, will only play into the hands of those countries who desire special and selfish rights in China, and who for this reason, and because of lack of faith in the political capacity of the Chinese, always carry in the back of their heads a scheme of ultimate partition and subjection. We need to realize that it is just because the Chinese have great political capacity that the problem of national redirection is difficult and slow. For this capacity has been committed to definite lines which are contrary to those that fit into the present situation. It will help an intelligent sympathy to remember that China has not advanced on the path of modern political nationalism to the point where national feeling is warm and intense, but where definite organs of national thought and action are only in the early stage of formation.

## MINIATURES FROM AN INDIAN MS.

By BAXTER ALDEN

### I

*God Krishna dances mid the monsoon rains,  
And with him sapphire-breasted peacocks dance,  
Whose spread tails star the page like Rajput gems.  
The orange sash of Krishna cuts the blue  
And echoes in the robes four courtiers wear.  
Above, a love song written long ago,  
A song of love and spring . . . when falls the rain.*

### II

*How white the palace roof where three queens sit,  
As white as snow is white! Above—the night.  
They wear rich orange, mustard yellow, gold.  
Beyond—the jungle woods are deep and black.  
Upon the terrace they await the moon.*

### III

*The faded pink of some forgone delight,  
The green of springs unwatered, glad too soon,  
And nameless browns and bronzes, reaching red,  
A touch of turquoise from Himalayan mines,  
Clothe well the tiny figures here portrayed  
In visit of Jahangir to Akbar.*

# A SULTAN AT HOME

By W. B. HARRIS

*Illustrations by Edith Emerson*



**I**n 1912-1913 the modern palace which the latest of the abdicated Sultans, Mulai Hafid, has built at Tangier, and which covers several acres of ground with its immense blocks of buildings and its courtyards, was still rising from the level of the soil, and His Majesty was temporarily housed, with all his retinue, in the old Kasbah at the top of the town. It is a spacious, uncomfortable, out-of-date and out-of-repair old castle, and it formed by no means a satisfactory place of residence, for it was not easy to install a hundred and sixty-eight people within its crumbling walls with any comfort or pleasure. When, too, it is taken into account that many of these hundred and sixty-eight people were Royal Ladies with royal prerogatives as to their apartments—to say nothing of their pretensions to the “most favored ladies” treatment—it can be realized that the solution was not easy. Even in the most luxurious of quarters the ladies of the palace are said to give considerable trouble, for jealousy is rife, and if one of them receives more attention, personal or in presents, than the rest, there are often disturbing scenes, and rumor says that the “Arifas,” the elderly housekeepers charged with keeping order, not unseldom make use of the equivalent of the “birch rod,” a knotted cord.

The Royal Ladies completely filled all the available accommodations in the Kasbah, and the Sultan was able to reserve for his private use only a couple of very shabby rooms over the entrance. Here he would apologetically receive his guests until the purchase of the large garden in which he constructed his new palace furnished him with more convenient apartments, for there was a villa in the garden which had been erected by its former owner, a wealthy and respected Israelite, who had for years filled the post of Belgian Vice-Consul. This villa, which still exists, is an astounding example of extraordinary taste—a pseudo-moresque copy of a toy house, over which plaster and paint of every color have been poured in amazing profusion. Plaster lions guard its entrance, more like great diseased pug-dogs than the King of Beasts—to add to their attractions, painted all over with red spots. A scalloped archway crowns the front door. The former owner once pointed out to the writer that each of the thirty-two scallops was

painted a different color—which was quite evident. Inside decorations run riot in reds and golds. Moldings pursue their strange courses all over the parti-colored walls, enclosing odd-shaped panels painted with views of lakes and mountains and impossible fishing boats, designed and executed by some local genius. Glass chandeliers of colored glass hang suspended from the ceilings, and the windows are fitted with panes of green and purple glass. The Sultan was in ecstasies, and furnished these astounding apartments with chairs and sofas covered in red plush trimmed with blue and yellow fringes and studded with blue and yellow buttons. On the walls he hung promiscuously a score of clocks of all sizes and shapes; he littered tables with mechanical toys; he piled up musical boxes in every corner; he hung cages of canaries in every window and adorned the chimney-piece with baskets of paper flowers—and then he sat down, happy, to enjoy civilization.

Amongst many mechanical toys which Mulai Hafid possessed was one which in its absurdity surpassed any toy I have ever seen. It was—or had been—a parrot, life-sized, and seated on a high brass stand which contained music. Moth and rust had corrupted, and there was little left of the gorgeous bird except a wash-leather body the shape of an inflated sausage, with the two black bead eyes still more or less in place and a crooked and paralyzed-looking beak. The legs had given way, and the cushion of a body had sunk depressedly onto the brass perch. One long red tail feather shot out at an angle, and around its neck and sparsely distributed over its body were the remains of other plumes, of which little but the quills remained. On either side were the foundations of what had once been its wings, consisting of mechanical appliances in wood and wire. Anything more pitiful than this relic of parrottry could not be imagined.

Every now and then, apparently for no reason, this strange toy came to life. The sausage-like body wriggled, the broken beak opened, the tail feather shot out at a new angle, and the framework of the wings extended itself and closed again with a click, and then, after a mighty effort which gave one the impression that the ghost of a bird was going to be seasick, the whistling pipes concealed in the brass stand began to play. The music was on a par with the bird—notes were missing, and the whole scale had sunk or risen into tones and demitones of unimaginable composition. To recognize the tune was an impossibility, but the thrill of the

performance was undeniable. It seemed as though there was a race between the bird and the pipes to reach a climax first. Both grew more and more excited until suddenly there was a long wheeze and longer chromatic scale from high to low, and, with an appealing shake of its palsied head, the parrot collapsed once more into its state of petrified despair.

The Sultan was completely content. He realized that at last, after the sombre pomp of the palace at Fez, he had settled down to modern life and refinement and had attained "taste." It was his custom to arrive early in the morning and spend his days there, riding down from the Kasbah on a fat saddle mule caparisoned in purple or pale blue or yellow, accompanied by men on horseback, and with his black slaves running beside him. Two old women, one a negress, the other a white Berber woman, poised upon fine saddle mules and closely veiled, nearly always accompanied him. The negress was his old nurse, the Berber woman, a soothsayer. In the Sultan's garden, the usual series of mishaps began. One of his old ladies would fall off her frisky mule, or the key of the empty house was lost, and an entry had to be made by forcing a window after everyone had fussed about, pretending to look for the key for half an hour or so. Then a carpenter would be summoned to mend the broken window, and a slave would suddenly remember that for fear of losing the key he had tied it on a string round his neck, where it still hung heavily on his chest. Then breakfast would arrive, carried down from the Kasbah on the heads of black slaves—great trays of fresh bread, bowls of milk, sodden half-warm cakes smothered in butter and honey, excellent native crumpets and a host of dishes of fruits and pastry and sweets—and tea and coffee on immense silver trays. It was a sort of promiscuous meal partaken of first of all by the Sultan and his particular friends, then passed on to the "courtiers," and finally handed out of the windows to the slaves, gardeners and retainers, who completely finished what was left, however great the quantity.

By this time the workmen had begun building operations on the great palace a hundred yards away, and the ex-Sultan would visit the site, taking a very intelligent interest in every detail. Then back to the villa, where native visitors would be received and literary and religious questions discussed. Mulai Hafid himself is no mean author, and his Arabic verses would, if published at that time, have gained him much praise and many enemies. Today there is no reason to remain silent. Was it not he who wrote of Tangier—

"In the last day the people of Tangier came to the judgment-seat of God, and the Supreme Judge said: 'Surely you are the least and worst of all peo-

ple. Under what circumstances did you live?'

"And they replied, 'We have sinned; we have sinned; but our Government was international; we were ruled by the representatives of Europe.'

"And the Supreme Judge said, 'Surely you have been sufficiently punished. Enter into Paradise.'"

By anyone who knew and experienced the international government of Tangier these verses cannot fail to be appreciated.

Did he not also write the following in his days of contention with the French Government—

"Is not the wisdom of God manifest?

"Has he not given intelligence even to the dog?

"A little less, it is true, than to the elephant. But a little more than he bestowed upon the French Administration."

When Mulai Hafid purchased the property of Ravensrock at Tangier, which had for many years been the country residence of the late Sir John Drummond Hay, he began at once to fell the beautiful trees for which the place was famous. Most people of Arab race have a dislike for trees, which is no doubt one of the reasons why Morocco is so treeless. One after the other the great pines and eucalyptus disappeared, but though numbers of men were employed the work did not progress fast enough to satisfy his ex-Majesty.

One day someone proposed to him that dynamite would do the work more quickly, so he promptly despatched one of the workmen to town to buy dynamite cartridges from the Spanish fishermen, who use them for killing fish at sea. I was with the ex-Sultan when the messenger returned. He stood before me and, turning the hood of his *jelab* inside out, let fall on the ground at our feet a couple of dozen of these highly explosive cartridges. Fortunately none exploded. A few minutes later the work had begun. Holes were quickly drilled in the trees near the roots and the cartridges placed in position. Fuses were lit, and one saw scurrying groups of men bolting out of reach. Then there was a crash, and some giant of the mountain came crashing down to earth, to the intense delight of Mulai Hafid. It was reckless destruction of what had taken years of care and attention to create, but nothing would persuade the ex-Sultan to allow these beautiful woods to remain. By dint of very special pleading a few of the finest trees were spared, but only a few. This wholesale destruction was carried out principally because Mulai Hafid feared assassination and wished to eliminate from his surroundings any covert in which the would-be assassin could conceal himself.

The ex-Sultan took assiduously to bridge and played whenever he got the chance. One of these chances was with his dentist. His relations with his own particular Spanish dentist having been very much strained on the question of the price of

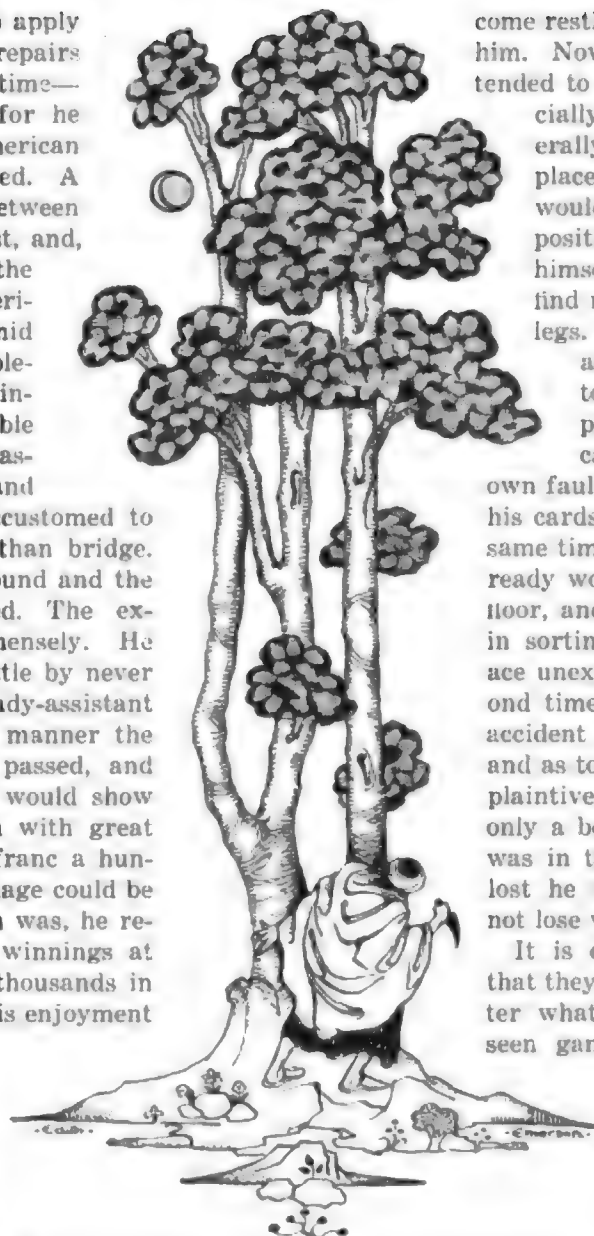


a live lion, he was forced to apply elsewhere for such dental repairs as he required from time to time—and fortune favored him, for he discovered an excellent American dentist who had lately arrived. A close friendship sprang up between the ex-Sultan and the dentist, and, as often as not, bridge took the place of dentistry. The American would arrive with his timid lady assistant and all his implements of torture, only to be invited to sit down at the table and play cards. The lady-assistant was very young and very shy, and was more accustomed to play children's card games than bridge. A fourth player would be found and the ill-assorted party completed. The ex-Sultan enjoyed himself immensely. He generally won, perhaps a little by never permitting the trembling lady-assistant to be his partner. In this manner the whole afternoon would be passed, and Mulai Hafid in the evening would show the few francs he had won with great joy. The points were one franc a hundred, so no very serious damage could be done; but rich as the Sultan was, he rejoiced more in his humble winnings at bridge than over his many thousands in the banks. Not a little of this enjoyment was owing to the fact that he felt that he was "doing" the dentist.

"He comes," the ex-Sultan would say, "to mend my teeth and to take my gold, and in the end I win his francs."

Weeks went by. Now and again there was an afternoon for real dentistry, but there were many more for bridge—and always the Sultan won. But the day of reckoning came. The teeth were excellently repaired—the work was of the best—there was no more to be done but to pay the bill, and the bill very naturally and rightly included all the bridge hours—at so much per hour! It was the most expensive bridge Mulai Hafid ever played.

The ex-Sultan's bridge was peculiar. It would not for a moment be hinted that the irregularities that occurred in the game were due to anything but accident, but these little accidents were very frequent. The ex-Sultan, who all his life had been accustomed to sit cross-legged on a divan, soon tired of sitting upright on a chair. He would be-



*Mulai Hafid. Feared. assassination.*

come restless and tuck his legs beneath him. Now, ordinary chairs are not intended to be sat in cross-legged, especially by bulky people, and as generally an armchair had been placed for H. M. to sit in, he would constantly be changing his position and wriggling to make himself more comfortable and to find more room for his capacious legs. These wriggles occasioned at times a decided movement to right or left, and if the players did not hold their cards well up, it was their own fault. Sometimes he would drop his cards, and his long sleeves at the same time would sweep the tricks already won by his opponents onto the floor, and there was much confusion in sorting them. Once or twice an ace unexpectedly appeared for a second time in the game, picked up by accident from the floor, no doubt—and as to revokes . . . but with a plaintive voice he would say, "I am only a beginner." When he won he was in the highest spirits; when he lost he sulked. Fortunately he did not lose very often.

It is characteristic of the Moors that they hate to lose a game, no matter what they are playing. I have seen games of chess in which the loser has insisted on going on playing game after game, till sometimes in pure desperation his adversary allowed him to win. Mulai Abdul Aziz, Mulai Hafid's predecessor on the throne, had a

unique manner of scoring at cricket. When he was Sultan we used to play cricket in the palace at Fez, generally four on each side. The score was carefully kept, but no games were entered. When the game was finished the Sultan himself placed the names against the score—always, of course, putting his own in front of the largest. Then the name of the player he liked best on that particular afternoon was credited with the second best score, and so on, the lowest being reserved for the person most out of favor. The score book was religiously kept and was often referred to by the Sultan, who would remark:

"That was a great afternoon! I made 61 runs and Harris made 48. X played abominably and made only 2."





august and highly saintly presence—for he was a direct descendant of the Prophet and, to his countrymen, The Commander of the Faithful—some-what upset the tranquility of my native cooks and servants. But ovens had to be opened and sauce-pans uncovered, spoons introduced into them and the contents exhibited, the ice machine to be thoroughly explained, and a thousand and one questions answered. Then the pantry occupied for some time His Majesty's attention. Nor was he less interested in the floral decorations of the table and the distribution of the plate. While I dressed for dinner he sat and talked to my native servants—the Sultan never losing his dignity nor my men their respect, and all concerned were completely at their ease. The Moor has nearly always the perfect manners of a gentleman, no matter what his position, and at the same time the sentiment of the country is essentially democratic. It was a common incident at the many dinners I have since given for the two ex-Sultans that they would appeal to the men who served the table for confirmation of some statement or for the generally accepted opinion of the Moorish people on some subject under discussion.

At eight o'clock the guests arrived, and Mulai Abdul Aziz being already in the house, instead of arriving fifteen minutes later as by the program he should have done, had to be concealed in a room upstairs. Punctually at a quarter past eight he descended the stairs, crossed the hall and entered the drawing-room. He was dressed in his fine long white flowing garments, and all my guests expressed to me afterwards their appreciation of his dignity and carriage as he made his formal entry and during the presentation of the guests. Nor were they less struck by the undoubted charm of his manners, the gentleness of his voice and his intelligence, which render Mulai Abdul Aziz perhaps the most attractive figure in Morocco today.

When the moment arrived for the ex-Sultan to take his departure he called me aside and said that he had a kitchen range in his palace but had never used it. He was pleased to say that the excellence of my dinner had convinced him that his own range must be set to work at once—and had I a sack of coal, as he had none, for in his kitchen only wood and charcoal were burned? In a few minutes my servants, in their smartest liveries, were filling a sack with coal in the back premises. When it was

ready the Sultan left. The guests rose to their feet, the Sultan shook hands with them all, and I conducted him to the door. A magnificently caparisoned riding mule awaited him and mounted slaves were at the gate. On a second mule was an officer of his household beautifully dressed in white clothes, struggling to balance across the front of his crimson saddle the almost bursting sack of coal!

It was always my great desire to bring about a reconciliation between the two ex-Sultans, Mulai Abdul Aziz and Mulai Hafid, but I never succeeded. Mulai Hafid had driven his brother Mulai Abdul Aziz from the throne, and naturally his brother had no reason to be grateful to him. At the same time Mulai Hafid always blamed Mulai Abdul Aziz for having ruined Morocco, and accused him of having sown the seed of the loss of Moroccan independence. There was also the question of etiquette. They naturally could not meet at all, owing to the question of precedence. Mulai Abdul Aziz had been Sultan *first* and claimed the first place. Mulai Hafid equally claimed it because he had been Sultan *last*. After many unsuccessful endeavors I persuaded both to agree that if they met by chance on the road they would salute each other and embrace. For months they did not meet, but one day turning a sudden corner their riding mules collided. So taken aback were their two Majesties that they forgot their agreement and rode in opposite directions as fast as their mules could carry them.

Immediately after the reconciliation—if such it could be called—between Mulai Hafid and the French authorities, the ex-Sultan gave a dinner party to the members of the French Legation and a number of other French officials, in a charming villa he had meanwhile taken on the Marshan, at Tangier. Not sure whom he ought to invite to this solemn repast, Mulai Hafid had left the choice of his guests to the French *Chargé d’Affaires*, who had sent in a list. The hour of dinner arrived, and so did the guests, amongst whom was the very capable, and excellent *Commissaire* of the French local police, whom H. M. had not yet met. After the presentations the Sultan called me aside to ask about certain of the guests whom he didn’t know by sight. When I informed him that one of them was the French *Commissaire de police*, the ex-Sultan became a little uneasy.

“What do you think he has come for?” he asked.

Seeing an opportunity for a joke at H. M.’s expense, I hesitated a moment and then, with many apologies, informed the Sultan that there had been stories current about his manner of playing bridge. No one, I said, believed them, but naturally the French authorities were most desirous that there should be an end to this false rumor, and had therefore decided, very privately of course, to bring the *Commissaire de police* to watch his play on that

particular evening. As soon as they were assured that H. M.’s play was above all suspicion, an official *démenti* could be given to those disturbing rumors. Mulai Hafid’s face wore a look of unusual gravity during the long and sumptuous dinner.

After the guests had adjourned to the drawing-room we sat down to bridge. The *Commissaire*, who was not a player, was purposely invited, without the Sultan’s knowledge, to seat himself at Mulai Hafid’s side. The game began. H. M. was terribly nervous. Every time he wriggled in his chair and leaned either to right or left he would pull himself together and fix his eyes upon his own cards. Not once did he let his “hand” fall on the floor. Not once did his long sleeves sweep the tricks off the table. Not once did he revoke. He lost, game after game, and his distress became painfully manifest.

Between two “deals” a guest politely asked:

“Is your Majesty winning?”

“Winning?” cried the now thoroughly upset monarch, “Winning? How can I win with this horror of a policeman watching every card I play?”

Mulai Hafid was an excellent host, and was never happier than when entertaining. His dinners were well served and always amusing, and his guests, European and native, suitably chosen. On one occasion some charming and aristocratic French ladies were visiting Morocco. Amongst a series of fêtes given by the Diplomatic Corps and others for their entertainment was a banquet at the residence of the Moorish ex-Minister of War, Sid Mehdi el-Menebhi, C. C. M. G. At this banquet the ex-Sultan presided. The distinguished lady guests had been purchasing Moorish costumes, and it was arranged that they should come to this feast arrayed in all their recently acquired magnificence. The result was charming—so charming that it was decided to send for a photographer. On his arrival the guests were posed—Mulai Hafid seated on a cushioned divan surrounded by the ladies in their Moorish dresses. The men stood behind.

The photograph was a great success, but its indirect result almost a tragedy, for Mulai Hafid placed a large copy of the group on the mantelpiece of the drawing-room of his villa. The ladies of his household never left the Kasbah, but on one occasion he sent the old Berber lady and the aged slave who had been his nurse to visit the villa, and the eagle eyes of this venerable dame discovered the photograph. In their minds no clearer evidence of Mulai Hafid’s wickedness could be imagined, for here was the ex-Sultan seated in a bevy of apparently very attractive native ladies surrounded by European men. No combination of facts could to their eyes be more shocking. Not only was it clear that Mulai Hafid had been enjoying the society of ladies other than his wives, but he had even not hesitated to do so in the presence of “Christian”



men. So the photograph, concealed in their voluminous raiment, was taken to the Kasbah, where it was presented to the gaze of the Sultan's outraged wives. Mulai Hafid was out hunting that day, and it was he himself who recounted to the writer what occurred on his return.

None of his ladies were in the courtyard to meet him; no one except a slave or two was visible. Not a word of welcome, not a question as to the sport he had enjoyed! Seeking the apartments of one of the royal ladies, the Sultan had the mortification to see her go out of one door as he entered by the other. He called to her, but she paid no attention. He sought consolation elsewhere, with no better results. He was shunned and in exile—not one of the ladies would speak to him. He knew, of course, nothing of the reason and could obtain no explanation. He slept in his little reception-room over the entrance of the Kasbah, and hoped for a brighter situation in the morning, but things were no better. Then the two old women who had found the photograph and given it to the Sultan's ladies grew alarmed and confessed, but the many wives were difficult to convince, and it was only after the writer was called in and had explained to some invisible persons concealed behind a thick curtain that peace was restored in the Shereefian harem.

The ex-Sultan had a very numerous family of young children to whom he was really devoted, and with some of whom he would play for long hours together. They were—and are today—exceedingly well brought up, nice mannered and beautifully dressed, and now that they are a little older are being well educated. I sometimes was taken to see them in a garden in the Kasbah. There would be a few black slave women and from ten to twenty children, all probably under seven years of age, and varying in color from very dark to very fair. Once I mentioned to Mulai Hafid that they seemed to be many. He laughed and replied that they were not all there; none of the younger ones was present, and that in all there were twenty-six under six or seven years of age. He was certainly a devoted father to his numerous offspring. During the whole period of the war he has been separated from them. In 1914 he went to Spain, where his relations with the German Embassy caused him to be suspected of instigating intrigues in Morocco. His pension was cancelled, and he remains today an exile. Anyone who has known him in his family life and witnessed his devotion to his children cannot help desiring, if his actions in Spain have not been more than follies, that he may be permitted once more to return to his home.

## OLD SATSUMA

By WILLIAM L. SCHWARTZ

*Bent form of creamy clay, with smile benign,  
Bright with the sheen of crystal glaze, and robed  
As Sinim's Sage: whose brow and ears, long-lobed,  
Bring fortune! Whence the grace divine  
Of tracery enamelled on your gown  
That holds men's eyes; that makes them say, and frown:  
"Piece of old Satsuma?"*

*From patient hands that washed the chosen earthen;  
From mellow months of moistly cool repose;  
Then blent and tempered by six thousand blows;  
From modeller's knife; from glaze; from fire's rebirths;  
The crackled faience to the painter came  
Who traced the lines that brought his master fame . . .  
Prince of Old Satsuma!*

*I've bent o'er many an ideographic page,  
But cannot find, to give the men their due,  
Who made my little Fukurokuju:  
The nameless potters of a feudal age.  
Forgotten, now, their secrets; gone, their art!  
Though I know this, I've found in them the heart . . .  
Heart of Old Satsuma!*

# THE VANISHING MONGOL

By LUTHER ANDERSON

*Photographs by the Author*

**L**ONG ago when I was innocent of the mysteries of oriental etiquette I casually remarked to a friendly Chinese scholar that the Chinese were of the Mongolian race. I could not fathom the quick and contemptuous scorn in his eyes, but later he disclosed the reason. In introducing me to a Chinese acquaintance he said most elaborately: "This gentleman is an American." And then as an afterthought, "You know, of course, that there are three species of Americans—the white, the black and the red. This gentleman is white." Thus was I paid back in my own incivility for classifying all of China as Mongol—a name which is derived from a greatly inferior people. The term "Mongolian Race" is not liked by the Chinese. The Mongols would also disclaim any parentage of the Chinese, however remote. The Chinese and the Mongols did undoubtedly spring from the same common stock, but it does seem incongruous that the original race should be named after the least progressive branch. And yet this Mongol nation once established the largest empire the world has ever seen. Even today their country is one of the largest in the world, with an area of some 1,367,000 square miles. It is nearly half the size of the United States and about three-fourths the size of China proper. The mere mention of its boundaries suggests enormous distances. On the north and west it is bounded by Siberia, on the east by Manchuria, and on the south by Chihli, Kansu, and Chinese Turkestan.

Mongolia is a great plateau rimmed and partially ribbed with mountain ranges. The greater part of this vast domain is fertile prairie land, and with the exception of Gobi, the soil is rich and there is sufficient rainfall for cattle raising and agriculture.

Politically, Mongolia is now a dependency of China. Shortly after the outbreak of the Chinese revolution in 1911, Outer (northern) Mongolia, at the instigation of Russia, declared its independence. The chief dignitary of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia, the Hutuktu (Living Buddha) of Urga was chosen emperor. On November 5, 1913, after prolonged negotiations, an agreement was reached in Peking, between Russia and China, whereby Russia recognized Outer Mongolia as a part of Chinese territory under Chinese suzerainty, and China recognized the autonomy of Outer Mongolia. The agreement implied the recognition of the Chinese right to full control of Inner (southern) Mongolia.

During my residence in Peking I often saw Mongol camel drivers, horse traders, lamas, and even Mongol Princes, bearing tribute. Their colorful attire, their manly bearing, and, above all, the childlike ingenuousness of their manner, had stimulated my curiosity to see them in their own holdings. When I finally made the journey to Mongolia I was well repaid.

The first stage of the trip, from Peking to Kalgan, a distance of 134 miles, was made by train on the Peking-Kalgan Railway, completed in 1909, and the first Chinese railway built without foreign aid. It has been called "China's home-made line." The chief engineer was Jeme Tien You, a graduate of Yale.

The Chinese look upon this special railway as a test case, as a silent rebuke to the foreign concessionaires who have in the past profiteered so unmercifully in the construction of other lines. The Peking-Kalgan Railway, although it passes through more difficult country than any other railway in China, was constructed at less cost per mile and in less time than any other road.

Our train arrived at Kalgan at eight o'clock in the evening, and the figures on the station platform were not to be forgotten. The flickering light from scores of Chinese paper lanterns illuminated the meeting place of two races widely different in habits, customs, mode of life and ideals. In the bustling throng the Chinese were represented by officials, merchants, and scholars clad in fur-lined gowns of silk. In contrast the coolies wore thickly padded cotton clothes. The Mongols, while not so numerous as the Chinese, immediately challenged attention and held the eye. Some of them were camel drivers waiting for the train to deliver the freight which they were to transport over the steppes and into deserts of their vast country. Their long sheepskin coats and heavy boots gave them the solid appearance of animal strength. Muscular and powerful, their faces tanned browner by the prairie sun, they seemed a people of bronze, while the pale features and ivory fragility of the Chinese gentry suggested figures painted on egg-shell porcelain.

At Kalgan this contrast in the equipment of the two races, which have long been rivals for the possession of the great plains of Mongolia, is everywhere apparent. The Chinese are seeking to make Mongolia an outlet for their surplus population. Already they have colonized a considerable area of southern Mongolia, and by assiduous industry have



THE LAMA TEMPLE ON THE MAIN CARAVAN ROUTE FROM CHINA INTO MONGOLIA

*Pungent Clouds of Incense Rise Before the Shrines As Thank Offerings for the Protection of Camel Caravans Through Long Months of Weary Freightage Over the Ridge of Hanopa into Mongolia*

converted parts of the prairie into rich farming lands. The land will in time belong to those who will use it most efficiently. Anyone who compares the two races must admit that the Chinese are the vastly superior. They are the practical, clever, industrious sons of agriculture and of crafty trade. The Mongols are the naive, unsophisticated race, ignorant in their strength, as were the American Indians. The Chinese have back of them forty centuries of cultural civilization; the Mongols merely preserve a tradition of military exploits. There are three hundred and fifty million Chinese and only five million Mongols. The Mongols are set and unprogressive. The Chinese are endeavoring to adopt those sciences and inventions of the western world which seem applicable to their needs. Twenty-four centuries ago the Chinese built the Great Wall to keep the Mongols out. Now they have pierced the Great Wall with a modern railroad and have sent automobiles scurrying over the prairies of Mongolia.

At Kalgan I was met by a Mongol lama, whom the late Lieutenant Jobst had sent to conduct me to his horse ranch. I engaged a Chinese carter to transport my provisions, and the next morning I left Kalgan and traveled on horseback northward to the Mongolian grass lands.

Our road wound its way up through a gorge along the banks of a mountain stream. This had to be forded a number of times, and when the hill-

sides did not afford a footing the road simply followed the river bed. We passed several Chinese carts pitching and jolting over ruts and stones. On the well-paved streets of Peking one may be inclined to sneer at the clumsy Chinese carts, but it is only when one sees the roads they have to use to reach the great cities that one understands that they are, after all, the only transport suitable for such traveling. They may be clumsy and antiquated, but they are strong, and can withstand wear and tear which would make the usual lightly built American wagon fall to pieces in a week's march.

We were mounting steadily, and towards noon we came to Hanopa, the highest point of the pass, about five thousand feet above the sea. At this place, as if in gratitude for such a resting place in the toiling climb through the hills, a temple has been erected by pious Buddhists.

Here travelers passing northward may rest after their fatiguing pull to the top of the ridge, and offer thanks that the hardest part of their journey is accomplished. Returning from the north, they may stop here and burn incense as a thank offering for the protection which has been afforded them on the long journey over the Mongolian plateau.

Soon after we had crossed Hanopa the mountains gave place to smooth rolling hills, which gradually subsided on our downward march and sank into the great plain. As soon as we emerged from the hill



THE BUILDING OF A MONGOLIAN YURT  
Thick Felt Is Stretched on the Circular Fence of  
Wattled Staves and Slender Poles.

country we came to the settlements of the Chinese farmers who have encroached upon the Mongolian plain and transformed it into a farming country. Mile after mile they have pushed their settlements

northward, forcing the Mongols to seek other grazing lands for their cattle, sheep and ponies. However hateful this Chinese expansion may have been to the Mongols, they have had to submit.

In the clear cold of the next morning we were off again along the great Urga road. Towards evening we crossed a shallow river, where we stopped for a bowl of tea and a hasty lunch. Soon after mounting up again we rode across the last stretches of the farming country and saw before us the billowing grass lands of Mongolia. It appealed to us as it did to the Mongolian ponies, and they broke into a rollicking gallop as they sniffed the grass of their native prairie. Behind us was agricultural China with its toiling millions; before us unexplored Mongolia with its vast plains, its stretches of distances and its widely scattered population.

The last adobe huts of the Chinese pioneer farmers were soon out of sight. Before us, and all around in every direction, was a sea of waving grass.

Toward evening the Mongol announced that he could see our provision cart some miles ahead. It had started from Kulgan several hours before us, but we felt sure that we would overtake it before dark. I swept the horizon with my field glasses, but could see nothing. Soon my companion announced that the cart had stopped near some Mongol tents. I still could see nothing but the rolling prairie. It was evident that he could see farther with the naked eye than I could with a pair of binoculars. After riding on some distance I found that he was not mistaken.

I had heard a great deal about the hospitality of



ISOLATED VILLAGES OF YURTS MEET ALL THE NEEDS OF THE SEMI-NOMADIC MONGOLS

Most Mongolian Tribes Have Only Two Temporary Camping Grounds, One for the Winter and Another for the Summer Where the High Prairie Grass Can Be Found for the Herds

these dwellers of the prairie. I knew that the wayfarer is always welcome in their tents and that their laws and customs forbid them to deny food and shelter. Nevertheless I felt a little uneasy as I approached these strange habitations. I did not know a single word of the Mongol language, and it was plain that I would have to depend upon the tact of my Mongol servant to make the necessary arrangements for our camp. He spoke both Mongolian and Chinese, and the latter language, with which I was familiar, would have to serve as a means of communication in my relations with the Mongols.

My servant was a lama by training and profession, but there was nothing about him to suggest holy orders excepting his closely shaven poll and his russet gown. He was bronze, short and thick-set, but very active. His naturally dark complexion had assumed that luster granted by virtue of wind and weather. He was a superb horseman in our American sense of good riding and close observance of the strength and capacity and comfort of his mount. He seemed to be more familiar with ponies and saddles than with his Buddhist breviaries.

As we rode up to the encampment we found that it was composed of six tents. Externally they were like peaked hats without rims, made of thick felt stretched over a framework of interlaced staves. The felt was held in place with ropes in such a way that even a strong wind would not tear the structure.

A number of dogs came rushing out, barking and snarling. Men came out of the tents and called them back. We dismounted, but took good care to retain our riding crops, as the dogs were still bristling up and showing their teeth. In Mongolia it is always wise to carry a whip or a stick in approaching a tent, for, whatever may be said about the hospitality of the Mongols, there is not much to be said in favor of their dogs, except as a sort of savage outpost to the camps. Some boys came running up and took charge of our ponies. My Mongol servant addressed himself to a bronze man who seemed to be the chief personage of the encampment, and after a few words of salutation and courtesy we were invited to enter one of the tents. From reading and hearsay I knew enough of Mongol customs not to take my riding whip into the tent, for to do so would have been the equivalent of calling the inmates a pack of hounds.

At the entrance of the tent, or *yurt*, as the Mongols call it, was a wooden door fitted to a framework resembling a window sash. The door was so low that I had to stoop as I entered. The floor was about two feet below the level of the ground, giving the inside circular wall a height of about six and a half feet, and thus making it possible for even a tall



**MENIAL WOMAN WEARS HER WEALTH OPENLY**  
The Daily Task Is Done in Regalia of Silver Ornament Set with Coral Borrowed from Passing Caravans

man to move about freely in any part of the yurt.

The framework of the tent consisted of a circular fence of wattled staves supporting a superstructure of slender poles which came together in a truncated cone. At the top the poles fitted into a piece of wood shaped like a wheel. At the lower end the poles were lashed to the wicker-work with stout thongs and bits of rope. Several sheets of gray felt about half an inch in thickness were stretched tightly over the framework. Altogether, the structure had an appearance of firmness rather more suggestive of a house than of a tent.

This kind of habitation is admirably adapted to the needs of the Mongols, as they are only a semi-nomadic people and do not change their place of habitation as frequently as is generally supposed. The various tribes have their own distinct districts beyond which they do not migrate. Even within the borders of these allotted areas they move about hardly at all. Most Mongols have only two camping places, one for the winter and another for the summer. Custom as well as expediency requires them to move twice a year—in the spring and in the autumn. These two migrations are necessary because they do not wish the labor of laying in a supply of winter hay. In the autumn

they have to move to some place where the grass has not been closely cropped so that their herds may graze on the tall grass protruding through the



THE HOME OF THE EX-GOD OF TRAVEL  
On the Peking-Kalgan Line Where Trains Run on  
Scheduled Time and His Authority Is No Longer  
Recognized As Absolute and Necessary

snow. In the winter the animals do not require to be watered, as they eat enough snow with their grass to make up the deficiency. As soon as the snow disappears in the spring it is necessary to move the herds again so that they may be near prairie lakes or wells.

This system of grazing usually requires only two marches a year, though a severe drought or heavy snowfall may compel them to move more often. Sometimes a favorable season may produce some locality suitable for grazing the whole year around, thus obviating the necessity for moving. In such a case the Mongols would satisfy the claims of custom and superstition by moving their yurts only a few feet.

The camping grounds for the various families composing a tribe are fixed with so much certainty that it is possible for the feudal chieftains to find a man whenever he is wanted.

Everybody sits on the floor of the yurt, which is simply the hard ground covered with rugs and skins. I was invited to sit down, and was about to take my place just inside the door to the left, but was urged to move further up toward the back of the tent. After many protestations in Chinese that I was not worthy of so great an honor, I finally compromised by sitting down on my haunches about three-fourths of the way. My servant, who also served as interpreter, sat beside me, and bowls of steaming tea were served at once.

The formalities being completed, I had an opportunity to observe more closely the figures around the fire. The dress of the Mongols usually consists of a long robe made of blue cotton, trousers of the same material, large boots made of many layers of cloth, and a peaked hat of cloth lined with fur and turned up at the brim. In cold weather a fur or sheepskin coat is worn over the other garments. This is fastened around the waist with a belt, to which are attached a tobacco pouch, a pipe and a tinder-box. Silk garments are only worn by the wealthy. The dress of the women is similar to that of the men except that they do not wear belts and their coiffure is elaborate. Silver ornaments set with coral are fastened in the hair done up in two enormous bows resembling horns.

I do not know what stories my servant told our host, but he was apparently telling him that I was a personage of some consequence. At any rate, I could not have been treated with more courtesy if I had been a feudal prince. Indeed, I had scarcely tasted my tea when my host protested that it was cold and ordered a servant to exchange my bowl for another. There was an iron tripod in the center of the yurt, and under it a fire. The smoke went curling up through a hole in the top of the yurt. A Mongol girl was carefully nursing the fire so as to get a maximum of heat and light with a minimum of smoke, and an old woman, who sat just inside the door to the right, was apparently giving minute and valuable directions as to just how a fire should be tended.

While my servant and the host were talking I had an opportunity really to observe the interior of the tent without the usual discourtesy of the west. It was neat and orderly, and around the sides of the circular wall were hangings of rugs and embroidered silk. Brightly painted chests and boxes with brass locks and hinges were placed close against the wall. They contained the holiday clothes, the silver ornaments of the women and the sacred books of the Buddhist religion. Opposite the door was the family altar, and at its center a small image of Buddha. In front of the Buddha there were several cups of wine and two small sacrificial lamps. In the meantime, the women were preparing a kind of mutton stew in the same shallow iron pan in which the tea had been made. Fearing that I would have to eat some of the stew, which, to say the least, did not appear appetizing, I suggested that our host might like to taste some foreign food. At first he would not hear of it, but my servant, who had been carefully coached in advance, said that he merely wished to show how foreign food was prepared. He hurried out to the baggage cart and soon returned with corned beef, a can of California peaches, a box of gingersnaps and a loaf of



A CAMEL CARAVAN STRAINING NORTHWARD FROM CHINA TO THE HEIGHTS OF MONGOLIA

Over a Million Camels and Three Hundred-Thousand Carts Are the Estimated Transport Used in China's Internal Trade with Mongolia. The Caravan Route into Mongolia Is Seven Hundred Miles from Kalgan Up Through the Passes, Across Rivers and Over the Treeless Hills to Urga

bread. He also brought my mess kit and a small oilstove.

Many of the Mongols from the neighboring tents came in to watch the proceedings. My servant took manifest pride in showing them the mysteries of foreign cooking. After he had opened the corned beef he handed our host the can opener, which was examined with great interest. The lithographs on the tin cans were also studied, especially the pictures of the California peaches. The oilstove, however, excited the greatest interest. The dowager near the door had to call her daughter to task several times for not attending to the mess of pottage, upon which the assembly evidently depended for their evening meal. My servant gave everybody a helping of corned beef and peaches, all on the same plate. There was a great smacking of lips as it went the rounds. While they were busy tasting the strange food and discussing its merits I managed to dine quite undisturbed upon my own tin plates.

All my strategy, however, seemed to be in vain. Our host still insisted that I must taste of his food. He apparently considered the whole performance a sort of contest between Mongolian and American cooking. He considered all my polite refusals simply as so much etiquette, and would not give in until he had helped me to a large piece of stewed

mutton. The whole family now attacked the mutton in the iron pan with great gusto. They speared large pieces with long sharp knives, and then, seizing the meat with their teeth and fingers, cut off as much as they could safely chew at one time. When they had swallowed it they repeated the operation. It was marvelous to see how the knives flashed past noses and lips without so much as a scratch.

When the evening meal was finished I went outdoors to stretch my legs, which had become somewhat cramped from sitting Mongol fashion on the floor. Dusk was gathering, and I could just make out the men galloping off to keep their nightly vigil with their herds. At some distance a camel caravan was passing, and the doleful clanking of the leader's bell came distinctly and rhythmically across the prairie. The sky was clear and the stars shone with that wonderful brilliance which one sees only on the plains.

As I got my bearings in the darkness I noticed a bright flicker of red at the horizon, which I first mistook for the last tinge of sunset. It was only when the wind rose again that I detected a faint odor of burnt grass, and I saw that the glow on the sky was to the north. It was a prairie fire. The Mongols were all conversing in low tones and watching its fitful glare. After a while I noticed



John D. Emmons

#### THE GREAT WALL, PROTECTING DRAGON OF ANCIENT CHINA

For Centuries, Coiled Fifteen Hundred Miles Across China, He Has Protected the Mongolian Passes. He Lies in Masonry; Towers Protect His Back, But China's Modern Enemies Come by the Sea, and His Strength Is As Nothing



that the red glow became brighter and showed occasional flashes of bright yellow resembling heat lightning. Soon the licking flames were distinctly visible, though apparently at a great distance. Low hills were sharply outlined against the fire, which had now spread out to the east and west of us. The odor of burnt grass became more noticeable. Caravans of kings have perished in these fires ever since the prairie grass grew dry and the wind blew strong. The wind and the fire took a sudden spurt to the west, however, and the little groups around the yurts went back to their flesh-pots. Such a glimpse of the danger lurking in the high grass sets one to thinking, and without realizing it I began talking to myself. My lama thought I was praying, and immediately reverted to his true type. He began rapidly to count his beads as he intoned in a deep voice, "*Om Mane Padme Hum.*" Evidently he did not wish to be outdone in piety by a foreigner. When he had finished blessing the "jewel of the lotus" we retired for the night.

Such a look at this yurt life does not bring up to the casual observer the inter-connection between these people and other branches of the Mongolian race. The Mongolian race is divided by ethnologists into two great branches, the Sinitic and the Sibiric. The Sinitic branch includes the Chinese, Indo-Chinese and Tibetan groups. The Sibiric branch includes the Japanese, Arctic, Tungusic, Finnic, Tartaric and Mongolic. The last three groups are represented in Europe, the Finnic by the Finns, Lapps, Esths, Livs, and others of Russia, and the Magyars of Hungary; the Tartaric group by the Kirghiz-Kazaks, Turcomans, and kindred tribes in Russia, and the Osmanlis or Turks of Turkey; and the Mongolic group by the Kalmuks of Eastern Russia. The language of the Mongols is Ural-Altaic. This term is synonymous with Sibiric when used to describe a racial group. It includes among others the following languages: Turkish, Finnish, Japanese, Korean, Lapp, Magyar and Mongolian. All the languages of the Ural-Altaic group are agglutinative, whereas, those of the Sinitic, typified by the Chinese, are monosyllabic. The Mongolian language is as different from Chinese as English is from Russian, if not more so.



THESE BRONZE PLAINSMEN WERE ONCE THE TERROR OF CHINA  
China Built the Great Wall As Defense Against the Mongols, But Now She Peacefully But Thoroughly Absorbs Them

Linguistically the Mongols are more closely related to the Turks, the Finns and the Magyars than to the Chinese. The systems of writing are also very different, the Chinese being ideographic, while that of the Mongols is alphabetical. The Mongol alphabet was borrowed from that of the Uighur Turks of the Kashgar country. The Uighur alphabet was derived from the old Syriac.

In racial characteristics, language and customs the Mongols are, therefore, as widely separated from the Chinese as the Turks, the Finns or the Lapps. It is quite erroneous to think of the Mongols as being closely related to the Chinese. In order to realize clearly who the Mongols are, we must forget for the moment that their country is a dependency of China and keep them associated in our minds with the Turks, the Lapps, the Finns and other peoples belonging to the Sibiric group of the Mongolian race.

Little has been written about Mongolia. All the books in the English language dealing with their contemporary life could easily be carried in a hand-bag. Two ordinary trunks would suffice to hold the authoritative books written on the Mongols in all the languages. Articles in periodicals during the past fifty years, if collected and bound, would not fill more than one volume.

To see these stalwart bronze people go down before the greater industry of the ivory people, whom they overawed so long ago, seems but a part of the scheme of the trend of races. That their history is already written cannot be doubted.

# MULAN

## A One-Act Play

By TORAO TAKETOMO

### CHARACTERS

MULAN  
HER SISTER-IN-LAW  
A STRANGER  
MULAN'S FATHER  
VILLAGERS

*The place is a village in Northern China. The time is during the Border Warfare in the Han Dynasty, 206 B. C.-220 A. D.*

*A room in a village house. There are doors right and left, and at the back a large open window, through which is visible a peach tree in full bloom. Beyond stretches a wide expanse of plain, woods and hills. It is late afternoon. When the curtain rises the last sunlight is lingering on the branches of the peach tree. During the first part of the play the light changes to deep twilight, and toward the end the moon rises, making a square patch of silver light on the floor of the room. Mulan is weaving at a loom in the corner. Her black hair is parted in the middle and drawn back in smooth coils over the ears. Her white, flower-like face gives the appearance of being framed in polished lacquer. The Sister-in-law is sitting by the window with an embroidery frame held listlessly in her lap. Ton ton ton—katari! Ton ton ton—katari! . . . whirs the loom. Suddenly it stops. Mulan drops her hands on the wooden framework of the loom, staring fixedly at nothing. From outside the melody of a song gradually becomes audible, as someone passes along the village road. The words of the song are distinctly heard in the room.*

*Her flowing hair and dewy eye  
Made spring walk through my heart that day,  
But I was only a passer-by  
And she a flower on my way.*

*The voice of the singer, evidently a young man, ceases abruptly, and once more silence reigns throughout the room. Neither of the two women has changed her position, except that Mulan has lifted her head as though listening half against her will to the song tossed casually through the window, which shows vividly and intensely blue in the gathering dusk of the room.*

THE SISTER-IN-LAW—It is late, Mulan. You had better stop your weaving for today.

MULAN—Yes, Sister. I can scarcely see the thread.

Silence.

SISTER-IN-LAW (in a low voice)—What can he do, an old man, staggering under the weight of

sword and shield? Is there no hope that the summons may be cancelled?

MULAN (with emotion)—This morning I went again to the military authorities, to plead for the last time that my father's honorable white hairs be spared the sorrows of exile in a distant place, where dark war clouds blacken all the sky from rim to rim. They were compassionate, but there is no choice. Orders have come to fill the gaps in our army. This village has no more young men to go, so they take even the old and helpless . . . (To herself). Yet there is a way.

SISTER-IN-LAW—There stand his spear and his shield. In a little while he will come back from the village and take them up and go away from us, and we shall never see him again. The pine tree in all its strength is uprooted at last by the winter storm. Already the snows of more than sixty years have fallen on his head. He can never endure the hard stress and buffeting of far-sounding war.

MULAN—This day is the most sorrowful day we have ever known.

SISTER-IN-LAW—Days pass without change. Vainly we wait for news from the Border.

MULAN—Not since those wounded soldiers returned to the village last year, when the crows had robbed the persimmons of their last fruit and our summer fans were long since tattered and broken, have we had word from the North.

SISTER-IN-LAW—The days are cruel.

MULAN—But when last we heard, my brother still lived!

SISTER-IN-LAW—That was in the autumn. The snows came and went, and now once more the peach tree is in bloom. Between the falling of the leaves and the returning of the flowers, who knows what may have befallen?

MULAN—Take comfort, Sister.

SISTER-IN-LAW—But where shall we turn to search comfort out? Everywhere there is sorrow in the land. Even that maimed soldier who had escaped death and all the pain of his long exile returned to his home at last only to find that his three brothers had been called. Solitary was his home. Joy had flown out from nesting under the roof of brown thatch.

MULAN—Everybody is called.

SISTER-IN-LAW—It is seven years since my husband left us. How gay he was! He kissed my

hand, promising to come back within a year. The village was not desolate then . . . But all the young men went with him, with shouts and cries and sounds of trumpets, and a great clattering of hoofs. Since then many more have gone, men not so young. . . .

MULAN—The war indeed seems to be endless.

SISTER-IN-LAW—I remember that we watched them disappear around the bend of the road leading out from the village. And when they came to the bridge, you remember how, suddenly, my husband turned toward us waving his hand. It is seven years since that day!

MULAN—Our youngest brother was the last to go. We were left alone with my old father, and now he, too, has been called.

SISTER-IN-LAW—Mulan, relentless is this world! Husbands, brothers, and even the old and weak, are taken away, and we are left with only sorrow for a companion. (*She weeps.*)

*Mulan looks strangely at her hands clasped in her lap. At last she rises, walks uncertainly across the room to the corner where the armor is resting and takes up the spear. She makes an effort once or twice as though to speak, but no words come. She is extremely agitated. She stands the spear against the wall again and goes toward the figure of her sister-in-law, leaning with bowed head in the wide embrasure of the window.*

MULAN—Oh, Sister, let me share your grief. Let me weep with you. For who knows how long we may live near each other? Swift is the flight of the swallow. Not less swift is the cleavage between one day and another, and strange fortune governs the affairs of pitiable men. If anything should happen to me, if I should be torn from your side, I beg you to take gentle care of our old father. Do not let the burden of grief weigh down too heavily on his declining years. It is for him that all my thoughts burn today.

SISTER-IN-LAW—But the summons has come. We can do nothing more.

MULAN—No son is left to take his place. But of old in our country women have endured the misery of war. Sometimes they have ridden into battle, even as men. Sister, I, too . . .

SISTER-IN-LAW—You speak strangely, Mulan. I am frightened. You speak as though you were thinking some terrible thing.

MULAN (*vaguely*)—Tonight when the trumpets sound there will be heartbreaking farewells and sleeves wet with bright tears. . . .

*The song heard at the opening of the play is heard once more coming faintly through the open window.*

*Her flowing hair and dewy eye  
Made spring walk through my heart that day.*

SISTER-IN-LAW—Do not leave us, Mulan. Without you I should have no strength to live. Surely I have suffered enough.

MULAN—Suffering is without end.

*The song, quite close.*

*For I was only a passer-by  
And she a flower on my way.*

MULAN—He has a beautiful voice, this stranger. Did you not hear him pass singing a while ago?

SISTER-IN-LAW—Perhaps he comes from the North and has brought word from the Border, of good news or ill, for us in this village. I will go and see. Will you come with me to the gate, Mulan?

*They go out at right, leaving the door open. The stage remains empty a moment. A man's head is seen passing the window. He glances into the room and disappears. Mulan's voice is heard off-stage, saying "Farewell, dear Sister." She re-enters the room, closing the door, and stands as if lost in thought. She repeats the word "Farewell." A knock is heard. Mulan turns her head as the door slowly opens. A Stranger is seen standing on the threshold. He is wrapped in a blue cloak. He looks at Mulan with shining eyes.*

STRANGER—Why do you say "Farewell"?

MULAN (*still wrapped in her own thoughts*)—People say "Farewell" when they part, do they not?

STRANGER (*troubled*)—Are you going away, Mulan?

MULAN—There is a parting tonight. The last mobilization has come to take what is left of our manhood. Even the aged are not to be spared.

STRANGER—I come from the Border, where men of Han fight against the barbarous hordes of the North. Terrible are the battle plains, withered long since the green grass and all the little flowers. Far and wide the plains are strewn with the white bones of men and horses.

MULAN—Yet they summon an old man to make his last resting place among the confused camps of war!

STRANGER—The old bright days of Yaou and Shun are no more.

*The sky has turned a brilliant blue and the moon rises behind the dim branches of the peach tree. A single star trembles low down on the horizon. Mulan lowers her eyes and vacantly traces a thread on the loom. The Stranger sings softly:*

*For I was only a passer-by  
And she a flower on my way.*

STRANGER—Only a passer-by. . . . But I could never forget you. Mulan, Mulan, am I indeed an utter stranger to your heart?

MULAN—I do not even know your name.

STRANGER—Don't you remember that once in your childhood you lived on the shore of a big river flowing from the unknown West to the Ocean in the East?

MULAN—A big river. . . . Do you mean the Hwang-ho?

STRANGER—You lived in a tiny country house surrounded by a hedge of white chrysanthemums. It had a garden where you and your grandmother used to plant the flowers of all seasons. Don't you recall how you stood, a tiny figure, in the morning dew, with a little watering-pot in your hand?

MULAN—I remember. . . . I was nine years old. I was sent to my grandmother's house to recover from a sickness, and I stayed all summer. The Hwang-ho ran close to our house. Every morning in my bed I used to hear the boatmen's song coming from afar through the mists of the river. It came nearer and nearer until I could hear the sound of the oars. . . . And then it grew fainter again, and died quite away. It was like a dream. . . . But how do you know about those childhood days by the river?

STRANGER—Don't you remember a little barefooted oxherd?

MULAN—Of course I do. He was about my age, with rosy cheeks and tattered clothes. We used to run along the shore. We searched for shells and cicadas, and once he made a rush flute for me.

STRANGER—There was the autumn festival on the ninth day of the ninth month. You went with your friends to a mountain nearby. Each of you had a small branch of myrica. You put yours in your hair and the crimson berries sparkled like rubies in the sun.

MULAN—How fleet the oxherd was! He and I ran ahead of all the rest. . . .

STRANGER—You and he lay on the ground under a sycamore tree. A stream flowed beside it. In the hush of the noontime you heard, now and then, bursts of laughter from below. . . . There was a moment when you heard nothing but water flowing, the rustling of leaves, the buzz of a passing bee. With his arm under your head. . . .

*Mulan turns slowly and looks for a long moment into the eyes of the Stranger, silently questioning them. The Stranger draws near and leads her gently to the window, where they stand with the moonlight falling on their faces.*

STRANGER—You left me alone, Mulan, on the shore of the Hwang-ho. You went back to the city soon after the autumn festival. How often I climbed that mountain and listened again to the rustling of the leaves! How often I loitered along the bank of the river and looked at the pale, solitary moon! The leaves, the moon, the lapping of

the water, all seemed to whisper "Go to the city, to the city!" . . . In my innocence I thought I could be with you if only I were in the city.

MULAN—We were living in a great mansion. My father was secretary to the Prime Minister. He was exiled to this village because of his fearless memorials against the evil doings of the court.

STRANGER—An old man whom I met one night on the river bank told me that my only hope of seeing you again lay in following an official career. I made up my mind. For three years I studied the Classics and the Five Analects, listening to the learned commentaries of the sages.

MULAN—You must have sacrificed much in those years of hard study.

STRANGER—I passed the examinations for official candidates. I went at last to the city, and called on the sages and mystics. But, alas, I could not find my lost star. Life seemed to me a meaningless abode, a temporary caravanserai. The philosophies of Lao'tze and Confucius were nothing but fruitless effort to resolve the flowers of foam on life's ever-changing sea into definite form and pattern. . . . But I can never forget one spring night in Changan. Perhaps you have heard of the dark streets lighted only by red lanterns, where melancholy strains of stringed music echo from closed chambers, where the whispering voices and soft laughter of painted women tinkle through the darkness, where shadows pass swiftly on a screen. . . . everything voluptuous in the dense intoxicating air. I plunged forth from a tavern and held up my umbrella, for it was raining, though there was a blur of dim moonlight in the sky. My head throbbed. I left lonely and helpless among my carousing companions. When I reached the river that skirts Changan I stopped in the middle of the stone bridge and looked down on the water. The faint moonlight made a path across the black ripples. The rain was like silver threads. I was listening to the bubbling of the water when suddenly those words of Confucius flashed into my mind: "Things that flow away: how they are like water that runs through night and day!"

MULAN—Day and darkness are but the passing guests of time.

STRANGER—I was at the full blossoming of my youth. And then it was that word came suddenly of new invasions by the Huns.

MULAN—We had suffered from invasions time without end, but this last outrage inflamed all young minds to war.

STRANGER—I was one of the candidates for high commissioner. I gave up everything and volunteered to be a soldier. But I turned to war as a relief from my own life, which had been one disappointing and desperate struggle to find my love.

MULAN—The little girl who lived by the Hwang-ho never forgot the young oxherd. But no magpies came to build a bridge with folded wings, as they build on the seventh night of every seventh month, for the union of the Weaver and the Oxherd stars, separated all the rest of the year by the great, bright River of Heaven.

STRANGER—Under the cold northern sky where the polar star is almost directly overhead, one warms one's hands by the lone signal fire. Sometimes the watchman's gong cleaves the air from camp to camp. When the tired soldiers lay huddled in sleep, in the stillness of a white, ghostly world, I thought of nothing but you, Mulan, and wondered wearily why I had come so far.

MULAN—In the loneliness of my village I thought often of you.

STRANGER—Mulan, I am a fugitive. Here my life is filled with danger and I move hunted from place to place. Yet there is peace in the world. Let us find it. Mulan, will you go with me somewhere far away and lead a quiet life? I have an uncle in the South, near Annam. He is a pearl dealer. . . . Shall we spend the rest of our lives under the fragrant citron trees?

MULAN (*yearningly*)—I would go with you. . . . I would share your life.

*Voices outside in the distance.*

*He is dead. He is dead.  
And she is dead; she drowned herself in the river.  
They found her among the rushes.  
Everybody went to the river.  
Look at the torches.  
They are coming down the hill.  
They are coming toward us.  
Let us go and join them.*

*The sound of footsteps and the voices die away.*

MULAN—What is this noise? . . . Dead? . . . Who is dead? (*She stands up, but sways and saves herself from falling only by catching at the framework of the loom.*) I had forgotten. Tonight . . . my father. . . .

STRANGER—The war has laid its heavy hand of sorrow on this house. I am the bearer of evil tidings. At the Border, Mulan, I stood on patrol night after night with your brother. As we looked out across the vast expanse of desert and barren mountains climbing ever upward toward the sullen sky, we talked often of our distant homes, of your sister-in-law, of your old father and of you, Mulan. We talked often of you. It was then that I learned where I might find you at last. But it is now three months since an arrow came hurtling through space, killing your brother as he stood at my side. Before he died he asked me to seek out this village,

and to bring back the gift of his hair, that last token of the warrior who must lie unburied in alien soil. When I came here just now I went first to the house of your sister-in-law close by, where I left the token of death. But, Mulan, all this sorrow will be as a drop of dew. In the sunny South we shall find endless spring.

MULAN—My brother's spirit walks unquietly in the far fields of battle. My sister-in-law has gone to the Western Pass by the rough road of self-destruction. Sorrow and yet more sorrow comes to weigh down the head of my aged father. Tonight I am sad as the wild geese flying in the trackless sky, sad as the lone deer on the mountain lawn in autumn. And yet my heart is fragrant as the peach tree blooming outside this window. It is fragrant with the new-blown flower of love.

STRANGER—Mulan!

*They stand clasping each other's hands. Lights are seen in the distance through the open window. There is the faint sound of women wailing. Villagers are seen coming across the fields carrying the body of the sister-in-law.*

MULAN—All the petals of my life are torn asunder with the rough winds of fate.

STRANGER—In the land of spring no winds shall come to touch you any more. . . . I will go and meet them, Mulan, the mourners, for they are coming to this place.

*The Stranger goes out. Through the wailing the sharp sound of a trumpet is clearly heard. Mulan starts. Her face is very white. She looks lingeringly around the room, goes to the loom, runs her hands tenderly across the threads, lifts a spool of orange silk, buries her face for a brief instant in the work. Then she goes to the corner where the spear leans against the wall. She takes up the spear.*

MULAN—Me they have accepted in your place, my father. The daughter of this household goes to do battle as the women of old.

*There is a sound of someone coming. Mulan hurriedly fastens on the armor, repeating the words of a song:*

*Spring came, the flower of love unfurled,  
- But autumn walked carelessly by that way,  
Ravished the beauty of one brief day  
And scattered its petals down the world.*

*She goes out. The door on the left opens and an old man is seen standing in the doorway.*

THE FATHER—Mulan, Mulan, where are you? The trumpet call has sounded. I must put on my armor and my shield, and go to the far fields of death.



# CHINA'S PROBLEM AND OUR TRADE

## A Report of the Year to the American Asiatic Association

By JOHN FOORD

CHINA has given during the year a very striking demonstration of a quality which it had been generally supposed her people did not possess—the spirit of national patriotism. The protest which was evoked throughout the land by the action of the Peace Conference in regard to the transfer of the rights previously possessed by Germany under the treaty of Kiaochau exhibited a unanimity and a depth of feeling entirely new in the Chinese treatment of the relations of the Central Government with foreign powers. It would be too much to say that the old provincial point of view is a thing of the past; but it marks an enormous advance toward a pervasive national consciousness to have a question like this of Shantung plainly affect all classes of the population and form the occasion of demonstrations by students and merchants which fulfilled the purpose of driving certain obnoxious high functionaries from office. The student class have shown themselves to be a power with which the Government must reckon, and if that power is to be exerted in the right way, it may regenerate their country.

It must be admitted that in the attitude of the foreign educated students toward the vital problems now facing China there is an absence of practical political sense. Their spokesmen are greatly addicted to the use of the catchwords of the Western defenders of popular freedom, quite ignoring the two great problems that have to be solved before China can be judged capable of self-government—the rescue from the darkness of ignorance of the underlying mass of the population and the acquirement by all grades of the office-holding class of respect for the standards of public honesty accepted by other great nations. Young China seems to be fully awake to the necessity for public education, but in none of its manifestos can there be found any reference to the crying need of common honesty in high places. In an appeal for Western sympathy issued by one of the Chinese plenipotentiaries at the Peace Conference, stress is laid on the ardent desire of the people of China to retain the Republican form of government, but the fact is ignored that the chief danger to the established political order is to be found in the militarist Tuchunate, whose arrogant dictation renders the nominal existence of free institutions a farce. When the Chinese

intelligentsia have succeeded in freeing their country from this incubus they will have a better chance to command attention for questions which they have lately been dragging into the forum of discussion, such as the abolition of spheres of foreign influence, the surrender of extraterritoriality and the attainment of tariff autonomy.

It should be as obvious to these educated Chinese as it is to the sincere friends of China here and elsewhere that the first need of their country is the rehabilitation of its credit, and the next the development of its material resources. A new Banking Consortium in which the United States is adequately represented stands ready to address itself to the first task, and the fulfillment of the other will follow as a matter of course. The sole security required is that of clean and capable administration of the national finances, and to insure this there will be demanded the establishment of complete public accountability, guaranteed by the institution of a Civil Service based upon ascertained ability and honesty, accompanied by safeguards for the official tenure of competent public servants. For the material development of China, the expansion and unification of her railway system and the radical improvement of her internal waterways are prime necessities. Ancillary to these there must be forthcoming a workable code of mining laws and the extirpation of likin stations, root and branch. It is not the foreigner who stands in the way of the reforms needed to start China on a career of moral and material progress such as will shortly free her from the tutelage of which her spokesmen complain. The opposition to the internationalization of China's railways centers in Peking; so does the refusal to furnish guarantees for the proper expenditure of money supplied by European and American bankers for certain definite purposes. It is Chinese politicians who have made the adoption of a code of practical mining regulations impossible, and when the Central Government is strong enough to expropriate the hungry horde of petty officials who thrive on putting obstacles in the way of inland commerce, there need be no difficulty about transferring the likin guarantee of foreign loans to a doubled revenue from customs.

Of the increasing force of the appeal which the welfare of China makes to

popular intelligence in the United States there has been ample demonstration in the intense interest awakened here by the discussion of the question of Shantung. There is every reason to expect that this new attitude toward Chinese affairs will outlast the immediate cause of its manifestation. Considered merely in a material sense, it cannot fail to be helpful in facilitating the application of American financial and commercial enterprise to what is perhaps the most fruitful field that the world offers for its employment. The recent increase in our trade with China has been, of course, largely a question of enhanced prices rather than of more tonnage, but there has been a considerable gain in volume as well as in value, as the most superficial inspection of the figures will show. Fairly to gauge the advance made in the Chinese department of our foreign commerce, it is necessary to include the leased territories, as well as Hongkong, and on that basis our own official figures for the last fiscal year compare with the two preceding years as follows:

Year ending June 30,	Exports to China.	Imports from China.
1919.....	\$117,217,179	\$154,385,806
1918.....	69,773,086	158,863,617
1917.....	55,889,380	119,534,500

The most remarkable feature of this statement is the increase in the exports for the fiscal year 1919, representing as it does a total of about \$47,500,000, or twice the average value of the whole export trade to China in the years preceding the war.

Unhappily, our old staple export to China—cotton piece goods—is very poorly represented in the total, although it exhibits some signs of improvement. Leaf tobacco and cigarettes now occupy the head of the list with a total of \$20,111,805 for the year; mineral oils, illuminating and other, come next to the value of \$11,176,277. These two items of export account for 26.5% of the whole, the remaining 73.5% being distributed throughout most of the great branches of the export trade. Under the head of manufactures of iron and steel, China purchased from us in the year ending with last June as follows:

Locomotives .....	\$679,686
Wire Nails.....	653,928
Wrought Iron Pipes.....	727,348
Steel Rails.....	1,204,673
Galvanized Plates.....	171,614
Steel Plates.....	1,715,033
Steel Sheets.....	520,788

Structural Steel.....	\$17,418
Tin Plates.....	3,312,754
Steel Wire.....	1,349,495

It is an interesting fact to record, one hundred and thirty-five years after the first trading voyage of an American ship to China, that ginseng, the most valuable part of her cargo, figures to the value of \$2,057,232 in our exports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919.

Silk continues to occupy the first place in our import trade with China, showing a valuation for the fiscal year 1919 of \$28,809,340. Though a respectable total, this is only 16.6% of our silk imports from Japan, which represent 80% of all the raw silk landed on our shores during the year. So, too, Chinese tea has fallen from its high estate among American imports, Japanese tea representing 55% of the whole, and China's contribution dropping to less than 10%. The place of tea has been taken by the products of the soya bean, which figure in the year's import returns at \$18,891,264. Next come hides and skins, chiefly goat skins, with a valuation of \$13,267,595. No more impressive illustration of Chinese ineptitude could be supplied than that which is found in the rapid development in Japan of both the silk and the tea trade, while these once great staples of Chinese exports continue to shrink in quantity and decline in quality. There are signs, however, of at least a wholesome desire to improve the conditions under which China has allowed herself to be distanced in this competition. There was lately formed an International Committee for the Improvement of Sericulture in China, mainly through the instrumentality of Mr. Ting Ju-lin, a prominent silk merchant, who has been for some years, on his own initiative, engaged in the effort to improve the quality of Chinese silk. He has enlisted the assistance of the foreign chambers of commerce and of foreign silk associations, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce having already extended to him their support. Through the united efforts of these organizations a subsidy of Hk. Tls. 4000 monthly was granted by the Chinese Government, the services of an expert from Indo-China were engaged, and schools established at six stations in Kiangsu and Chekiang. It is also encouraging to learn of the early beginnings of modern improved methods in the preparation of China tea for the market. Among these are an experimental and testing farm in Anhwei working under the auspices of the Board of Agriculture; the Ningchow Tea Plantations, which is the first Chinese estate to adopt manufacture by machinery; and the China Model Tea Estate, which also uses improved methods. Were the Chinese at all watchful of the efforts

made in neighboring countries to invade what was once their exclusive field of enterprise, they would be constrained to take note of the great strides made in tea culture in the Dutch East Indies. There are about 140 foreign estates devoted to tea culture in the island of Java alone, and while only 16,750,000 pounds were produced in 1901, the crop of 1915 consisted of 101,750,000 pounds. Thus in fifteen years the production of Java tea has increased 500%. Sumatra has already started fifteen big estates for tea culture, provided with up-to-date machinery and buildings and covering a total area of about 17,537 acres. A tea congress and exhibition is to be held at Batavia in 1921, whose object is to study scientific, economical and commercial questions relating to the tea industry.

Dealing with our Asiatic trade as a whole, the broad fact stands out that imports are still greatly in excess of exports. But it is worthy of note that while this excess in the fiscal year 1918 was \$379,000,000, it is only \$227,000,000 in the year ending last June. The absolute gain in export values has been \$157,000,000, and as the gain in imports has only been \$5,000,000, the decline in what is called the "adverse balance" of our Asiatic trade has been \$152,000,000. Of the export gain, the increase of our exports to Japan accounts for \$59,000,000, and Japan is the only Asiatic market in which we sold last year more than we bought. The value of our exports to Japan was \$326,462,269, while the imports were \$303,993,041. The trade would have more nearly balanced were the business done with what has come to be called "Japanese China" to be included. From that territory we imported goods valued at \$22,365,206, of which 80% consisted of one product or other of the soya bean. From the Island Empire itself, 57% of the imports consisted of silk, accounting for a value of \$173,157,405. Next comes tea with a value of \$13,420,067; silk fabrics valued at \$10,959,396, and soy-bean oil \$8,994,776—all four representing 68% of our imports from Japan. Under the head of exports to Japan raw cotton accounts for 40%, being valued at \$131,160,386. But Japan also bought last year \$6,231,524 of American metal-working machinery; \$1,377,346 in sewing machines; \$1,674,213 of wire nails, and \$25,048,733 of steel plates, besides \$3,582,056 in structural iron and steel, \$5,871,299 in tin plates and \$3,704,036 in various kinds of wire.

With both the British and Dutch East Indies the expansion of American trade has been notably rapid in the last few years. To the former the exports for 1917 were valued at \$37,108,127, while for 1919 they reached the amount of

\$64,272,887. The imports, which in 1917 were \$217,610,056, increased by 1919 to \$287,376,018. To the Netherland possessions in Asia our exports for 1919 were \$44,845,561, or more than double the total of either of the two previous years. The imports, though still considerably in excess of the exports, were of smaller proportions than those from the British possessions, being \$71,036,606 against \$62,001,236 in 1917.

Almost equally remarkable has been the increase of trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands. Our exports to these possessions, which in the fiscal year 1917 were valued at \$27,206,612, advanced in the succeeding year to \$48,425,088, and reached in the last fiscal year the unprecedented total of \$69,030,876. On the import side the figures are, for 1917, \$42,436,247; for 1918, \$78,101,412, and for 1919, \$82,490,760. Sixty-six per cent. of all our imports from the Philippine Islands are represented by hemp and cocoanut oil. Both commodities were war necessities, and an inflated market for both was created while hostilities continued. When these war demands ceased, the exportation of hemp and cocoanut oil had a temporary arrest pending the readjustment of the market on the basis of peace. In the case of cocoanut oil the readjustment seems to have been made quickly, an apparent proof that this commodity has entered so largely into use as to have become a necessity in peace as well as in war. If the readjustment as to hemp has come more slowly, it is probably due to the fact that the demands of the war have inflated prices so much beyond the figure warranted by the needs of peace that producers and operators on the one hand have been reluctant to accept a reduction, while consumers on the other are disposed to substitute inferior fibres for hemp rather than continue to pay anything like war prices for the superior article.

The representatives of the Department of Commerce have been working for months on a general plan of encouraging the import of Far Eastern raw materials, which are necessary in the manufacturing industries of the United States, and which were formerly brought into this country by way of Europe.

It is obvious that in a short time we shall have all the ships we need for the transport, in American bottoms, of the goods we may have to buy or sell in the markets of the world. The tremendous impetus that the war has given to our capacity for mechanical production supplies a powerful argument for the cultivation of the still only partially exploited markets of "the mother of continents" whose inhabitants number 51.5% of the entire population of the globe.

## ASIATIC BOOK-SHELF

**THE OPEN DOOR POLICY AND THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CHINA**, by Shuntaro Tomimas. A. G. Sellen, New York, 1919, 161 pp.

From the viewpoint of twentieth century diplomatic intrigue, balance, and the international whispering game, as played even until the Treaty of Versailles, and which still seems to be played according to the old rules, this presentation of the policy of the Open Door into China and of the territorial integrity of the Chinese Republic is at least worthy of interest. As written by a Japanese fellow in international law his outline of the land hunger of the western powers in China conveys a clear-cut statement of the indulgence of international intrigue by the European nations, and at the same time brings up the question, which, however, remains nearly unanswered in later chapters, as to the extent of the land hunger of Japan. A chapter entitled "Japan's Advance" consists of only four short pages and gives nothing more than a text of the drastic demands imposed upon China by Japan in 1915. Of course we cannot imagine a patriotic American, of the "my-country-right-or-wrong" type, criticising his national diplomatic policy at a place where it touches some sore spot or where it even suggests a land-grab made essential by either rapid economic development or ordained by a predominantly powerful military faction. And we cannot imagine a patriotic Japanese of the same caliber committing the grave personal error of attempting to disclose all the wires behind his own nation's political puppet show. For this reason Tomimas' study can be considered only as an arrangement, in clear and logical sequence, of the Japanese viewpoint upon the territorial encroachment of the western powers in China, omitting much of thorough discussion of Japan's national policy and attitude in this same respect toward China—a question which is, perhaps, of more relative importance and interest to America at the present time. Nor do eleven pages upon Japan's advance in world politics throw additional light upon its real significance, although he brings forward the Japanese hope of pacific penetration into Asia as one of the guiding policies.

Most of us would be interested in the beauty of the Japanese verses which have crept in at the back of the book, but as, unfortunately, they are printed in the Japanese ideograph, we can only feel some subtle diplomatic mystery about them which would require an unbiased translator to unravel.

It is indeed difficult in a study of this kind to break away from the habit of collecting fragments of diplomatic documentary evidence in order to attain perspective and to look along the trend of past international politics directed toward the integrity of China. He does not break away from the usual methods of the usual political student as a compiler. Thinking men are eager to consider the statements of the political student as a producer of natural conclusions and logical projections of past diplomatic history and policies applied to the probabilities of the future. Tomimas does not present such statements for consideration, and his work remains a simple historical review. No new idea is suggested, no future is really outlined. But as a study of the past policies of Europe and of the United States in the Orient, of the Open Door and of Chinese territorial integrity, as its title suggests, this book has the quality of clarity.

**THE NEW MAP OF ASIA**, by Herbert Adams Gibbons. The Century Co., New York, 1919, 555 pp.

This new book of Gibbons compels a complete and thorough reading, even by those who have not been interested in Asia, and fosters an intelligent interest in Asiatic affairs afterwards. The changes in territorial boundaries the world over, as a result of the war, have so confused most of us that we are inclined to drop their consideration until the wrangling is over. Gibbons takes up these changes and proposals with the history and the foreign policies of nations in a way that greatly clarifies our visualization of the chartered frontiers and gives us the background of history. The question of European eminent domain in Asia is graphically followed. *The New Map of Asia*, planned several years ago, was written during the Peace Conference to present the principal factors of Asiatic history in so far as they have been influenced by the maintenance and extension of European intervention. Gibbons says in his preface that his work is incomplete. It would indeed be difficult to complete such a work; but certainly he has succeeded in arousing the interest of the reader in Asia. Following the trail of international diplomacy is difficult at best. The complicated turns in the diplomatic trail cross and recross even in seasons of peace. To follow the trail properly, when diplomatic moves are made under the stress of war, takes a journalist of caliber.

The bare statement of the author's personal convictions on the leading de-

sires and immediate aims of interested nations appears almost brazen to the reader and compels consideration by mere simplicity and lack of qualifying data. Not that these statements are disconnected, but their pointed simplicity place national plans and policies before the reader in clear-cut form. His sequence of personal judgments forms a most refreshing romance of international relations in Asia. His conception of the whole continuance of European policies toward the Orient makes a very living and a human thing out of these phases of diplomacy. Gibbons' ideal is certainly the best ideal of the political writer—to bring up impressions and convictions of past diplomatic history and trend as a basis for forecasts upon the possibilities of the future. These forecasts should be of especial interest to the American who has at last come to understand that cut-throat moves in the international game of diplomacy have a distinct relation to the policies and to the future of these United States. The theory of the "White Man's Burden" has always been used as an excuse for the exploitation of peoples who cannot at the moment repel advances into their own property.

Gibbons traces the trend of international politics in this respect for 15 years before the war until the Treaty of Versailles and gives a free discussion of the attitude of the Peace Conference toward the Asiatic peoples. It must be taken into account that Gibbons is writing only partly from first-hand information—that much of his other material has been written from the data available to a well-informed journalist—yet this closeness of view and apparent absence of intimate personal information seems rather curiously to give a broad perspective and fails to impair in any way the worth of this look into the relations between us and the Asiatic nations. Both sides of the case of China vs. Japan are discussed and compared as in the immediate question of Shantung. One of the reasons why this book is so appealing as an international romance is that there are many brief allusions to international moves and national futures which arrest the reader's attention and lead him into consideration of the inside mechanics of national development.

Gibbons has made possible a romance of action, without much attention to the actors. *The New Map of Asia* will be a popular book and a useful book to foster interest in our growing relations with the Orient.

R. E. L.



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412-5

# ASIA'S TRAVEL-LOG

By VIRGINIA LEE

**L**ET'S GO!" I said to myself.

"You must see about your passage right off," counseled a Wise One. I did, and the last of June was none too soon for getting off in September. "One berth left in a good state-room," said the clerk at the booking agency. I took it, though it was on the Empress of Japan, sailing from Vancouver, B. C.

Of the two main highroads to the Orient, the southern route, south and west from San Francisco, with balmy winds allowing you to leave half your wraps unopened in the steamer rug, offers the more attractive voyage. A few days in San Francisco, city of mists and hills, alluring restaurants and charming people, then out through the Golden Gate on a Pacific Mail steamer. You feel at home on the Pacific Mail, which is an American line, giving splendid service and accommodations. All the employees of the company are courteous, attentive and anxious to serve you. The southern route has an added compensation for the length of the voyage in the pleasant break made by the



THE EMPRESS OF JAPAN

Gracefully She Slips Out of Vancouver Harbor Into Puget Sound

stop at Honolulu. The visit to Honolulu, with the possibility of staying over a boat or two to join the lotus eaters on the Hawaiian Islands, is a real temptation. But lack of time made it necessary for me to take the northern route, which is, from the point of view of time, the quickest and most efficient means of reaching the Orient.

I found in Vancouver that to make any trans-continental stop-over I must

get a mileage book of chunky proportions, indeed of three thousand and five hundred miles, which cost me somewhere around ninety-one dollars, not including the last bit from Seattle to Vancouver. This last league is done by a Canadian Pacific boat, anyway, to best advantage. But the trans-Pacific allowance for luggage isn't a part of the mileage, so there is a sad overcharge on all but a hundred and fifty pounds. If you go, don't forget you can really stow two suitcases and several smaller handbags in your Pullman seat. That will account for enough "impedimenta" to get you across the continent, across the Pacific, and even around Japan, if the season isn't on the change. Here's a whisper in your ear: "Don't be proud." Buy yourself a "nurse's suitcase" of patent leather, measuring 27 inches by 18 by 10, neatly lined with flowered chints, with a tray and a pocket on the lid. It will last you around the world if carried by hand most of the time, say by porters, from carriage to car. There are also some boxes made of the same material, 12 by 18 by 18.



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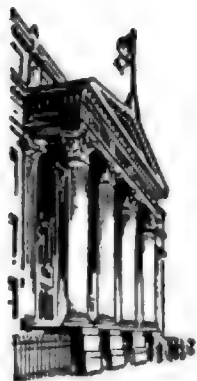
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(Illustration from The House Beautiful)

## The House Beautiful

### One of the greatest pleasures in life

John Burroughs says: "One of the greatest pleasures in life is to build a house for oneself." Common sense adds: "Yes, and now is the time to indulge in that pleasure and release oneself once and forever from the ever-growing demands of the proliferating landlord. Let us own our own house instead of a rapidly increasing pile of rent receipts."

#### We want that pleasure to increase

But going back to John Burroughs. We want our pleasure not only while we are building our house, but we want that pleasure to increase every day we live in our house. How can we be sure of securing this satisfaction?

#### Consider the whole proposition most carefully

First of all by considering the whole proposition most carefully. Perhaps our first thought will be what kind of neighbors we are going to have. Does our land afford us natural drainage? What about our gas, water and sewer connections. Are we too far removed from fire and police protection?

#### Of what shall we build our house?

Will there be enough land at the back to build our garage later, or shall we build our garage now in the basement of the house? What are the rules regarding this? Shall we build our house of pine, timber and stone, cement, or tapestry brick? Shall it be English Cottage or Dutch Colonial?

#### The subject of furnishings an engrossing question

The subject of our furnishings is an engrossing question. Shall we build in our house? Shall we have French doors between our living and dining rooms? Shall we furnish them or leave them plain? Shall we have a gate-legged table and ladder-back chairs for the dining room? Shall we have our living room in wicker and chairs with a rug rug? What color shades shall we have for our lamps?

#### The whole subject of Homemaking an fascinating one

The whole question of homemaking is a fascinating one, whether we are now planning our first house of four rooms in positively the last apartment to be found in New York City, or are remembering that old farmhouse which we have been thinking of purchasing for many years past.

But, let us not spend our penny anxiously; let us be sure that our color scheme is just the right one that it should be, that our house is considered most economically in these days of high prices, that the house we build is just the one we want, and one that we wouldn't exchange for the most exclusive "cottage" at Newport. How can we be sure of all these things, and be safeguarded against all disappointments? By subscribing to

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May 15-19

which do beautifully for hats and light blouses. You'll have a small fitted bag for passports and tickets, papers of all kinds, such as letters of introduction, with room for a (whisper again) crêpe-de-chine nightgown and soft bed-shoes. This goes everywhere with you instead of a silly handbag holding nothing to speak of. It carries so easily into the toilet-rooms on Pullmans for your nightly and matinal dressing. At a pinch a woman can handle all of these bags herself. They don't hurt your purse, however, costing in all \$21, including the white celluloid fittings! I'm not advising men; they look out for themselves and need more substantial bags.

A good roll to hold a rug, heavy wraps, for coat, Burberry, and other little things, and one steamer trunk (wardrobe, of course), ought to furnish you for all you take, both of winter and summer clothes. Trench coats, which have been made fashionable by the war, are extremely practical for a traveler of modern means. The outside serves for rain or motoring, and the buttoned-in detachable lining gives you a heavy coat for cold weather on deck or for riding in winter. Its beauty is that the lining of soft wool can be worn separately. Get a patent-leather hat, which is chic for tailor-mades and rainproof, and away goes the nuisance of an umbrella. Now, mind my words! Clothes are expensive enough in our country, but worse in all others today. Take all you need with you! Men's kits are worse even than women's in all but tropical suits of white drill, which you can still get cheaply made by Chinese tailors. Cotton fabrics are now worth almost their weight in gold. Neither silk nor wool is being given away. Shoes? Take them with you! Fellow-women, you need one new pair of common-sense walking boots, one pair of white buckskin shoes (they clean better than canvas), one pair of tan pumps, patent-leather dress shoes or pumps and a pair of satin slippers for the evenings. If you can somehow smuggle into your luggage a pair of your old shoes for deck wear it will save the new ones, for all these I mention should be new, though you do indeed want to have neat shoes for steamer chairs. They show so much! For wet weather you can get good oiled waterproof boots, or you can wear rubbers.

As to clothing, if your traveling suit is made loose with good lines, which permits the wearing of a sweater under the coat, then one will do for all seasons. You'll want one dressier suit, two silk frocks for afternoons, a pretty cape suitable both for evening or afternoon wear, in other words, dark outside but with a handsome lining to brighten it.

# Live in the Orient

Make a trip to the Orient through the pages of ASIA. You will swap horses in Turkestan, make a pilgrimage to Mecca, dwell in the enchanting atmosphere of the Vale of Kashmir, live under the spell of the East, fascinating with its mystic magnificence—varied peoples—treasures untold. You will live and

move in the marts of Bagdad or in the endless kaleidoscopic processions of brilliant colors along the dusty, wind-blown streets of Peking. You will watch bald-pated priest and silk-gowned official, hard-working coolie and ragged beggar, ancient bespectacled scholar and modern progressive student, pass along the city ways of the Orient.

# ASIA

The American MAGAZINE on the Orient

SIX GREAT SPECIAL NUMBERS

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The problem of the Bolsheviki and the Conservatives; the Japanese-Siberian question.

**2. A Near Eastern number**

We shall shortly be face to face with another great decision—"Shall we rule Constantinople, Turkey, Armenia, Syria, as a mandatory?"

**3. A Philippine number**

An experiment of American democracy in the East in contrast with Old World Imperialism. Has it worked?

**4. An India number**

Political and economic future in this key to the British Empire.

**5. A Central Asia number**

A closed book of strange life and customs, opened.

**6. A South Sea number**

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# ASIA

The American MAGAZINE on the Orient

*Takes Its Rightful Place Among American Quality Publications*

MAGAZINES are like men in that you can tell by their *manner* the kind of people they go among. And, like men, they should not be too conscious of their class.

Now let us take the case of *Asia*.

*Asia* started out to be *one* thing and it has developed into *two*.

When *Asia* was started we had no idea in mind beyond that of making a magazine devoted pictorially and editorially to interpreting the wonder of the Orient.

*Asia* in its inception was intended to be just *one* thing, and by achieving that *one* thing it has developed into *two*.

## II

A London publisher once said at a dinner in this city that America was a land where crime might be concealed, but never an interesting magazine.

That, in a line, expresses the incredible strides *Asia* has made during the past twelvemonth.

In making *Asia* we innocently were kindling a light under a barrel. And America now has detected the light!

It was truly the "Light of Asia," if the pun may be forgiven.

In short, we had been making a fine magazine all along and were caught at it—caught at it by thousands of the best American families, as our subscription list attests.

## III

And it is just about here that the story of *Asia* begins to broaden — about the time that our circulation passed the ten thousand mark.

Month after month it steadily and sturdily moved upward.

Nor was there an ounce of forced draught behind this sustained increase.

*Asia* in itself and by itself was the incentive; that and nothing more.

Soon the fifteen thousand mark was passed. Subscriptions came from everywhere in America—but always from an unmistakably well-circumstanced type of reader. We can say this because we took the trouble to find out just the sort of readers that comprised *Asia's* family.

Then one day, after a survey of our circulation had been made, we saw for the first time what we really had. We saw that in building a magazine after our own ideal we had also built a potential advertising property, a property whose subscription list, name for name, was the equal (if we dared to state our real belief we would say *superior*) of any quality publication in These States.

And so that precisely is what we mean when we say that *Asia* started out to be *one* thing and grew into *two*. It started out to be distinctively alone in quality in an illustrative and editorial sense; and it has become, besides that, distinctively alone in quality in an advertising sense.

In short, we have hit upon a subject that is intriguing to hundreds of thousands of Americans—only that Americans never realized it until *we* hit upon it.

The page rate of \$250 offers a shrewd and subtle attraction to the Advertiser that wants not only to *tell* but *sell*.

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**A**T this important port of entry and distributing center of South China, famous for its exports of raw silk, the Asia Banking Corporation has just opened its seventh branch in the Far East.

So, now, American exporters and importers may avail themselves of the advantages of *direct* banking service with Canton, as well as with our other branches, at Shanghai, Hankow, Peking, Tientsin, Hongkong, and Manila.

We establish credits in the United States and in the Far East for the financing of merchandise shipments; buy, sell, negotiate, or collect bills of exchange originating here or abroad; issue commercial or travelers' letters of credit; in short, we offer complete banking facilities with the Orient.

We invite inquiries from those engaged in, or thinking of, trade with the Far East.

Branches in the Far East

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This booklet was written with the sole idea of supplying worth-while facts and figures to those persons and firms in the United States who are contemplating the entering or extension in the China field.

It contains no theory or supposition—there are only facts—written on the very firing line of America's foreign trade, in the center of the field.

Any American manufacturer, merchant or banker may have this booklet and a copy of MILLARD'S REVIEW free by making application for the same, using his own letter-head when writing. Shanghai has a U. S. Post Office, which means domestic postage rates and parcel post from any part of the United States—two cents brings a letter.

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Many journals and newspapers in the United States look to it for authoritative views from this part of the world.

China looks to America for assistance, information and advice in her present period of reconstruction, internal development and adoption of Western ideas.

The American business man who ignores this call is injuring not only himself, but is becoming a handicap to his country.

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a "coat suit" of linen or silk with two skirts and extra blouses, two dimity one-piece frocks, two evening gowns and lingerie. A nice sport hat, not too light in color, say of beaver, a toque, one dressy hat, and any others you need you can buy en route. Again, I am not counseling the men. Nor is it worth while to say anything about sweaters, silk, wool, knit, crocheted, colored or white. Nor am I advising the unduly rich, who can have and carry all the luggage they want. Let those who think there isn't any real comfort in the way of hotels except in New York, at least not west of Chicago, take my word that we haven't anything in the East to surpass the Vancouver Hotel. It is high priced—"Five-n-up" a day for a single room—but you get your money's worth. If there is any more superb view than the one from the beautiful roof garden, I don't know of it. Allow yourself a week to be in Vancouver, and you will be able to use every minute in trips to nearby points of interest.

Boats can make Yokohama from Vancouver in ten days. And the Chinese stewards on these boats give really fine service. They are the best servants in the world.

To get to Yokohama in time it was necessary to transfer from the boat I meant to take to one of their old ones and to beg and plead for anything there was in the way of a berth. Letters passed back and forth to me in Seattle, and finally the astute old Chinese Consul said, "If you really are in earnest about it, go up to Vancouver in person!"

Don't forget your passport visa! If you haven't procured them in your place of application, you must do so before leaving the United States, and you must also see the Vancouver Immigration people for your sailing visa in Canada. Don't forget to bring your income-tax receipt with you! It is obligatory. Keep it with your passports.

I came on board with "beaucoup" luggage on the day of sailing, to be held up for my passport, income-tax paper and ticket at the gangway. The American Consul was the most cordial creature in the world because I had my income thing with me in proper form. Most Americans do not. You should.

At sea:

Choose the Purser! If they show you the table chart and let you pick out your place, choose the Purser! The Captain will be often absent, but the Purser is in command of things which have everything to do with one's comfort. I did as I am counseling you. Other voyages have taught me.

The proof of how high is the standard now maintained in choosing men and women "to go out into all the world" is



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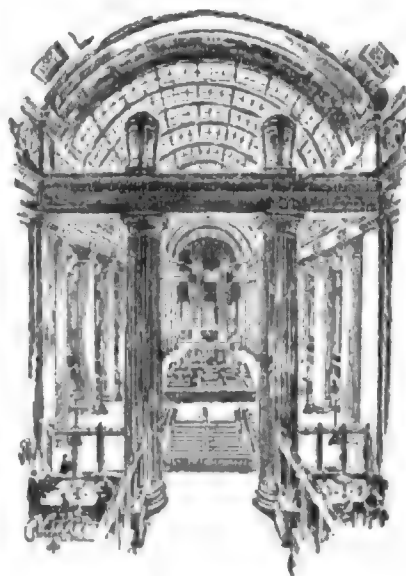
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Practical business men of vision control and manage these banks—men who know the banking requirements of modern business and who daily are applying that knowledge constructively in rendering the best banking service. Co-operation with their customers is regarded as a paramount duty by the officers and staff.

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certainly the children and the perfect way they are brought up. When I contrast the children on board with the spoiled or neglected progeny of residents or visitors returning to the East in other days, I can hardly believe that they are human, these little ones on this ship. Tiny babies sleeping hours on end and never crying, little children of two, three or four annoying no one, but rather giving us pleasure, boys who have manners and obey when spoken to—all of missionary families!

I spoke of warm wraps for shipboard. All passages at times, and this one especially, are cold as Greenland. Even though the steam is turned on, one shivers from pitiless winds which have come at us from a quarter which slows down our speed. I go about like a mummy, swathed in coats, scarfs, capes and rugs.



THE HOTEL VANCOUVER  
The Canadian-Pacific Hotel  
Visited by the Prince of Wales

No one could doubt that this is a "lime juicer," this vessel; but they take the edge off, or, rather, they can arrange one with "Scotch," and I am willing to go on record that it is silly-assism to have prohibition in Vancouver and the wettest kind of a smoking-room on this S. S. line.

There is, of course, the usual medley of nationalities: a Chinese consul and his high-caste Japanese wife; a Filipino student returning from a California college, little altered by his studies and running true to type; Russians, Hindus in the second class, soldiers, business men, wives going out to meet husbands; I think I am the only traveler.

You should hear the buyers on this ship—men who are going over to get in on the ground floor of the huge accumulations of raw materials from Siberia. A most delightful Jewish fur expert sits opposite me at table; never mind what a fund of general fur statistics I have extracted from him! I should not do my duty by "you-all" if I didn't give you this "tip": talk to experts in all lines as you travel. You find them glad to explain what they know, and by gleaming rich bits of information here and there

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you will profit by what you see in strange lands. If a man knows about Chinese jades or porcelains, if a woman understands fabrics and embroideries, make friends with them and sit at the feet of expert knowledge. Then when you visit the shops and factories you will be less likely to be cheated, and you will enjoy the time spent in shopping twice as much. As a result of my fur talk, I know what to buy and what not to buy in Asia. Worth hundreds of dollars, that! In the same way, from passengers on the boat, I have secured vocabularies of about forty-five "most used" words and short phrases in Japanese, Hindustani and Bible Hebrew (for Palestine).

May I not insert here one little tip to traveling women, let them be old or young. The Chinese or Japanese servant, who is, as a rule, a man, and is always one on ships, is human. It is well to think upon this and to observe. Don't think he is made of stone or wood; he is not. You must be as careful as to intimate matters about your bathroom or cabin as you would be with white men servants. Perhaps more so.

The old way of clapping your hands for a "boy" is nearly gone. Class feeling is becoming very strong. The fact that hundreds of thousands of Chinese coolies have been in France and now return with much less awe of white people is going to introduce a measure of unknown independence and democracy. In Japan the quality shown by men once almost servile is "cheek"; in China it will be democratic. I find the "boys" on this ship much more as white servants are. They seemed as they always were, at first, then they became more friendly and showed a desire to talk to those of us who showed an interest in them. Part of that is their wish to learn English, part a feeling of greater equality.

The progressive Japanese always encourage travelers to make an overland trip between Yokohama and, say, Kobe. Nagasaki, if a port of call, lengthens the time to quite a comfortable little flying trip through the interesting country between it and Yokohama. On this ship a notice on the board invited those who wished to do this to make their intentions known to the Purser, who would issue railroad tickets therefor. That officer has to make out some immigration statistics, anyway, for even the first-cabin passengers. On shore in Yokohama there is a Railroad Tourist Bureau, where you will get all the details of trains, routes, and even the hotels maintained by the roads.

The man or woman who can invent a becoming head-rig for women at sea will make a fortune, and I can say the field is open, for such an article does not now

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exist. I have been watching women and setting them down as scarecrows, who, on making a toilet for evening, turn out absolutely good-looking. As nearly as I can discover, the costume now available for deck use on moderate days in this northern passage is a sweater and cap set of pretty, bright-colored wool or silk with scarf to match. Fur coats can go over these in extremely cold weather. Dressing for dinner is the problem. A velvet gown with well-cut neck and elbow sleeves seems the prettiest thing on this vessel. The one I have in mind is edged with narrow ermine. A beautiful tied-and-dyed scarf can be added to give color if velvet is too severe. Corduroy trimmed with velvet of the same shade is good for day use in a one-piece dress, and goes under a big coat with less rucking than a suit.

The donkey-engines are being prepared; addresses are being exchanged; the usual consultations are going on: "What do you give the stewards?" "Ought I to give the bath-steward as much as my room-boy? I've had a cold and could only take a few hot baths." "There are two table-stewards; must one give each of them money?" "I haven't even seen the stewardess." It is one of the eternal questions of traveling, this of fees. My advice is (and it's "playing safe"), find out the tariff and do likewise. Some say a little to all, then those who get a moderate sum can pretend it's more, and those who get something for nothing will land your generosity. For this sort of ship, one of the older and cheaper boats on the Empress Line, two dollars each to all except the one who has really been put to extra trouble in your behalf, the shrewd "boy" who has played up to your tastes and remembered that you like strong coffee, or apples instead of oranges at six A. M., or a particular corner for your chair, or hot water at six P. M. that you may "dress" for dinner. For it is your "boy" who helps make your voyage across the Pacific a happy experience.

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